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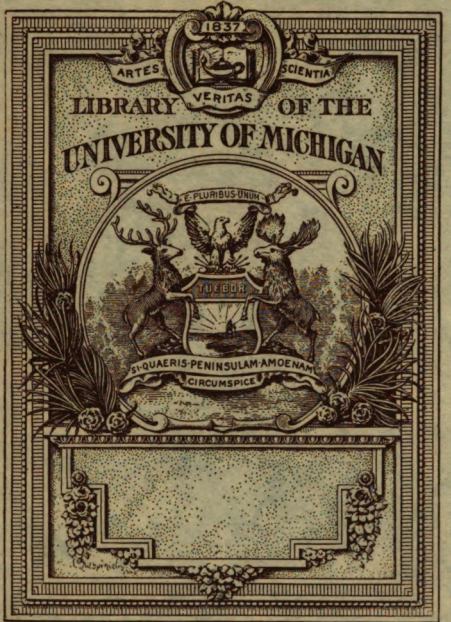

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

Nº XCI. *APRIL* 1898.

ART. I.—MOBERLY'S 'MINISTERIAL PRIESTHOOD.'

Ministerial Priesthood. Chapters (preliminary to a study of the Ordinal) on the rationale of Ministry and the meaning of Christian Priesthood. With an Appendix upon Roman criticism of Anglican Orders. By R. C. MOBERLY, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, Canon of Christ Church. (London, 1897.)

THE history of Christian Theology is full of instances of particular aspects of truth being so exclusively insisted upon as to become unbalanced and partly untrue. When this is the case, the danger of reaction is always present. An undue emphasis on one part of the truth provokes a similar treatment of the opposite part. Forgetfulness of one element is avenged by exaggeration of it. When once the harmonious proportion of true Catholicity has been disturbed, it is no easy matter to restore it.

The doctrine of the priesthood has suffered greatly from unbalanced emphasis and from reaction. Valuable truths about it have been held and taught in such a way as to obscure essential elements. A strong belief in the reality of the Divine commission and the supernatural powers of the Ministry has sometimes led to a distorted idea of separation between the clergy and Christian laymen. A firm hold on the objectivity of grace has not always been accompanied by an equally clear recollection of the need of personal spiritual life. On the other hand, the realization of the necessity of inward faith has sometimes impaired the sense of the value of external means of grace; and the knowledge that the

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whole body of Christians forms a 'priestly nation' has tended to destroy the truth that there are ordained ministerial priests with special functions and powers which are the gift of God. The true doctrine of Sacerdotalism has on the one side been distorted and on the other side been denied.

A great service to truth and morals is rendered by any competent teacher who makes a serious effort to maintain an existing balanced belief in important truth or to bring back to full consideration elements in it which have been partly or completely obscured. And the service is greater than it would be under some other circumstances if writers of acknowledged learning and power have carefully accumulated particular groups of facts without a sufficiently clear idea of principles which co-ordination of all the facts involves, or have supposed that the refutation of a distortion is destructive also of the doctrine which it misrepresents.

There are three sections of the study of the doctrine of the priesthood. There is the evidence supplied by the facts and teaching in the New Testament. There are the affirmations of doctrine and the history of the Christian Church. There are considerations based upon the general truths of Theology in its philosophical aspects.

Of these three sections it is the third which is chiefly discussed in the work recently published by the Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford, entitled *Ministerial Priesthood.* The other two sections are, indeed, never out of sight. When there is occasion Dr. Moberly shows how full and careful his study of the evidence from the New Testament and Christian antiquity has been. But the main subject of the book is that which is indicated in the preface when the author speaks of

> 'the supreme importance, for the insight of real understanding, of the underlying postulates or principles which ordinarily precede conscious argument' (p. x).

The task of considering these 'principles' in the matter of the priesthood, evidently a 'congenial' one to Dr. Moberly, has been undertaken by him partly in view of Bishop Lightfoot's famous dissertation on *The Christian Ministry.* That essay has long been felt to be unsatisfactory, if for no other reason, because the interpretation most readily placed upon it is one which its distinguished author on more than one occasion repudiated. He described Dr. Langen's 'account of the origin of episcopacy' as 'precisely similar to' his 'own,' and regarded it as possible that 'Cardinal Newman

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would agree with' him 'in' his 'historical investigation.'[1] He wrote to Canon MacColl to express his pleasure that he had not 'mistaken the purport of' his 'essay on the Christian Ministry, as so many have done,'[2] and told the same writer that

'the study of the early records of Christianity had left no doubt whatever in his mind as to the Apostolic—which, in fact, meant the Divine—origin of Episcopacy.'[3]

In the preface to the sixth edition of his commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians he stated:

'While disclaiming any change in my opinions, I desire equally to disclaim the representations of those opinions which have been put forward in some quarters. The object of the essay was an investigation into the origin of the Christian Ministry. The result has been a confirmation of the statement in the English Ordinal, "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." But I was scrupulously anxious not to overstate the evidence in any case; and it would seem that partial and qualifying statements, prompted by this anxiety, have assumed undue proportions in the minds of some readers, who emphasized them to the neglect of the general drift of the essay.'[4]

In the preface to *Ministerial Priesthood* Dr. Moberly endeavours to account for this strange failure on the part of a writer who 'did not lack the power of lucid expression' to 'express perfectly what' he 'had in mind.' He believes that the 'explanation' of the 'ambiguity' is to be found 'in the mental presuppositions, the unchallenged assumptions, the hypotheses or postulates with which' Bishop Lightfoot 'approaches the examination of the evidence,' and that 'flaws in these' 'account both for the superficial ambiguity,' 'and also for' 'the really unsatisfactory character of his argument upon the evidence.' Accordingly, he proceeds to 'formulate some half-dozen propositions, several of them of an abstract character which seem to belong to' 'the unconscious substructure of the Bishop's essay.' The underlying 'propositions' which Dr. Moberly thus supposes to have in this matter without his knowledge warped the judgment and

[1] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 376, note 1.
[2] MacColl, *Christianity in Relation to Science and Morals*, 3rd edit. preface, p. xxv.
[3] *Ibid.* p. xxxvi.
[4] Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, preface to the sixth edition, p. x.

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impaired the power of clear writing which were as a rule characteristic of Bishop Lightfoot, are as follows:

'Ends are greater than means, and means exist for ends; therefore whatever belongs to the category of means can in no case be regarded as essential. Again: the outward represents the inward, and the inward which is represented is far higher than the outward which represents it; therefore while the inward is essentially necessary for the reality of the outward, the outward is only conventionally necessary for the reality of the inward. Again: the literal and real meaning of the words sacrifice and priesthood is that which they bore in the Old Testament; by this all other applications of the words must be measured and judged. Again: if ministry is representative of the Body as a whole, then the Body as a whole, and every member thereof, must implicitly possess the right to minister. Again: a corporate or universal priesthood and a divinely and exclusively specialized priesthood are mutually incompatible ideas. Again: it will follow as a corollary that if there is for convenience a separated ministry, it cannot be matter of any crucial moment whether the ministerial authority of new ministers grows by a sort of evolution out of the life of the general Church Body, or is devolved ministerially through the action only of those who themselves have been similarly accredited as ministers before. Again: the Church is, in the first instance, a plurality of individual units, and by aggregation of these it becomes, in the second instance, subordinately, and as it were accidentally, an articulated unity' (Preface, pp. vii–viii).

From a similar point of view Dr. Moberly criticizes the recently published posthumous work by Dr. Hort entitled *The Christian Ecclesia.* A characteristic of that book is the attempt made in it to formulate the results of a purely critical investigation of the New Testament. Against the principle involved in this method Dr. Moberly energetically protests:

'It would be hard,' he says, 'to find a scholar of graver or more solid judgment than Dr. Hort. Often there is upon his words the touch of a living and illuminating enthusiasm. Yet even Dr. Hort appears sometimes so to interpret the history as if the narrative detail of historical passages could yield their fullest meaning apart from the doctrinal verities which underlie, and find partial expression in, historical detail: as if, that is, the true exegesis of Church history could be non-theological. This comes most clearly into view, when he draws negative conclusions from his text, and offers, by them, to correct traditional belief. If, for example, by this method, he claims to show that the Apostles received from our Lord no authority to govern in the Church; that there were no "ecclesiæ" as a result of St. Paul's first missionary journey in Europe; that a διάκονος had nothing to do with teaching; or that the connexion between "laying on of hands" and "ordination to ministry" was rather accidental than important; is he not, so far, misunderstanding the scope of his own

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method, and carrying it into exactly the kind of conclusions which it is inherently unable to bear? The full evidence for or against such principles as these can never be found in a textual exegesis from which theology, as such, is excluded by hypothesis' (Preface, pp. xiv–xv).

And, while admitting that the 'abuse' of the 'method described or misdescribed as *a priori*' 'is the besetting sin of whatever is artificial or narrow in ecclesiastical professionalism,' he asks to 'go back' to 'so much as was true in' it 'from an exaggeration of the so-called scientific method,' and pleads

'that the reading of history in which great vital facts, like the Incarnate Life, or the nature and meaning of the Church of Christ, are contained, does and must always so essentially depend upon the fundamental convictions of the reader that for the adequate interpretation of the written history correct mental presuppositions and principles are as indispensable as is a scholarly fidelity to the letter of the text. Spiritual narrative, as well as spiritual philosophy, is for the seeing eye and for the hearing ear; which means that something else is needed for discernment of their truth than the merely intellectual impartiality of the secular scholar or historian' (Preface, pp. xv–xvi).

In our last number we dealt at length with some of the details contained in Dr. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, and in explaining our reasons for dissenting from very much which the learned author there said, expressed the opinion that his book had been misunderstood from more than one point of view.[1] It is unnecessary for us to recur to his critical treatment of the evidence supplied by the New Testament on the subject of the Church, or to make more than a passing reference to the severe judgment since passed upon it by Canon Gore,[2] or the reply to that judgment which has appeared in the *Guardian* from the competent pen of Professor Armitage Robinson[3]; but the difference between the method adopted in *The Christian Ecclesia* and that advocated in the preface to *Ministerial Priesthood* calls for comment. It is a characteristic mark of Dr. Hort's book that he aimed at freedom from the 'associations derived from the institutions and

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1898, 'Hort's "Christian Ecclesia."'

[2] Gore, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, Note E on pp. 267–71.

[3] *Guardian*, March 9, 1898, p. 371. Compare an interesting letter from Dr. Sanday in the same paper, p. 381. Canon Gore replied to the strictures of Professor Armitage Robinson in the *Guardian* of March 16, p. 411. He admitted that some of his expressions were ill chosen, and, it seems to us, introduced somewhat unnecessarily a reference to another controversy. But he defended the substance of his criticisms with vigour and skill.

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doctrines of later times,' which the word 'Church' 'carries with it' and that he used the term 'Ecclesia' as 'the only perfectly colourless word within our reach' for a deliberate purpose.[1] It was his desire to present the evidence derived from the New Testament in a purely scientific form without allowing his statement of the facts to be influenced by presuppositions of any kind. How far he succeeded in this attempt or to what extent his treatment of some parts of the evidence was unconsciously affected by opinions of one kind or another is not the question now before us. The point with which we are now concerned is the desire and aim to be wholly uninfluenced by presuppositions. On the other hand, Dr. Moberly contends that such complete freedom from the influence of presupposition is neither possible nor desirable.

'I do not really need to plead for reading in the light of mental presuppositions; for I am convinced that it is impossible to read otherwise: but inasmuch as the whole effect of the reading will depend upon the quality of the presuppositions, whether they be true or whether they be false, I do plead that, instead of being covered up and ignored, or denied, these should themselves be most carefully measured and informed. To read with wholly erroneous presuppositions is (unless they be abandoned) necessarily to end in a perverse conclusion; whilst so to ignore the place of the presuppositions as to affect to read with none at all—even if all perversity be avoided—is almost to ensure an element, at least, of accident or of paradox in the result' (Preface, pp. xvi–xvii).

Dr. Moberly has raised a question of the highest interest and, we will add, of the greatest difficulty. Students of thought and opinion are continually confronted by the problem, Why is it that the study of the same evidence produces such different results on different minds? From one mind an intimate knowledge of Christian history demands the assertion of the doctrine of a visible Church and the necessity of episcopacy; it leads another to the rejection of both. Elaborate study causes one to see the essential features of the Papal system existing from the earliest days of Christianity; it supplies another with seemingly unanswerable arguments against the Papacy. Indefatigable collection of the facts of the Reformation in England produces in one the conviction that the English Church is the true Catholic Church in this country, and in another a contemptuous estimate of her as the result merely of earthly government and human ingenuity. Considerations like these have led some thinkers to abandon belief in objective truth altogether; they have led

[1] Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 1–2.

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others to try and rest in the system which allows least scope to individual judgment and makes the strongest claims to decide authoritatively what is true or right.

To dismiss Dr. Moberly's preface as an appeal to prejudice, as we understand has been attempted in some quarters, is to be strangely blind to currents of thought. He has challenged the possibility of investigation without presupposition, of study with a mind that is purely a *tabula rasa*; and it is due not only to his attainments and dignified position, but also to the profound interest and importance of the subject itself, that what he has written should receive full and fair consideration.

There are fundamental questions about which, sooner or later, every thinking man must make up his mind. Is there such a Being as a Personal God? Has He given any revelation of Himself to man? Is the Bible Divinely inspired? Was there ever such a Person as Jesus of Nazareth? If so, was He, and in what sense, the Son of God? Did He found a Church? If so, of what kind was it? Is there any representative of it now in the world? If so, is there one representative, or are there many? Is there any spiritual part of the nature of man? If so, what is the connexion between it and the material part of his nature? Can that which is spiritual be in any way affected by what is material? Are there Sacraments? If so, are they only pictures, or is there any virtue in them which the natural senses cannot discern? Is man immortal? If so, what is the relation of his present life to his future life? Does right really differ from wrong? If so, have we any means of knowing what is right and what is wrong?

We think we may take it for granted that the large majority of the readers of this *Review* have arrived at a decision about every one of the questions which we have just suggested. In some cases those decisions in their present form are the result of very great learning and very deep thought. In other cases the study and the thought have been far less. But it may be said that those who are thoughtful and earnest have done what they could by the exercise of all their faculties to reach true decisions. They have used their powers of intellect and feeling and prayer, acting on the knowledge within their reach, and have, somehow or other, made up their minds. They may not in all cases be quite certain about the decisions they have reached. Yet they can rest in the conviction that if they have really done their best to learn the truth, if God exists and is a God

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of goodness and power, He will accept that which they have earnestly tried to do. But whatever degree of certainty there is in their decisions, and whatever those decisions may be, they cannot end with themselves. If to the question whether there is such a Being as a Personal God the answer Yes has been given, every other question is rightly approached on the basis of the answer to the first question. At every stage in the long process of the numberless questions of Christian Theology and Christian morals, the decisions already reached are used as helps in gaining new results. It may be found as the process goes on that the new results which the earlier decisions are seen to involve are of a highly satisfying character. If that is so, they will be recognized as confirmatory evidence of what has already been accepted. On the other hand, later inferences may be felt to create difficulties which were not foreseen when the earlier answers were made. If that is so, these will be noted as reasons for reconsidering what has already been done. All through the process the mind will be alert for whatever may confirm or may lead to doubt. But at every stage, if the process is to be intellectual and logical at all, there must be the recollection and the use of the previous stage. It is simply impossible to approach the evidence on any question with a mind absolutely blank.

Englishmen are accustomed to associate fairness and impartiality of investigation with the proceedings of courts of law. Entire impartiality is looked for and found in judges of high training and wide experience. That impartiality does not mean an absence of presuppositions of every kind. The judge's training and experience have supplied him with principles which underlie merely technical learning, with knowledge of human character, with a whole attitude of mind which is of great service in the investigation of facts. There may be occasions in which the opinion of one untrained and inexperienced juror might be of more value than that of an accomplished judge. If it is so, it would be rather because of elements in his character and facts in his life than because there were no presuppositions in his mind.

If there is anything in the line of thought which we have been pursuing, it tends to show that there is much to be said for Dr. Moberly's contention that to approach a theological inquiry without presuppositions is neither possible nor desirable.

Does it follow that the method adopted by Dr. Hort is altogether wrong? It appears to us that a distinction must be made between different parts of one process of investiga-

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tion. The collection of facts and evidence in general is one part; the judgment passed upon them is another. The former part may be carried out as—if we may be allowed the word—an almost mechanical work. But if the judgment to which this is a step is to be of value, it will need to be arrived at in the light, not only of the evidence under review, but also of those principles of truth which are otherwise known. It is possible, as we have suggested before, that a result may be a revision of principles already accepted. Until cause for such revision is seen they certainly hold good. Now Dr. Hort, as it seems to us, had the strongest sense of the need of securing that the collection of evidence was complete, and the statement of it clear and full. If we are not mistaken, he was prone to attempt to carry out the later part of the process—the formation of judgment on the evidence—on methods which were appropriate to the earlier part. Such an attempt, so far as what we have been saying is true, was foredoomed to failure. To quote again Dr. Moberly's words,

'so to ignore the place of the presuppositions as to affect to read with none at all—even if all perversity be avoided—is almost to ensure an element, at least, of accident or of paradox in the result' (Preface, pp. xvi–xvii).

To a certain extent, we believe the same to be true about Bishop Lightfoot's famous essay. There can be no doubt that he was earnestly desirous to be impartial. In attempting to be so, he tried to state the evidence fully and fairly, and to judge it without presupposition. Had he recognized that evidence of the kind in question could only be properly considered when certain matters of principle had been faced and at least provisionally decided, he would, no doubt, have taken all possible pains in considering them. To have done so would, we feel sure, have been to free his pages from confusions of thought which have done harm. For, on this point also, we agree with Dr. Moberly, that the essay contains the 'unconscious substructure' which he so carefully analyses, and that, had the 'propositions' in question 'been explicitly asserted, they would have been less dangerous,' while,

moreover, in order to be explicitly asserted, they would have had to be consciously recognized, and so recognized they would have been cross-examined by the Bishop, and under cross-examination they could not but have been seriously modified' (Preface, pp. viii–ix).

In this whole matter—and the application of what we say is by no means restricted to the subject of the ministry—

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there are, in our judgment, two opposite dangers. There is the danger of resting simply upon preconceived opinions or *a priori* arguments and failing to pay attention to the scientific investigation of evidence. There is the danger also of attempting to obtain results from the mere examination of evidence and ignoring the principles of thought and the truths already held with which the evidence should be approached. Thus there is need of differing types of minds and differing methods of training. We can hardly hope to reach and firmly hold truth unless there is, on the one side, the patient and elaborate collection and critical statement of details for which scholars trained in Cambridge methods have attained a just reputation, and unless there is also, on the other side, the realization of philosophical and theological principles which has sometimes been more prominently associated with the sister University.

In so writing we are fully conscious of the debt which we owe to Dr. Hort as a thinker as well as a scholar. To ignore it would indeed be to be blind to the very high value of much in the various books which have been posthumously published. He may well be described, in Professor Armitage Robinson's words, as 'a master who has taught' 'much of the Divine mission of the Church, and of the providential growth of the Body of the Christ under the ceaseless inspiration of the Holy Ghost.'[1] Allowing for such valuable work as this, we still find ourselves again assenting to a statement in Dr. Moberly's book:

'In spite, therefore, of the stirring character of many passages in *The Christian Ecclesia*, and the great authority which is inseparable from Dr. Hort's writings, I hope it will not seem presumptuous to suggest that the volume, in its total effect, still lends itself more than enough (on what is, after all, a very important point of Christian intelligence) to what may be called the temper of theological hesitation and reserve. Under certain conditions there may be, it is true, an important place and function for the hesitating and balanced mind on questions of theology. But after all, it is not unreasonable at the present time to insist that this is only a condition of preliminary discipline. It is, after all, conviction, not balance; it is enthusiasm, not reserve; it is theological insight, not theological hesitation; it is the discernment (even, indeed, in things that are outward and practical) of essential principles of the theology of the Incarnation, which—all perils and pitfalls notwithstanding—is the true illumination and glory of the theologian' (pp. 28–9).

Dr. Moberly does not examine in set order the 'propositions' which he calls 'the unconscious substructure' of

[1] *Guardian*, March 9, 1898, p. 371.

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Bishop Lightfoot's essay. They receive, however, practical consideration in the positive teaching which he has to give. His first chapter deals with the 'nature of Church unity.' It contains much pertinent criticism of Dr. Hatch's *Organization of the early Christian Churches.* Beginning by laying down that 'the basis of a true understanding of Church ministry is a true understanding of the Church,' and that, in consequence of the Church being 'likened to a body,' 'when we inquire into the rationale of Church ministries, we are inquiring into the principle of the differentiation of functions within a single unity' (p. 1), Dr. Moberly goes on to discuss what is the true meaning of Church unity. He distinguishes between different kinds of unity. There is the unity which in its origin is simply accidental. If such unity is that which is historically true of Christianity, then

'in the first instance there was no such thing, either in fact or idea, as Church unity; but Christians were merely individual units, whom pressure of circumstances drove more and more to coalesce into a society, until by degrees the idea of the society became a leading idea of the Christian life' (p. 3).

There is a second view of unity, which regards it as the deliberate realization of an idea, in the way in which 'in associations purely human and politic' 'the idea comes first,' and 'the association which follows' 'follows only as a realization, more or less complete, of the formative idea' (p. 3). A third view of unity represents it as a

'philosophic conception, based upon the demonstrable incompleteness of the individual life, and appealing to the intellectual imagination with all the grandeur of an eternal principle, which can wait for its realization with majestic patience, just because—before realization or without it—its own ideal truth remains immovable' (pp. 5–6).

Fourthly,

'Theology has something further to add as to the origin and nature of the unity which, in their different ways, both philosophy and science have recognized. To her all being is ultimately, not an abstract personification, but a Personal Unity. The unity which the Church represents is the unity of God. It is true therefore of the Church, in the highest conceivable sense, that her unity is not to be understood as a growth which begins from below, and gradually coalesces: her unity is not the crown of an evolution which starts from disunion; the Church is one in idea whether she is one in fact or not; her ideal unity from the first is inherent, transcendental, divine: she is one essentially, as and because God is One' (p. 6).

By the phrase 'one in idea whether she is one in fact or

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not,' we presume Dr. Moberly means that the inner and essential unity which the Church has because all her members by virtue of being sacramentally united to Christ are inwardly united to one another exists whether or not there is external and visible intercommunion, and that this inner and essential unity finds its legitimate effect when such intercommunion results from it. That being so, Christians can afford to recognize, as he points out, much that is true in the lower ideas of unity:

'Human or politic accounts of Church unity only begin to be in conflict with the deeper theological theory, if or when they are used for the express purpose of superseding or contradicting that theory. . . . To the theologian these more external and secular aspects of the growth of the Church are not in any sense untrue, but they are most incomplete' (pp. 9–10).

Misunderstandings on this last point lent whatever force there was in the representation of the growth of unity in Dr. Hatch's *Organization of the early Christian Churches.* And it is important that those who defend what we believe to be the true doctrine of the Church should not confuse two different things: namely, the gift and purpose which come from God, and the human instrumentalities by means of which they are given force. For it is the clearness with which this distinction is realized which makes possible an adequate answer to any contention whereby

'the secular conditions of the development of the Church are used to discredit the idea of her transcendental unity; or at least to suggest that, whether as facts or ideas, her unity on the one hand, and her organization on the other, are, and must be, mutually incommensurable and unrelated' (p. 10).

Taking up, then, this position about the relation of the true 'theological conception' of unity to the conceptions described as 'philosophical,' and 'human,' and 'politic,' Dr. Moberly insists that there is abundant reason for affirming that the words 'I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church' are 'no statement about the accidents of history, but a profession of essential doctrine' (p. 20). He points out the inference which is rightly derived from 'the concluding words of the great High Priestly Prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ' and 'the practical appeal' of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians (pp. 7–8), and shows that this is really supported by the passages which Dr. Hatch quoted from the New Testament and from ecclesiastical writers with the intention of proving that the obligation of union was not acknow-

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ledged by Christians in the first ages of the Church. The context of the words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the custom of some is,'[1] shows that those who are thus referred to 'were fundamentally and altogether wrong.' The passage in the Epistle of St. Jude[2] is as denunciatory of 'disunion' as it is of 'profligacy.' In the five passages from the *Shepherd* of Hermas[3] the 'desire to stand, whether more or less, apart is consistently condemned as incompatible with the Christian calling,' and thus 'to be worldly and separate is to desert the truth, to be sundered from the saints, to be valueless unsightly stones, left out of the fabric of the temple of Christ,' 'to be self-approved, and therefore self-blinded, undisciplined, unloving, unspiritual.' The passage in the Epistle of Barnabas[4] 'is a reproof of the selfishness of isolation from the efforts of what ought to be a corporate life,' while the 'deliberate separation' 'from the Church' mentioned in the Ignatian Epistles 'is regarded by St. Ignatius as a question not between one or another complexion of Christianity, but between the true and the false, between reality and pretence, between being Christians in fact or only in name.'[5] The true import of the passages referred to by Dr. Hatch is to 'prove,' not 'that the idea of Church unity was an aftergrowth,' but

'(1) that any infringement of corporate unity was sternly denounced, from absolutely the earliest times of all, as incompatible with a true Christianity; and (2) that the Church contained, in respect of this (as, indeed, of the fundamental requirements of the moral law), some unworthy and ignorant members' (pp. 14–20).

The course of argument thus adopted in the first chapter of Dr. Moberly's book inevitably suggests questions about the relation of the inward to the outward. He begins the second chapter by emphatically putting aside the 'contrast' which is sometimes drawn 'between unity of spirit and unity of body.' This 'contrast,' he says,

'is not scriptural. "One Spirit; therefore not one Body," says the argument. "One Body and one Spirit," says the Scripture. Nor, apart from dogmatic phrases, can there be any doubt that, in the history which the New Testament records, the Apostles did enrol Christians into a Body, which at least aimed at unity; and did make most explicit provision for their corporate government and discipline. The very existence of apostolic authority—a background which is

[1] Heb. x. 25.
[2] St. Jude 18–20.
[3] Hermas, *Pastor*, *Vis.* iii. 6; *Sim.* viii. 8, 9, ix. 20, 26.
[4] *Ep. Barn.* iv. 10-11.
[5] St. Ignat. *Ad Magn.* 4.

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never absent from the Church of the New Testament—is, in fact, a striking witness to unity, both of fact and idea. The practical relation of St. Paul to the corporate life and discipline of the Church at Corinth will occur to every one. It has indeed been often pointed out that there could hardly be a stronger witness to the conception of external and corporate unity than is implied in the very idea of excommunication. . . . But if this thought is familiar, it may be doubted whether, in relation to the question of external order, sufficient weight is usually attached to what may perhaps without exaggeration be called the lifelong struggle of St. Paul on behalf of the corporate unity of the Church. Many aspects of his struggle with the Judaizing Christians are most familiar. Is it as familiar as it deserves to be in this aspect, as a life and death struggle against the principle of an externally divided Christianity? . . . It may be worth while, from our present point of view, to consider how simply this great anxiety of his life might have been composed, if the things which he had to urge about unity of Spirit could have frankly dispensed with unity of Body, or such doctrinal agreement as is necessary for unity of Body. . . . If he could so have interpreted his own insistence upon One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism; if he could so have understood the One Body, and the One Bread, as to allow of a Judaic Church over against the Gentile, and a Gentile Church over against the Judaic; . . . how would the sting have been taken out of a struggle which was to St. Paul, in fact, as a lifelong martyrdom; how simply might the great controversy which shook the Apostolic Church have been—not composed so much as avoided altogether from the first!' (pp. 31–4).

From this weighty illustration of the sense of the importance of external unity felt in the Apostolic age, Dr. Moberly goes on to show that the 'Divine ideal' does not 'disappear' because the 'outward expression' corresponds with it only 'imperfectly,' and the 'living community of the Church' does not fail to be the 'Kingdom of Heaven' because it is not yet 'disciplined, purified, perfected,' any more than 'Simon Bar-Jona, the affectionate but presumptuous disciple' is a different person from St. Peter as a 'saint in glory' or than any individual Christian while still sinful is a different person from the perfected saint he is to become (pp. 34–8). This leads up to one of the most valuable passages in the book, in which the 'bodily life' of an individual is declared to be 'no mere type or representation of his spiritual' life; rather, 'it *is* spiritual life, expanding, controlling, developing under bodily conditions.' Similarly, 'even when' the individual 'is recognized as essentially spiritual, yet his spiritual being has no avenue, no expression, no method, other than the bodily,' so that the fact that man 'is body' and 'is spirit' 'is not a permanent dualism,' 'a rivalry of two

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ultimate truths' 'balanced over against one another,' 'themselves unrelated,' but might be expressed 'more exactly' by saying that 'he is spirit in and through body.' The same truth holds good of the Church. 'The visible Body *is* the spiritual Church.' While 'in external truth' 'the Church is a human society, with experience chequered like the experience of human societies,' yet 'in its inner reality' 'it does not represent,' 'it *is*' 'the Kingdom of God upon earth.' From this ground it is possible to 'insist, with the utmost possible emphasis, upon the essential character of the Church as Spirit' and at the same time to recognize that the 'very reality of the Spirit' must 'express itself through definite methods and processes,' so that 'the Spirit is the meaning of the Body' and 'the Body is the utterance of the Spirit' and 'the Body of Christ, whether personal or mystical, is what Christ is, in respect of dignity' (pp. 38–43). The whole chapter is worthy of the most careful attention from any who are considering the relation of human organization to Divine gifts, of material instrumentalities to spiritual grace.

The third chapter discusses the 'relation between ministry and laity.' It treats at some length and strongly emphasizes a truth on which we had occasion to dwell in the course of our review of Dr. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia* in our last number.[1] The whole Body of the Church possesses 'the spiritual privilege, the Divine access, the life of, and with, and by, and unto God'; 'ministers specifically ordained' are 'organs of the whole Body' and 'represent and live by the life of the whole Body'; yet this 'does not mean that the rest of the Body can dispense with the organs.' If the 'rationale of ministry' is to be understood, it is of 'vital importance' to avoid the confusion of thought which has led some to suppose that because 'the ministry represents the whole Body and' 'wields' 'authorities and powers which' 'inherently belong to the collective life of the Body as a whole, therefore 'every member of the Body is equally of right a minister,' or 'if there be a distinctive right to minister it is conferred by the voice of the Body simply, without authorizing or enabling empowerment of directly and distinctly Divine ordaining' (pp. 66–73). When the real distinction between these two ideas is kept in view, the different parts of the teaching of representative writers of the early Church fall into their proper places, and it is seen that the fullest assertion of the high privileges of the whole Christian Body is compatible with the equally

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1898, pp. 317–19.

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strong assertion of the Divine appointment of a ministry by means of which those privileges are exercised.

In protesting against 'overstatement which would ultimately merge all distinction, so far as concerns any special character, or graces or powers for ministerial authorization or capacity, between ministry and laity,' Dr. Moberly is careful to protest also against any such 'exaggeration of the opposite kind' as may lead to a false conception of the ministry which should go so far wrong as to suppose—

'that the priest was holy, while the layman was not; that the priest performed God's service in the layman's stead; that the priest propitiated God on the layman's behalf; that, when the layman's time came, the priest could come in and make right his relation with God' (pp. 91–3).

There are one or two phrases in the paragraphs from which we have just quoted which we could wish slightly differently worded so as to exclude a possible misinterpretation that there is not a special awful closeness to God which is connected with the performance of priestly acts. The main thoughts are valuable and the passage ends with the admirable statement:

'The word laity . . . is a far nobler word than people imagine. It is apt to be thought of as a merely negative term. The "layman" is one who is *not* a clergyman, or (in other contexts) *not* a medical man, *not* a lawyer, *not*, in this or that, an expert. He is a "mere" layman; and a layman is a mere "not." But to Israel of old, to be "the People" of God was the height of positive privilege: and to be a layman means to be a member of "the People"—not as in modern phrase contrasted with privilege, nobility, government, &c., but as in the mouth of a devout Israelite—"the People," ὁ λαός—in contrast with the nations, the Gentiles, the heathen. It is the word of most positive spiritual privilege, the glory of covenanted access to and intimacy with God' (p. 98).

Dr. Moberly believes it to be unquestionable that Divine commission is, in one sense or another, the basis of human ministry. The most extreme form of 'anti-ecclesiastical theory' in asserting that the congregation constitutes the minister necessarily to his mind implies that 'the choice of the congregation is God's voice'; and he declares 'the idea of a secular appointment *as secular*' to be 'wholly untenable' (p. 105). When, then, this is put aside there remain three possible alternatives compatible with the assertion of Divine commission in some form. The first alternative, that the only sign of Divine appointment is in the sense in the conscience

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of an individual that God has called him to minister, is described as contrary to the whole principle by which the Church springs from the Incarnation. It cannot be supported by a reference to the call of the Old Testament prophets, since the principles of the outward or material and the inward or spiritual which the Old Testament distinguished from one another in the hereditary priesthood and the variable prophetic inspiration coalesce in the New Testament. The exceptional instance of the appointment of St. Paul bears emphatic witness to the principle which the adoption of this alternative would overthrow, since in spite of his Divine call and his strong sense of personal vocation directly from our Lord he was 'set apart by the laying on of hands of his brother "prophets" for the great missionary work to which the Holy Ghost was calling him.' If it is claimed that the *Didache* shows the existence of 'individual inspiration' 'side by side with a ministry of more regular method,' it may be answered that the authority of the *Didache* is of small value, and that even were it the case that there were 'prophets' who were 'unordained men' 'who superseded the ordained in the highest functions of their ministry,' it would by no means follow that this would be right under other circumstances, since a 'direct interposition' by God 'of the kind supposed might with perfect consistency be conceived of as a consolidation of the infantine, and yet as a dissolution of the organized, Church' (pp. 106–10). The second alternative considered, that the 'discretion' of the 'corporate Church or some portion thereof' is 'unfettered' and 'indefinite,' is said to have a 'plausible' sound, 'as if it loyally believed in the Church,' 'magnified the spiritual principle,' and conceded 'everything that could possibly be asked for upon the side of what is spiritual and real' while withholding 'nothing but technicalities, involved and obscure.' Yet it fails both theologically and historically: theologically because it is really 'a denial of the ministerial principle itself' that 'the corporate Church' acts 'only through instruments empowered to represent,' and because it is not in harmony with the analogy of the human body and its organs; historically, because it is not the case that the belief in the 'necessity of episcopal laying on of hands came in as an aftergrowth upon an earlier simplicity' (pp. 110–13). The third alternative remains. It is:

'The familiar Church view that none can be held to be divinely commissioned until he has received commission on earth from those who themselves had received authority to commission from such as

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held it in like manner before them; that is, when the matter is pressed home, that valid ministerial authority depends, upon its earthward side, upon continuous transmission from the Apostles of Jesus Christ' (p. 106).

In considering this 'traditional view' Dr. Moberly dwells first on the 'principle in its abstract form' 'quite apart from and prior to any more particular questions, either as to degrees or distinctions of ministry, or as to methods in detail by which ministerial authority is conveyed;' and he is able to show that the addition of 'the massive authority of the Church of Rome, speaking within the first century in the person of St. Clement,' [1] to the 'evidence of the Scriptural quotations' makes this general principle 'sufficiently clear' (pp. 113–25).

The well-worn subject of the 'gradations of ministry in the New Testament' is discussed with much freshness. Among specially valuable features are the emphasis given to the fact that whatever may have to be said about 'diaconate or presbyterate,' 'the background of apostolate is always assumed' 'from end to end of the Acts and Epistles' (p. 145), and the inference that passages in the First Epistle to the Corinthians 'dispose of the idea that prophets as such were a dignified order of ministry' and 'make it quite certain that *προφητεία* was rather an individual inspiration than a ministerial status' (p. 166). In the summary of the conclusions drawn from the New Testament evidence the 'gradations of ministry' are said to be the 'background of apostolate;' the 'apostolic' 'men' possessing 'quasi-apostolic rank, jurisdiction, and prerogative;' 'presbyters' 'as (under the apostolate) the established rulers, teachers, and representatives of the local communities of Christians;' 'the diaconate;' and, in addition, 'more or less cutting across these regularly constituted ministerial offices,' 'a great variety of special spiritual graces or endowments in individual Church members' from 'merely personal capacities for illustrating good qualities of the Christian life' to 'an over-ruling inspiration' (pp. 167–8).

Dr. Moberly adopts the opinion that the *Didache* is 'an altered and Christianized form of what was originally a Judaic manual.' As already noticed, he rates its authority very low. 'A Jewish manual veneered with Christianity could

[1] Dr. Moberly inclines towards the conjecture, accepted by Bishop Lightfoot, of *ἐπιμονήν* for *ἐπινομήν* in St. Clem. Ro., *Ad Cor.* i. 44: *ἐπινομήν* is, however, supported by the Latin version ('legem') in Dom Morin's *Anecdota Maredsolana*, ii. 41.

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hardly be very authoritative in the Church;' and it is rather 'a manual for the instruction of converts and lay beginners than' 'liturgical or authoritative direction to the officers of the Church' (pp. 170–3). After pointing out the resemblances and the differences between the phenomena which it presents and those presented by the New Testament, he shows the strong contrast in respect of authority between it and the letters of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius. Detailed consideration of the evidence afforded by those writers, as well as by St. Polycarp and Hermas, leads Dr. Moberly to the expression of his conviction that the essential features of episcopacy existed continuously from the times of the Apostles, and that

'as apostolate gradually disappeared, so episcopate gradually stood out into clearness of view. There is a long period of transition, in which episcopacy, *eo nomine*, may be said perhaps gradually to "emerge"—for that is consistent with the previous existence of what, though there, yet lacked explicitness and recognition; but never to be "evolved"—for that would imply that it did not, in essential completeness, exist before' (p. 218).

The seventh chapter, entitled 'What is Priesthood in the Church of Christ?' contains a damaging indictment of the 'mechanical' and 'material' views of 'a considerable section of popular unreformed thought' in the sixteenth century, and a clear recognition of the 'fierce tide of ultra-Protestant reaction' which they provoked (pp. 221–2). Dr. Moberly traces how the Ordination Services in the Pontificals show that even in the official language of the Western Church there was a marked tendency to make the idea of sacrifice so dominant as to obscure the pastoral side of the priest's office. This was the state of affairs which had to be faced alike by the Anglican Reformers and by the Council of Trent which, we are glad to notice, Dr. Moberly recognizes as having been, 'as far as it went, a reforming Council' (p. 223). Among some valuable criticisms which he makes on the work of this Council, we are not sure that he is fair in his interpretation of the phrase 'nondum ad plenum' in the chapter of the twenty-second session which describes the Mass as being offered 'non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus, sed et pro defunctis in Christo nondum ad plenum purgatis,'[1] and the corresponding phrase in the Catechism of the Council.[2] These phrases may indeed

[1] *Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxii. De sacrific. Missæ, cap. 2.

[2] *Cat. Conc. Trid.* II. iv. 77, 'omnibus etiam fidelibus, sive illi nobiscum in terris vivant, sive iam in Domino mortui nondum plane expiati sint.'

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be open to other objections; we doubt whether they necessarily imply a wrong conception of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. If there is any unconscious want of fairness here, it is the more to be regretted because of the general soundness of the contention that, in view of the idea of the priesthood which had become common, the attitude of the Council of Trent was of such a kind as to 'open the way to misconceptions of a very serious kind' (p. 234), or rather to abstain from closing the way which was already open.

What, then, was the work of the Anglican Reformers in the same matter? Dr. Moberly wisely does not go out of his way to contend that 'the Anglican Ordinal represents' 'in every particular' 'the highest perfectness of proportion or expression that is ideally possible,' or 'to deny that some traces of the great influence of the Protestant reaction are discernible in it,' or that the restoration of a somewhat richer and more generous fullness in some 'respects' such as 'the formal delivery of the chalice and paten' and 'direct mention of Eucharistic "offerings" or "sacrifice"' would enhance the beauty of the 'service alike from the historical and from the theological points of view' (pp. 288-9). But he, no less wisely, lays great stress on the significance of the 'deliberate retention' 'of the three Orders' and of the word Priest 'in the midst of the rising tide of destructive Protestantism,' and in view of the 'exaggerations' to which 'Cranmer had himself been prepared to go some years earlier in the direction of denying the spiritual character of Order,' and the 'close fidelity to the language of Scripture' which 'was always to the Reformers a palmary object' (pp. 234-8). And he clearly avows his

'conviction that the Anglican Ordinal has gained something far more vital and substantial than anything that it can be supposed to have lost; it has restored, in the main, what had been gradually lost in the accretions of the mediæval Ordinal, the true *proportion* between the outward and the inward; it has restored the essential relation and harmony between Eucharistic leadership—with all that it involves—and a right conception in Christ's Church of the meaning of ministerial priesthood as a whole' (p. 289).

An abandonment of the word 'priest' in the sixteenth century would, says Dr. Moberly, have been 'deeply and perilously wrong' (p. 239). He justifies this assertion by showing that the conception of the Christian religion which is presented in the New Testament and the earliest Fathers is sacrificial (pp. 263-82). In so doing he repudiates the idea that to understand the true meaning of the words 'priest' and

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'sacrifice' it is necessary to 'go back' 'to what they meant in the Old Testament,' or 'in the ancient pagan world,' or 'in the mouths of those who may be supposed to have first devised the terms.' So far from this being the case, the true meaning of them is only to be seen in the Person of Christ. In considering the sacrifice of Christ Dr. Moberly avoids two opposite mistakes. He does not deny that the 'entire life' of our Lord 'in mortal flesh was a sacrifice,' and he asserts that, though 'Calvary' was 'the indispensable preliminary' of the 'true consummation of the sacrifice,' that 'true consummation' itself was 'not Calvary taken apart' or 'Calvary quite so directly as the eternal self-presentation in Heaven of the risen and ascended Lord' (pp. 243–6). For the truth about sacrifice is:

'It is not the death itself which is acceptable to the God of life: but the vital self-identification with the holiness of God, the perfect self-dedication and self-surrender which is represented, in a life that has sinned' [or, in the case of our Lord, a life which is the sin-bearer], 'by voluntary acceptance of penitential or penal death. It is the life as life, not the death as death; it is the life which has been willing to die, the life which has passed through death, and been consecrated in dying, the life in which death is a moral element, perpetually and inalienably present, but still *the life*, which is acceptable to God' (p. 245).

From this conception of the priestly work of Christ follows a corresponding truth about the office of the Church. For 'what Christ is, the Church, which is Christ's mystical body, must also be.' 'If Christ is Priest, the Church is priestly.' So in the New Testament 'priestliness of character is a consequence which outflows upon the Church from the Person of Christ' (p. 251). This 'sacrificial priesthood of the Church is' 'her identification with the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ'; 'in her Eucharistic worship on earth' 'she' 'is identified with His sacrificial self-oblation to the Father.' Further, this 'identification' 'means the reproduction in her of the Spirit of Him who sacrificially offered Himself' (pp. 254–5). Therefore the sacrificial office of the Church has 'two aspects.' She is 'priestly because from her proceeds the aroma of perpetual offering towards God' and also 'because her arms are spread out perpetually to succour and intercede for those who need the sacrifice of love' (pp. 255–6). Similarly, the priesthood of the ministry has two aspects: 'its highest typical expression, the mystical culmination of its executive privilege' is its 'leadership in Eucharistic worship,' but in this are involved 'many corollaries of spirit and life—the bearing of the

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people on the heart before God; the earnest effort of intercessory entreating; the practical translation of intercession into pastoral life, and anxiety, and pain' (p. 261).

It is, of course, true that, as the Eucharistic Sacrifice has its meaning because of the Real Presence of the Lord upon the Altar, so also the minister of Christ is a priest because he is empowered to offer that sacrifice. But, as is pointed out in the work before us, 'the higher you go in the grade of responsible office, the less is it true' that you can define the office simply by the 'external duty of action.' It would be a very imperfect description of a great viceroy to define his office simply by the things which he and no one else can do. No one would 'dream of really defining the sovereignty as the prerogative of signing pardons, or of subscribing statutes, or anything whatever of the kind,' while it is manifest that

'the real nature of the meaning of his mighty office could only be described, with any approach to adequacy, by emphasizing responsibilities and duties which were *not* strictly distinctive of the personal sovereignty, because they were shared with the viceroy (of course in very varying degrees) by every one of those who, under him, were responsible for the welfare of the country' (pp. 294–7).

There is an Appendix on 'the recent Roman controversy as to the validity of Anglican Orders.' Into any details on this subject it is unnecessary that we should enter after the full treatment which it has recently received in our pages.[1] The special point which Dr. Moberly emphasizes is closely connected with the general character of his book. It is that the Roman Catholic and the English Churchman approach the question from different points of view, the Roman Catholic from a narrowed and cramped conception of the priesthood, the English Churchman from a more adequate realization of the true Christian idea. We should be sorry to say that the first half of this statement is true of all Roman Catholics any more than we can claim that the latter half of it is true of all English Churchmen; that it is true of many Dr. Moberly certainly shows, and the force of what he says is strongly supported by the public utterances of Cardinal Vaughan, and has received a significant confirmation in the *Vindication of the Bull 'Apostolicæ Curæ,'* which has been published by the English representatives of the Pope. And in the matter of intention, on which so much is now said to depend, it may not be out of place for us to point out that, whatever might or might not be the opinions of the English

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, January and April 1896, 'Anglican Orders'; January 1897, 'The Papal Bull on Anglican Orders.'

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Reformers on certain doctrines or matters of detail, it is at least certain that they intended to 'continue' those 'Orders of Ministers' which had been 'in Christ's Church' 'from the Apostles' time'[1] and to secure the existence of such Ministers as our Lord Himself had intended should be in His Church.

We have said enough to show our high appreciation of Dr. Moberly's work. Any criticisms we have to pass upon it are almost wholly those of method. Questions raised in the preface might well be discussed at length in a book, and the treatment of them suffers from the absence of expansion and explanation. The work generally is under the disadvantage of not corresponding with the 'original design' and of having 'been meant to form part of a much larger whole' (Preface, p. v). The phraseology of many passages is unnecessarily complicated and involved, and there is a danger of this fault discouraging some readers and embarrassing others. There are paragraphs and pages we would gladly see altogether rewritten. The power of the author's thought is not always reflected in his style.

To show that the common opposition between the spiritual and the outward is an altogether false antithesis; to explain that the more strongly the priestly character of the whole Christian Body is realized, the more logically and the more fully can the priesthood of the ministry be asserted; to vindicate for the Church of Christ the rightfulness of true sacerdotalism and for the Church in England the possession of a real priesthood—these are among the main objects of the present book, and its author's treatment of his chosen subjects merits the most careful reading and consideration from all English-speaking theologians.

ART. II.—BUTLER OF WANTAGE.

Life and Letters of William John Butler, late Dean of Lincoln, and sometime Vicar of Wantage. With portraits. (London and New York, 1897.)

THE pastoral care of the parish of Wantage was 'the chief work of [William Butler's] life' (p. 36), and while the strong character of the man could not but reveal itself wherever he was and whatever he did, it was at Wantage, for thirty-four years of strenuous labour, that he devoted the prime of his

[1] Preface to the Ordination Services in the Book of Common Prayer.

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manhood 'to teach, and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they [might] be saved through Christ for ever.'[1] In his own words, humorously but most truly said, 'Wantage was written on his heart as Calais was on Queen Mary's' (p. 163). It was there that he placed before the clergy of such places as Wantage was—the country towns of the South of England—the pattern which is described in the language of the ordinal. He did at Wantage for the south what Dr. Hook did at Leeds for the great industrial centres of the north[2]—showed that the lofty exhortation of the Ordination Service could be translated into reality. If we may borrow a word from Dean Burgon, Butler's unsuccessful opponent at the proctorial election for Convocation in the Oxford diocese on February 21, 1874 (the anniversary of Newman's birthday) (p. 281), we may call Butler the 'remodeller' of the parson of the country town, as Burgon styled Bishop Wilberforce the 'remodeller of the Episcopate.'[3] We are sure that we shall take a right view of Butler's life—one that he would have acknowledged to be right and wished to be taken, and one, we must add, on which it is important to insist very strongly in these days—if we regard him as a plain parish priest, simply fulfilling to the utmost of his power what he believed to be the duty of a parochial clergyman. His earlier life, as a child, at school and Cambridge, and as a young clergyman, contains some incidents and marks of character of which we shall see the development at Wantage. The honours which came to him in the Oxford diocese, and the posts of dignity at Worcester and at Lincoln, will be regarded from this point of view as the natural though the late recognition of his Wantage work.

William John Butler was born on February 10, 1818, and was brought up religiously in the school of old-fashioned, orthodox Churchmanship. 'During a thunderstorm, when he was between three and four years of age, he was heard to repeat the collect 'Lighten our darkness' (p. 2), an early indication of his fidelity to the Prayer Book. From school at Westminster he went as a scholar to Trinity College, Cambridge, and having no taste for mathematics decided not

[1] Exhortation in *The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests.*

[2] Canon Overton says that Butler, 'as an efficient and successful priest at Wantage, almost rivalled Dr. Hook at Leeds' (*The Anglican Revival*, p. 142).

[3] *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, ii. 1. Compare the testimony of the Rev. W. G. Sawyer on p. 94; and see Church's *Occasional Papers*, ii. 334.

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to waste time in learning what he disliked, as in later life he was fond of dissuading younger men from spending their energies on any work which they knew would fail. In 1838 his mother, who died at the age of ninety-one in 1884 (p. 310), wrote to him and said, 'I should have felt better pleased had you on the day of Mr. Simeon's funeral made the attendance upon it instead of your water excursion' (p. 14). At Cambridge he smoked, but never after his ordination, and he was a vehement opponent of the practice among the clergy. 'Mr. Keble never did' was, he thought, an unanswerable argument (pp. 11, 220, 353). He was ordained deacon in 1841, having received a title from the Rev. Charles Dyson, rector of Dogmersfield in Hampshire.[1] Mr. Dyson at the age of twenty-four became Rawlinsonian Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, but relinquished the post upon his ordination. He was an admirable and deeply-learned parish priest, and both by his example and instruction he exercised a great influence over Butler's mind and clerical life (see especially p. 236), and to him Butler owed his acquaintance with Keble, Manning, Henry Wilberforce, and Marriott. References to Mr. Keble frequently occur, and we can only summarize them by saying that Keble was the great hero of Butler's life. We must allude to the letter on Keble which Butler wrote to Mr. Lock (pp. 236–9), which contains the interesting fact that Butler introduced Liddon to Keble, and we will observe that if anyone will turn out all the passages on the pastoral office in the *Christian Year*, which are numerous, he will have before him the portrait which Butler reproduced with such striking success.[2]

[1] 'He was,' says the Warden of Keble in his biography of *John Keble*, 'perhaps the most intimate of all' Keble's friends at Corpus, 'the fastidious critic, the wise, cheering, cultured friend, whose influence was mainly effectual in procuring the publication of the *Christian Year*, and whom Keble seldom omitted to consult at important moments of his life.' One of his nicknames was 'the venerable Bede' (pp. 5, 7).

[2] The following list is nearly complete :—The poem on Ordination, and the address to Ordination candidates in the poem for Tuesday in Whitsun Week. Priests as shepherds, Christmas, stanza 9, 5 Lent 4; 25 Trinity 4, 5; as messengers of God, St. Matthias 11; as unfaithful heralds, Thursday before Easter 4; as murderers of souls, 1 Easter 2; as Aaron's seed, 5 Easter 6; as God's chosen seed, St. Matthias 10; as fishers of men, 5 Trinity 3; the life of Priests, 2 Advent 6, 7; bearing the cross, Evening 11; listening to sorrow, Tuesday in Easter Week, 12; visiting, *ibid.* 14; consoling, St. Luke 15; in their work, 19 Trinity 8; holding the keys, St. Peter 18; blessing, Sunday before Advent 6; speaking lives, St. John Baptist 9; speaking and not hearing, 8 Trinity 11; restlessness reproved, 1 Easter; their Intercessor, 5 Easter.

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He was ordained priest in 1842, and in the following year he married. Occasional glimpses of his married life enable us to see how continuous, how strengthening, and how valuable were the sympathy, the sense, and the business capacity of his wife, a woman who was well-nigh as fine an example of a clergyman's wife as was her husband of a clergyman. His mother had described him as 'averse to the routine of bookkeeping' (p. 15), and it is curious that his wife 'kept not only all the domestic but also the parochial accounts, setting her husband absolutely free from all financial cares, so that he used humorously to relate how that since his marriage he had only once drawn a cheque, which was returned with the comment 'Signature not known' (p. 367). All her help was 'quietly and effectively' given (p. 219), and the description of the golden wedding (p. 364) shows what the husband and wife were to each other. His attitude towards women was 'chivalrous.'

'His ideal of Christian womanhood was a very high one, and if he strongly deprecated any approach to publicity in woman's work, it certainly was not that he depreciated their powers, but that he feared for them the loss of the delicate refinement, the purity, the humility which he held to be their distinguishing and characteristic virtues, "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit"' (pp. 305–6).

He was 'most thankful' for Dr. Liddon's utterances on this subject, and wrote to him:

'It is to my mind by far, and beyond all comparison, the saddest feature of this generation, that women are claiming, and are encouraged to claim, a position which is not intended for them; and that they do not perceive the inevitable consequence, that while they never can emulate men in men's work, and can at best be poor imitators, they will lose that most grand power and influence which are really and by God's providence their own' (p. 307).

In 1844 Butler was appointed as incumbent of the newly-formed parish of Wareside. He says:

'The people here seem hardly to feel Christmas Day. I observed that they wore their working-day clothes, and a very scanty attendance at church in proportion to that on Sundays. This seems to be the case very generally throughout the country. The people have utterly lost sight of the great Christian feasts, and with them the knowledge of the mighty events they celebrated' (p. 28).

In the beginning of 1847 he took up his residence at Wantage. When he went to see the place before accepting the benefice he writes to his wife that the sermon of the curate in charge 'was drier than hay. Not a word of sense in

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it. I only wonder so many people can sit through such discourses. I was as fidgety as possible, and were I likely to undergo such things continually I must join one of the sects with which Wantage is rife. Lengthy, too. "This leads me to consider," and all that' (p. 37). But he says that he likes 'the looks of the people' though 'they speak a very rough dialect' (p. 38). He speaks, quite in the spirit of Bishop Bull's Visitation sermon 'concerning the great difficulty and danger of the priestly office,' with 'terror[1] . . . . in undertaking so fearful a work as the charge of 3,000 souls, who at present are in a most unsatisfactory condition. . . . These market towns . . . . are the very most [*sic*] troublesome, most painful spots of Christ's heritage, the Church of England. Not a clergyman engaged in them but will tell you that his heart sinks within him' (pp. 39, 40). When there were funerals the apathy and irreverence of the people made him rather down-hearted,[2] and the churchyard was in an abominable state (pp. 46–7). The place had an evil reputation and was called 'black Wantage,' though King Alfred[3] and Bishop Butler had been born there. In December 1847 it had 'two inns, three tailors and drapers, one policeman, a brace of watchmen, and gas-lamps,' but it was 'little better than streets of farm-houses confronting each other, with flocks and herds feeding out in the rear' (p. 55).

The new Vicar began work at once, and a church and school were built at Charlton, a small hamlet about a mile from the parish church; a chapel for the workhouse, built by the Rev. T. A. Houblon, was accepted as a chapel of ease to Wantage; a cemetery with a chapel was provided; a new vicarage and a girls' school were built. The spiritual fabric, too, began to rise. A weekly celebration of the Holy Communion was justified by the increased number of communicants, and the daily services were begun and attended

[1] He had grasped the significance of St. Augustine's words, that 'nothing is easier than the ministerial office discharged in a perfunctory and men-pleasing temper, but nothing in the sight of God more wretched, woeful, damnable' (*Epist.* 21).

[2] Burgon describes the parish clerk of the period, who comes forward in a business-like manner, 'gathers up a handful of stones and gravel, and having sent the pebbles pattering down on the hollow coffin, retires cleaning his hands by coolly rubbing them on his breeches.' *A Treatise on the Pastoral Office*, p. 371, a work full of humour, and containing innumerable vivid touches of bygone times, regarding pastoral studies, sermons, visiting, schools, and miscellaneous administration—far in front of what was common when it was published.

[3] At Lincoln the Dean lectured on Alfred the Great to a Nonconformist audience at the hall attached to an Independent chapel (p. 329).

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by some old men and women with regularity (pp. 56–62, 71). Nothing was done rashly or violently; there were no sudden changes; no startling novelties were forced upon the people, and the distinction was carefully drawn between what was essential and what was not. Collective teaching was supplemented by diligent personal interviews, and at length the restoration of the parish church was an accomplished fact, though only after troublous times. The Gorham judgment, the defection of Manning and those who were led to follow him, the animosity of sinners who had been rebuked, the opposition of a Wesleyan preacher[1] and a strong party of Dissenters,[2] and the death of his eldest daughter, made up a heavy burden. But on July 30, 1857, the Parish Journal,[3] which was the chronicle of parochial events, contains the entry: 'A day much to be remembered, as by God's mercy an end and a beginning—an end of the old degraded, ungodly state of God's house, which could not but act for evil on the hearts of our folk; and the beginning of comeliness, fitness, and beauty' (p. 90).

We now see Butler entering into the full and continuous work of his incumbency, and it is time to take notice of the broad foundation of principles and the practical features of organization which made his labours what they were. We are bound, however, first to say that the construction of the biography does not lend much assistance to such a survey. It was a misfortune that no single biographer could be found to place his name upon the title-page, and take the sole responsibility of the work. In the preface, signed 'A. J. B.,' we are told that 'the method of pretty wide co-operation' has been adopted. This has led to some very interesting contributions if the general result suffers from the lack of unity. 'Recollections' have been incorporated from Archdeacon Pott, of Butler's diocesan work (p. 50), and from Canon Carter, of a somewhat more general character (p. 94); from Lord Wantage, of his work as a chaplain of Volunteers (p. 122); from Miss Yonge, of the Wantage life as it would strike a friend upon a visit (p. 286). A longer and more responsible contribution is made by the Rev. V. S. S. Coles, who confesses that when he went as an assistant curate to

[1] He 'took panic and went away' when the small-pox came (p. 343).

[2] Dissent in this case 'had not stepped into the breach' when the Church was idle (p. 71).

[3] This was a parish diary, kept with scrupulous minuteness, to record 'facts concerning the spiritual and bodily welfare of the parishioners of Wantage, observations on the cottages, wages, rents, marks of progression, marks of retrogression, and the like' (pp. 106-7).

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Wantage his sympathies were entirely with those who wished to 'bring things on' (p. 176), and who spoils one of the most interesting chapters of the book by too many efforts to minimize the distance between Butler and the modern Ritualists (p. 174), although he makes some obvious admissions of it, as on pp. 207–8. Lady Alwyne Compton supplies some materials in the chapter which covers Butler's life at Worcester (p. 301); and Canon Maddison, aided by Canon Fowler, is the chief contributor for the closing period at Lincoln (p. 318). The reader will frequently find himself stopping to think whose words he is reading, and he is carried backwards and forwards a good many times in the course of the book, to his discomfort.[1] But the distinguishing marks of the Wantage work can be collected from all these scattered reminiscences,[2] and we will now mention what appear to us to be the most striking.

We notice with great satisfaction that fidelity to the Prayer Book as interpreted upon the early Tractarian lines[3] is plainly shown by the evidence of facts to be the dominating principle of Butler's work. Proof of that is abundant in all directions, even from his childhood (p. 2). He said, 'There is nothing like Church teaching to make children grow up in the right road' (p. 307). Again: 'How well our Wantage lads do in London! Why? Because they have learnt the real gospel—not the sham thing that people call the gospel,[4] all feelings and rubbish—but the gospel which Christ taught, which commands men to use the means of grace, to accept the ministration of God's ministers, and to obey the Church' (p. 342). He was never tired of urging the duty of working the Church system as laid down in the Prayer Book (p. 375), and looked 'on the following out of such a system as the Prayer Book suggests, in its unpretentiousness and simplicity, as of infinitely more value in the great battle with evil than some of the more showy efforts of the present day' (p. 387). He never availed himself of any odious Shortened Services

[1] Many stray matters of interest are to be found: such as the opening of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (p. 62); a letter from Bishop Philpotts (p. 83); incidents in the life of Manning (pp. 133, 238); and an allusion to Bishop Forbes (p. 219).

[2] The index is for this purpose hopelessly inadequate.

[3] Canon Overton says that Butler 'was more of the Oxford Tractarian than of the old High Church type,' and he names Wantage as one of the parishes where 'the peculiar stamp of the Anglican revival may be traced (*The Anglican Revival*, pp. 142, 218).

[4] 'What people are pleased to call "undenominational teaching" . . . means something *against* the Church' (p. 306).

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Act, and was a staunch supporter of the 'old English custom' of a celebration of the Holy Communion on Good Friday (p. 357). In politics, if a man was patriotic and a Churchman, he was satisfied, and quoted, 'He loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue' (pp. 361–2).[1] He regarded the Church and her services as Mr. Keble did (p. 70) as a preparation for eternity. But he was very far removed from the new ideas of some modern Churchmanship. He saw the dangerous possibilities of irreverence in choral midday celebrations of the Holy Mysteries before a mixed congregation (p. 206). It seemed to him that the determination to make out a new religion, '*e.g.* the enforcement of fasting Communion, the making confession a matter of salvation, or at least a duty, for every soul—besides a heap of ritualistic practices, some of the queerest kind . . . . must naturally kindle a correlative antagonism which will not stop till it has caused great damage far and wide' (p. 210). He was alarmed by undue 'emotional expression at missions' (p. 340); by the substitution of faith in individuals for faith in the Church system (p. 354); by the new notion of fasting as a matter of formal obedience instead of a practice of discipline and self-denial (p. 374); by infringements upon the old-fashioned mode of Sunday observance (p. 384); by modern contempt for episcopal authority (pp. 212–3). He had no patience with wilfulness and private fancies, and used constantly to urge the carrying out in its thoroughness of the system of the Church which entrusted us with a commission (p. 374). Although he did not exclude the material concerns of his parishioners from his pastoral care—their gas, their cottages, their sanitation, their thrift, their clubs (pp. 73, 121–2), yet those who compared his work with that of other men in similar positions were struck by 'the freedom of his life from those half secular employments which so often intrude upon time due to the highest ends' (p. 219). He always declined to become a magistrate, saying that 'preachee preachee and floggee floggee' were incompatible occupations. As a result 'it seemed always possible for the head of the parish to seek first the kingdom of God' (*ib.*). In this respect Butler stands out as a splendid example to the clergy of an age in which temporal interests are making insidious and devastating inroads into the kingdom of supernatural life. He found time to read the Fathers, too,[2] and had his Cyprian ready for

[1] He admired such men as Mr. E. Stanhope (p. 368) and Sir Charles Anderson (p. 334), and preached the funeral sermon for them both.

[2] 'The country parson hath read the fathers also' among 'accessory

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a Papal argument (p. 195), or could adorn a sermon with an extract from St. Chrysostom (p. 238). He 'took a glass of ale' himself (p. 37), and boldly opposed all the three great remedies of temperance reformers—legislation, a Church Temperance Society, and total abstinence for everyone (p. 386). His standpoint towards many modern methods, practices, and developments could be copiously illustrated from the pages of the *Lincoln Diocesan Magazine*, a source of information which has not been utilized in this biography as it deserved. We will only refer for this part of our subject to a lecture upon Mr. Mackonochie,[1] and to a very characteristic letter of unmistakeable authorship, signed 'Sexagenarius,' in which certain unnecessary irregularities are contrasted with Tractarian fidelity to the Prayer Book, and the strong point of which was not really met by a witty reply from 'A Harvester,' who urged that Jordan overflowed his banks all the time of harvest.[2] Before we leave this matter of Tractarianism we must observe that Butler possessed much of that grave austerity, that restrained demeanour, that distrust of mere feelings which marked the lives of the greatest Tractarians. 'Now, Walter,' he said to a visitor who was to spend a fast day at Wantage, 'you will have nothing but bread and salt to-morrow I don't call it a fast to have salt fish and sauce, and then other things as well' (pp. 29, 30). He was as 'hard as nails' to himself (p. 86), and, as more than one friend observes, he 'set his face like a flint' (pp. 85, 222) when duty had to be done. All his life he was an early riser (pp. 109, 130, 347, 356). 'To try to become far more self-denying than I have ever been before' was his resolve when he went to Wantage (p. 40). Hard work and little show was ever the mark of his life (p. 131). He always aimed at combining strictness and an almost stern manner with kindliness and geniality in training those under his care[3] (p. 159), and

knowledges,' says George Herbert ('*A Priest to the Temple*, or the country parson, his character and rule of holy life,' chap. v.). Among Patristic writings on the pastoral office should be mentioned St. Ambrose, *De Officiis Ministrorum*; St. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* ii.; St. Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*; and St. Gregory the Great, *De Cura Pastorali.*

[1] *Op. cit.* March 1888, p. 169.

[2] *Ibid.* May 1887, p. 6, and June 1887, p. 25.

[3] 'There was another side to this strong, and as it appeared to those who knew him only superficially, somewhat stern character: a depth of untold tenderness, a sympathy, womanlike in its gentleness, which was called forth at once by suffering or sorrow; it is difficult to touch upon this without lifting the veil that should cover the sanctities of the hidden life; but those who have felt it, perhaps first learned from him that the word comfort means strength, and think of him as, above all, a very St. Barnabas, a son of consolation' (p. 305).

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he set up religion as a strong stern thing in his addresses at retreats (p. 168). When he compared the laxity of the present age with the times of Keble, Pusey, and Marriott, he would quote such texts as 'Endure hardness' (p. 170). He refers to Newman's sermon on the use of excited feelings[1] (p. 377), and says that 'the great thing is simply to be desirous to *do* God's will' (p. 378). In all these instances Butler was steeped in the true older Tractarian spirit, and evidence of the same point may be found in his attitude towards the controversies connected with the Gorham judgment (p. 75), Confession (pp. 184, 359), and Bishop Colenso (p. 223).

We pass on to notice, also with great satisfaction, that in Butler's view of pastoral work the schools occupied a foremost place.[2] From the first he regarded the efficiency of the schools, both as to teaching and fabric, as of primary importance. He visited the schools daily. He or one of his staff always opened the school with the form of prayer which he compiled. He held a daily class for pupil teachers, and received a weekly report from the whole of the school staff on the week's work. So much care did he bestow on the building plans of the schools, which were erected in 1849, that no structural change was required until the 'cloak-room and hat-peg' order of 1894 (pp. 111–2). It was for educational work that he originally wished to establish a sisterhood at Wantage. The story of that establishment is told in a separate chapter of singular interest (p. 127), and although the work claimed a large share of Butler's life and interests, we prefer to make it subordinate to the even greater interest of the schools. We shall not therefore describe in detail how Butler came to be involved in Penitentiary work (p. 133), nor how the effects of secessions to Rome were stemmed by his indomitable will and loyalty to the Church of England (p. 139), nor how the work of the community developed until at the time of his death there were thirty-four different branches of it—nine of the nature of Penitentiary work, thirteen educational, and the remainder parochial and various

[1] *Paroch. Serm.* vol. i. p. 112; *cf.* the sermon in the same volume on 'religious emotion,' p. 177.

[2] On the subject of the schools, again, Burgon's contrast between the magnificence of the theory and the imbecility of the practice in those days is racy in the extreme (*Treatise on the Pastoral Office*, p. 244). We lay great stress on the practical value of studying the *history* of elementary education in this country in such books as Archdeacon Denison's *Notes of My Life*. See also the *School Guardian* for June 9, 1888, and Mr. Cutts's article on Education in the *Dictionary of the Church of England*.

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(156). These details really belong to the history of religious communities. While we fully recognize that Butler stands side by side with Canon Carter in his great work for Anglican sisterhoods, what we are now concerned to bring out is the vast importance which Butler attached to Church schools. 'Well organised schools lie at the very foundation of all good parochial work.' 'No cajolement or threat should induce the pastor to suffer his schools to pass from the hands of the Church.' 'The battle of the Church is to be fought in the schools' (p. 388). These are sentences in the truth and wisdom of which we most profoundly believe; and if the clergy of the Church of England neglect the duty of patient, regular, and sound teaching in their parish schools, if they cease to train their pupil teachers, and to win the masters and the mistresses to love and serve the Church, they will imperil the very existence of the Church in the land. Butler's example is most precious in this respect, and we trust that the wide circulation of his biography will do something to increase the number of his imitators. It is our earnest wish that all the clergy would be as diligent in their schools as he was, that they would watch for possible pupil teachers among the elder boys and girls, and train them to look upon the elementary schools as some of the fairest fields of labour for the loyal servants of the Church.[1]

The present tendency to remodel the Sunday teaching of the young by some more or less free adaptation of the Dupanloup system, in which the Rev. S. Jones has taken so large a part, and the increasing pressure on the time of schoolmasters and mistresses which makes them less physically able to help on Sundays, though we hope not less desirous than of yore, has shaken to some extent the confidence of many in the value of Sunday schools. There is some danger of sweeping away too much of that which is good, in the effort to make the church and not the school the centre of Sunday instruction for the young. Those who feel this, while they recognize the primary place which the Prayer Book gives to catechising in church, will turn with interest to Butler's opinion. But it should be borne in mind that the two tendencies which we have mentioned as bearing upon Sunday schools had not gathered so much force when Butler was at Wantage as in the last few years. He quotes

[1] The Bishop of Gloucester quotes some disheartening figures on this topic, but also provides some very bracing remedies, in *Foundations of Sacred Study*, First Series, p. 26 (London, 1893): an extremely valuable and opportune deliverance. A second series appeared in 1895.

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a striking letter from a schoolmaster who did not like to be "deposed from the position of head-master for the first day of every week,' and comments upon it by saying that on Sunday the day school should be carried on, *mutatis mutandis*, under its natural teachers, while the Sunday school under its voluntary teachers, consisting of children who only attend on Sunday, should be held in a separate room, or better still, as so many separate classes in private houses (p. 389). This system was carried out at Wantage as early as 1848, and the Vicar himself took a class of choir-boys and tradesmen's sons at his own house (pp. 112, 113).

From loyal fidelity to the Prayer Book and unremitting care for parochial schools we pass to the subject of pastoral visits. Butler's many years' experience of this work is set forth in his own best manner on p. 118 (compare pp. 388-9). He never exposed himself to the danger of being incomprehensible on Sundays because he was invisible on week days. 'Nothing at all, no fine preaching, nor overflowing soup kettle, nor system of assiduous district visitors, brings the people to church like the regular loving visit of the parson.' 'Visit, visit, visit, not by proxy, but in person, face to face and heart to heart, should be the parson's rule.' The members of his classes were visited before each meeting, and absent members visited again afterwards. All kinds of people were visited, and this persistent effort after personal contact with his flock appears not only throughout the Wantage life, but also at Worcester, where he soon 'knew the history of every verger and workman about the Cathedral' (p. 302), and at Lincoln, where he sought out the Cathedral workmen and 'brought them to Confirmation and the Holy Communion' (p. 319). This kind of diligence is further illustrated by the remarkable way in which Butler seized hold of stray opportunities of influence. On Ascension Day, 1871, after a heavy day which began with a celebration at 4 A.M. he says:

'Coming home at night I found the iron bridge filled with young men. This is a great evil. They make unpleasant remarks, &c., to girls and others passing by. I spoke to them about this; and as they did not seem inclined to move, I took out my Prayer Book, read the Gospel for Ascension Day, and preached them a short sermon. This answered well. I wished them good-night, and as I entered my garden they all walked away, responding to me in a very friendly tone' (p. 115).[1]

[1] This was quite in the spirit of Keble's line 'All waters must be tried' (*Christian Year*, 5 Trinity 11). Compare the story of St.

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Even his accidents[1] he used as opportunities of doing good (pp. 279, 335), and on one occasion, not recorded in the biography, we saw him use five minutes in the corner of a crowded vestry with a former parishioner, thus:—'Well, John, how are you? Are you married? How many children have you? Are they all baptized? Teach them to say their prayers, to go to church on Sundays, and to be regular communicants once a month, and then they will not go far wrong. Good bye; I am glad to have seen you. God bless you.'

As his schools were the nurseries of the baptized until their Confirmation, so the aim of his visiting was to draw his people into the communicants' classes which were a great, and in some respects a peculiar, feature of his work. He describes these classes (pp. 107, 388) as numerous, meeting regularly in the vicarage itself, carefully divided according to the age and condition of their members. From the biography we can gather little as to the subjects which formed his addresses to these classes. But in a paper on their management which is full of practical wisdom he says enough to indicate the line which he was accustomed to take.[2] These classes covered much of the ground which is now occupied in many parishes by guilds, and in Butler's mode of working them involved intense and unremitting labour. He so stamped them with his own strong individuality that anyone who reads his description of them with a view to guidance will do well to remember that David cannot fight in Saul's armour and that, in the homely phrase, every man must stand on his own bottom.

Noting in passing that at Wantage foreign missions were rightly regarded as an integral portion of the Church's work (p. 113), and that a very definite but kindly attitude was assumed towards Dissenters (pp. 117, 120), we will conclude our remarks upon the chief features of the Wantage system by alluding to Butler's choice of colleagues and his relations with them. The chief sketch of his relations with his 'brethren,' as he was wont to call his assistant curates, is given by the Rev. W. G. Sawyer (p. 92). From this and from other stray allusions (pp. 217, 296, 347) we

Aldhelm, who, on the authority of Alfred the Great, took his station on the bridge at Malmesbury and glided from minstrelsy into a more serious strain (Bright's *Chapters of English Church History*, p. 296).

[1] His holidays, too, were 'used,' most conspicuously in the time of the Franco-Prussian War (p. 245).

[2] *Lincoln Diocesan Magazine*, February 1887, p. 21.

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gather that it was a relationship of strictness and confidence. He always expected hard work, as he set an example of it, and he always was ready to meet loyalty with trust, plain speech, and common sense. His curates were 'always his best and dearest friends,' and no one who reads the verses which he wrote on his old colleagues when they gave him some carved oak book-cases (p. 295) can fail to see that it was so. The mere list of their names is a striking testimony to Butler's knowledge of men. He chose such fellow-workers as Liddon (p. 100), Mackonochie (p. 297), Father O'Neill (*ibid.*), Stuckey Coles (p. 217), William Newbolt, Montague Noel, and Henry Houblon, his successor at Wantage (p. 220). There were others also who have not rendered less loyal service to the Church of England because their names are less widely known. From their testimony in various parts of the book, and from our own recollections, we can collect a few illustrations of Butler's character which help us to realize what a strong, great man he really was. In 1893, Mr. Coles says that he found his old vicar quite himself, 'as I had known him for about thirty years, eager, combative, generous, full of sympathy, knowledge, criticism, bent always and above all upon the only aim of his strenuous life, his untiring duty, his deep undemonstrative love—bent upon the single-hearted service of God' (p. 221). He was fond of saying that 'prayer, faith, and grind' were the three rules of his life (pp. 158, 176) and would say 'Of course it is a grind' if a clergyman complained of work (p. 355). Each day of his life at Wantage was a day of hard work, spent in the church, in the schools, in the parish (p. 354). He worked so hard, and was so full of strenuous energy that it was possible for those who knew him but slightly to be unaware how deep and real was his humility, his constant dependence on God, his repeated prayers for guidance and strength, his unusual power of combining 'zeal' with 'a patient heart,'[1] and his thankfulness for blessings and mercies. His instruction on Mary and Martha (p. 152) opens something of his inner life in this respect, and 'to walk with God' was one of his favourite expressions (p. 165), as 'the acceptance of God's will' was one of his favourite themes (p. 169). 'His watchword was "thorough,"' (pp. 177, 330), but he was never too busy to be reverent (pp. 218, 348, 360). He could not endure 'trivial chat' in the vestry (p. 348), and he was most

[1] His remarkable power of waiting was never better illustrated than in the history of the restoration of his church (pp. 84-5, 90-2). Compare other instances of it on pp. 49, 72, 81, 306.

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properly particular about audible and reverent reading (pp. 116–7, 358). His sermons always showed, as a Nonconformist said, that he 'meant business' (p. 357). He was more ready to acknowledge himself to be in the wrong than his dogmatic tone led many people to suppose (p. 350), and there was immense gentleness and gratitude beneath an exterior which seemed hard. His friends knew what lay under the surface, and we once heard one of his oldest friends say, 'Butler is coming to stay with me. He is like a bracing east wind, you must needs be in robust health to enjoy him thoroughly.' He speaks himself of his 'masterful nature' (p. 274), and for ourselves we admired him none the less because he was so strong, because there was somewhat of bluster, somewhat of the autocrat, somewhat of the air of Dr. Dominant-knock-you-down about his exterior ways.[1] There was sturdy principle beneath all that, and in these days that is worth much. Some fads doubtless there were, too: unreasonable hatred of smoking and total abstinence; unproportionate insistence on small points, such as closing the Bible after the lessons, and the maintenance of eccentric customs in his schools and classes and with his curates, as if they were of real importance (pp. 108, 159, 218). When the Wantage life closed he wrote his own summary of his work in his parish journal, and addressed a touching letter to his people. We must only make one short extract from the journal:

'Thursday, the Epiphany, January 6, 1881. On this day William John Butler, Vicar of Wantage for upwards of thirty-four years, left his much-loved flock and home to enter on the duties of Canon of Worcester. May God forgive him his many shortcomings, failures, neglects, and in His mercy find a place for him at the feet of faithful pastors of His sheep" (p. 299).

It is not our purpose to describe in detail Butler's educational work as Canon of Worcester or what he did to enrich the Mother Church of Lincoln and to make its services more worthy of God and more useful to the people. We know that his work both at Worcester and at Lincoln was blessed with very fruitful results. And we know that in many untold instances he was consulted by the dispensers of important pieces of patronage. But we have laid stress on his pastoral work at Wantage because we see a special need at the present time to call attention to his example. It is not by despising the offices of the choir, or by neglecting the schools and

[1] His friends in Convocation thought that he sometimes hurried off to Wantage too soon, before the business was concluded.

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houses of the parish, that work like Butler's can be done. It is to be done by faithful adherence to the Prayer Book system, by diligent teaching in the schools, and by assiduous attention to pastoral visitation. These are the methods which we trust that the clergy of the English Church will never cease to pursue.

We will add a few words upon Butler's honours. Bishop Wilberforce made him a rural dean in 1853 (p. 89), and the clergy of the diocese of Natal elected him as their bishop in 1866 (p. 225). It was, however, otherwise ordered, and in 1872 Bishop Mackarness made him an honorary canon of Christ Church (p. 281). Two years afterwards he was elected as Proctor to Convocation for the diocese of Oxford (*ibid.*). In 1880 Mr. Gladstone offered him the Canonry of Worcester, 'the first piece of real preferment' that then fell into the Premier's hands (p. 293), and in 1885 from the same source he received the offer of the Deanery of Lincoln. He died in January 1894.

No better motto could have been chosen than that which appears on the title-page. We have no desire to see 'an epitaph upon Erasmus in Dutch'[1] but remembering how the best years of Butler's life were spent we should have preferred the words in English: 'unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.' That sums up Butler's life, and we can append three extracts, from three very different quarters which seem to speak to us of what he was:

'From Maximus I learned self-government, and not to be led aside by anything; and cheerfulness in all circumstances, as well as in illness; and a just admixture in the moral character of sweetness and dignity, and to do what was set before me without complaining. I observed that everybody believed that he thought as he spoke, and that in all that he did he never had any bad intention. . . . He was accustomed to do acts of beneficence, and was ready to forgive, and was free from all falsehood; and he presented the appearance of a man who could not be diverted from right rather than of a man who had been improved. . . . He had also the art of being humorous in an agreeable way.'[2]

'I never lie down at night, but I know that in the course of that day he has alleviated pain and soothed some fellow-creature in the time of need. I know that from the beds of those who were past recovery thanks have often, often gone up, in the last hour, for his patient ministration. Is not this to be rich?'[3]

[1] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ii. 357 (ed. Napier).
[2] *Meditations of M. Aurelius*, i. 15.
[3] Dickens's *Bleak House*, towards the end.

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'A genuine Priest,
The Shepherd of his flock; or, as a King
Is styled, when most affectionately praised,
The Father of his people. Such is he,
And rich and poor, and young and old, rejoice
Under his spiritual sway, collected round him
In this sequestered realm. He hath vouchsafed
To me some portion of his kind regard;
And something also of his inner mind
Hath he imparted—but I speak of him
As he is known to all.'[1]

ART. III.—THE APOCALYPSE AND THE RELIGION OF THE EMPIRE.

1. *The Apocalypse of St. John.* Commentaries by the Rev. W. H. SIMCOX (Cambridge, 1891), Venerable ARCHDEACON LEE, *Speaker's Commentary*, New Testament, vol. iv. (London, 1881), &c.
2. *The Church in the Roman Empire.* By Professor W. M. RAMSAY. (London, 1893.)
3. *The Provinces of the Roman Empire.* By THEODOR MOMMSEN. Translated by W. P. Dickson, D.D. (London, 1886.)
4. *The Revelation of St. John.* By Professor W. MILLIGAN, D.D. (London, 1886.)

AFTER centuries of commentary on the Apocalypse, controversial, combative, hyper-mystical, riotously imaginative and infinitely complicated, it seems at last as if the Christian Church was approaching an interpretation which, recognizing the complexity of the problems submitted to it, but treating them in the spirit of simple truth-seeking, blind to none of the facts because it meets them with no preconceived theory which they are to be made to substantiate, and being at once historical and reverential no less than critical, may place the inspired vision of the Evangelist clearly and simply before the Church for her instruction and comfort.

The views that the author of the Apocalypse intended to describe the history of the past, or to anticipate in exact prophetic detail the history of the future, may be dismissed at length, as by the admission of all reasonable critics untenable. Scarcely more credible is the view which would restrict the writer's vision to the phenomena of his own time.

[1] Wordsworth, *The Pastor.*

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Whether put baldly (as by M. Renan: 'Si l'Evangile est le livre de Jésus, l'Apocalypse est le livre de Néron. Grâce à l'Apocalypse, Néron a pour le christianisme l'importance d'un second fondateur. Sa face odieuse a été inséparable de celle de Jésus'[1]), or modified in various disguises by German and English writers according to their theories of the date and the scope of the book, such a view is so utterly blind to the whole literary tone of the work as to appear, even on grounds of pure literary criticism alone, self-condemned.

It is safest, wisest, most rational—as it is recognized by students to be in every sphere except that of theology—to take as evidence of purpose a writer's own statement of his intention. In the case before us the statement assumes the form of an instruction, given under circumstances so awful and so supremely direct as to forbid any idea of the fiction of a false purpose. γράψον ἃ εἶδες καὶ ἃ εἰσι καὶ ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα (i. 19). The words are the ordering of the Divine Person, the 'Son of Man,' retaining in His Divine glory the perfection of His human nature, but invested with every circumstantial adornment of dignity and power that can amaze and awe, from the 'garment of glory'[2] to the 'voice as the sound of many waters' and the countenance 'as the sun [that] shineth in his strength.' 'The mystery of the seven stars .... and the seven golden candlesticks;' 'Write the things which thou sawest, and the things which are and the things which shall come to pass hereafter'—such is the Divine direction; and the purpose of the Apocalypse corresponds to it.

Past, present, future, all pass before the eye of the inspired seer—each alike enters into his scheme.

In the past are laid the foundations on which alone the fabric of his vision could be based. His work implies a knowledge of the great facts of the life of Jesus, of His claims, and His foundation of an historic society. It implies also a knowledge of the Jewish revelation; it constantly suggests an indebtedness to its sacred literature; it recognizes its unalterable and continuous spiritual existence. So clear is this indebtedness to the past that we have the theory seriously advanced and elaborately argued that the book itself is 'a Jewish Apocalypse embodied in Christian tradition.'[3]

As to the future, the thought 'I will show thee what must be hereafter' is never wholly absent from the writer's

[1] *L'Antéchrist*, pp. 477–478.
[2] Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 194.
[3] See Professor Ramsay and Mr. Simcox on Vischer's theory.

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mind. But it is not embodied in exact prediction. The moment we attempt to forecast the future from the visions of the Apocalypse—even to trace in them the history which was still future when they were written—we become involved in endless difficulties, subtleties, contradictions. The enunciation of the great principles which God's government embodies, on which the Divine ordering of the world rests—this is the form in which the Apocalyse is prophetic. Never were these principles so presented in their awfulness, their reality, their sternness. This is far indeed from being mere prediction; it is the highest achievement of prophecy. St. John's is the highest and truest prophetic power.

But the remembrance of the past and the divinely-inspired insight into the future do not turn away the seer's gaze from the present. The Apocalypse is crowded with details which have their significance chiefly from the present, a significance which in our ignorance of the condition of society and even of the history of the period, we do not yet fully appreciate. Every detail, it is impossible to doubt, had its meaning in the writer's mind and to the men of his day. We cannot now recognize them all. Upon these details it is not the purpose of this article to dwell; we desire only to emphasize what we believe to be the chief feature of the picture which they form. The object of the Apocalypse is to place clearly before the world—before the Christian society chiefly, but probably not exclusively—a great contrast, elaborated in much minuteness, between all that is meant by 'Rome and Augustus' and all that is meant by 'the Church and Jesus Christ.'

If this be fully admitted, it is of comparatively little importance, from this point of view, what is the date of the composition. The question of authorship is, we conceive, a separate one, and must be treated on other lines, and we may fitly relegate it to the close of our review. Professor Ramsay[1] has shown strong reason for placing the composition not earlier than A.D. 90. The historic circumstances implied and alluded to in the book are those, he thinks, which belong to the period of the Flavian emperors. They do not fit the Neronian period. The fully developed religious policy of the Empire which its historical setting requires belongs only to the later date. The Apocalypse 'looks back, unlike 1 Peter, over a period of persecution. As a Christian document the Apocalypse is an historical impossibility about A.D. 70. The Church did not at that time stand opposed to the Empire and

[1] *The Church in the Roman Empire*: summing up on p. 301.

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"the World" in declared, inexpiable war; the idea that Christianity might spread peaceably through the Empire was still dominant, as we see both in the Epistles of Paul and in 1 Peter.' If it were dated under Nero or Vespasian,[1] its *motif* must be the *Jewish* hatred of the Empire, which found utterance in the rebellion of 67–70. Thus it would cease to be a Christian book. But its details, as well as its setting, are not easily to be harmonized with Jewish feeling. 'We must agree with Völter,' says Professor Ramsay rightly, 'that these imply a persecution which leads to imprisonment and death, and no such relation existed between the Jews and the Empire.' The conclusion of Professor Ramsay as to the nature of the persecution meets, it is true, with strenuous opposition. It is argued, and with considerable force, that 'after the charge of incendiarism broke down, Nero began persecution "for the Name,'" a persecution which continued steadily,' and that 'there is nothing to show that' this persecution 'was ever relaxed.'[2] But his conclusion agrees with the general tradition of Christendom, based, as it appears to have been, on the direct statement of St. Irenæus: 'It was seen [the vision of St. John] almost in our own days, at the end of the reign of Domitian.'[3] This date makes the contrast of which we are briefly to speak more direct and patent. But at the same time the date of the beginning of the organized persecution is not essential to our argument. The position of the Emperor claiming divine prerogatives, and treated as an object of worship, extends over a long period of time. Much of the contrast would be appropriate during any period between Augustus and Hadrian.

The picture, then, is a contrast drawn in the clearest lines. It involves an attitude of deadly antagonism. The Church had not yet found possible the attitude of Apology. 'In the age which produced St. John and the Apocalypse,' says Professor Ramsay very truly, 'an Apology would have been treason to religion.'[4]

The period chosen is a period of *Concentration of Religion.* On the one side we have the Empire and its newly organized religious system. The Empire had sought for a bond of union for its heterogenous races and states—a bond of union

[1] Cf. Renan, Simcox, Lee.

[2] On this point we are permitted to refer to advance sheets of *The History of Early Christianity*, by the Rev. L. Pullan, where the question is discussed on pp. 110, 111.

[3] *Adv. Hæres.* v. xxx. 1.

[4] *Cf.* the very interesting section (pp. 50 *sqq.*) in M. Paul Allard's *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain.*

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which should be at the same time the culmination of its administrative system. Loyalty to the Empire, membership of the Empire: these two ideas had to be created, for they were the only bases on which a secure government over so vast an area could rest. It has been pointed out[1] that 'the starting point for the system was found in the Hellenized East.' Just as the new world-religion which named the Name of Jesus Christ was slowly advancing its all-embracing claims from the East, so the Empire, in its need of unity, was borrowing from the customs and acting on the precedents of its Eastern connexion. Alexander and his successors had been worshipped; Rome herself had been honoured by the erection of a temple dedicated to her;[2] Roman generals had been served by priests and adored by worshippers.[3] The religion by which Augustus and his successors endeavoured to knit the Empire together was to have a personal object and a ubiquitous organisation. The personal object was the Emperor, himself divine and worshipped as God. Here it is that the claim of the imperial religion is seen to be contrary, irreconcilably contrary, to that of the religion of Christ. So it is in Pliny's letter to Trajan. The Christians had broken no laws; but their system in itself—in the allegiance to the Name of Christ as such—was one which must be prohibited on grounds at once political and religious. The religion of patriotism and loyalty, the worship of the Empire, was in danger, or was at the least met by a consistent and unflinching foe.

It is thus that the underlying idea of the Revelation of St. John the Divine is that of conflict, a conflict visible and pressing and inevitable, between the religion of Christ and the religion of the Empire. It is surely a strange blindness which makes Mommsen regard the Apocalypse merely as 'a remarkable evidence of the national and religious hatred of the Jews towards the Occidental government.'[4] It is far more: it is the indignant and inspired expression of revolt, in the strength of a Name which is above all things Divine and Holy, against a cult alike impious and degrading. To worship the Emperor is to degrade Humanity, even while it sets up Humanity to be adored. The antagonism is not national but religious, and Mommsen entirely misses the

[1] The evidence is collected in a convenient form in Rushforth, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 47.

[2] As at Smyrna, B.C. 195. Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 56.

[3] See references in Rushforth, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 47–8.

[4] *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. 199 *note*.

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significance of what he could not ignore, that 'it made no distinction between the good and the bad Cæsar; its Anti-Messias is named Nero, doubtless, but not less Vespasian or Marcus.' To worship the Emperor, be he good or bad, is equally idolatry. And it is on behalf of the worship of the True God, not of any racial animosities, that the Apocalypse of St. John is a perpetual protest.

The Apocalypse, then, marks the stage in the development of the conflict between the Church and the World at which the struggle has become concentrated on one point, the attempt of the Empire to unite the Roman world through a state religion. To offer sacrifice to the Emperor has now become, in many cases, the test of orthodoxy. The worship of Domitian is developed far beyond the earlier cult. Aurelian is addressed as 'God (*Divus*) and Lord.' Similar titles are applied to Carus. It was the claim of Domitian to be styled 'Our Lord and God (*Deus*).'[1]

But the imperial religion was more than a devotion to a person: the worship was not that of Augustus only, but of 'Rome and Augustus.' The individual, with his awful vices, or at best his human frailties, is worshipped in conjunction with the system which he represents and completes. Even if the Cæsar be good, the imperial power is heathen to the core. There is no escape from the test to which the Christian's fidelity is subjected. Even if he could reverence the individual, whose 'power is ordained of God,' he could not worship the world-power that is at once persecuting and corrupt. This is the point which the writer of the Apocalypse seizes upon to emphasize the directness of his contrast. As it is Rome and Augustus, so it is the New Jerusalem and 'the Lamb that was slain.' Thus, in chapter xiii., the Beast is worshipped; he blasphemes against God, and he wars with the saints and overcomes them; and 'all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' And the New Jerusalem 'appears coming down out of Heaven from God' when the triumph of the Lamb has come and the world-power is judged—coming to be the bride of the Lamb.

We have, then, the imperial religion both personal and identified with the centre of Roman sway, in obvious opposition the religion of Christ.

Again, as the organization of the Church is universal, so is the organization of the imperial religion. 'Everywhere,'

[1] *Cf.* Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, p. 255.

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says a recent writer on the subject, 'we find the same fundamental organization, viz. an assembly of deputies (*σύνεδροι, legati*), elected by the communities of the province meeting annually at a central temple of Rome and Augustus, under the presidency of an elected high-priest (*ἀρχιερεύς, sacerdos, flamen provinciæ*).'[1] This high priest had become himself a leading feature in the provincial organization. He was, in Mommsen's phrase, 'its most eminent dignitary.' It was a prominence which was especially noticeable in Asia, under the observation of the writer of the Apocalypse. The games and festivals, on the model of the Olympic games, were in Asia Minor closely associated with the festivals of the State religion, and they were directed by the Asiarch, the Bithyniarch, and the *ἀρχιερεῖς* of the different provinces. Eventually the Asiarch became 'nothing more than the provider of a popular festival annexed to the divine worship of the former and present Emperors.'[2]

Opposed, then, to the Christian faith and the rulers of the Christian Church, the writer of the Apocalypse saw a highly organized system of religious observance based on the worship of the Emperor. All the chief cities had their temple and festival dedicated to Cæsar.[3]

The significance of all this, and the force of the Christian contrast, are emphasized in the Revelation of St. John. The harlot seated upon the seven hills, Babylon the Great, is unquestionably the city of Rome.[4] The usage in 1 Peter v. 13 is an illustrative confirmation of the strongest kind. Here Babylon is explained by the unanimous testimony of early Christian writers to be identical with Rome. As Renan says, 'Rome devint comme Babylone une sorte de ville sacramentale et symbolique.'[5] And Œcumenius[6] says of St. Peter: 'He calls Rome Babylon on account of the pre-eminence which of old had belonged to Rome.' The passage in Apocalypse xvii. 9–10 is unmistakable in its primary meaning. 'The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space.'

[1] Rushforth, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 47.
[2] Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 345–6, 348.
[3] *Corpus Inscr. Græc.* 3902 b.
[4] The matter is very fully discussed in all its bearings and with very full references by Archdeacon Lee in the *Speaker's Commentary*, especially pp. 754 *sqq.*
[5] *L'Antéchrist*, p. 178.
[6] Quoted by Canon F. C. Cook in *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 162 *n.*

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The identification of the 'seven kings' is a famous difficulty. The late Mr. W. H. Simcox, both in his Commentary on the book (p. 105) and in his *Beginnings of the Christian Church*' (pp. 166 *sqq.*), makes Nero the fifth of the 'fallen' kings, and, passing over Galba, Otho, and Vitellius as mere claimants 'rather than actual emperors,' makes Vespasian the 'practical successor' of Nero, and Titus the last of the kings, who continued but a short space. On the other hand, if we identify the 'one' who 'is' with Vespasian, we are involved in considerable difficulty in accounting for the attitude of the Empire as described in the vision. It was not then determinedly and implacably hostile to the Church. Yet we have in such an identification a close parallel with the Epistle of Barnabas, where the passage relating to the 'ten kings' quoted from the book of Daniel is taken by Bishop Lightfoot[1] to be proof of composition under Vespasian.[2]

But, we may venture to think, it is not necessary closely to identify the *ἑπτὰ βασιλεῖς*. They and the *δέκα κέρατα* are all inextricably linked to, if not merged in, the *θηρίον*—the Imperial Power personified—embodied now in an Augustus, now a Nero or Domitian, but always with the same characteristics. This allows also the inclusion of the Nero whom the whole Roman world looked for to reappear and to destroy the three kings reigning together between 70 and 79, with whom it is so natural to associate the Beast in Apocalypse xvii. 8: *τὸ θηρίον, ὃ εἶδες, ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγειν.* Professor Milligan,[3] it is true, quoted xiii. 3 as conclusive against a reference to Nero on the part of the writer, but surely by no means effectively. If the verse he relied on be compared with the one already quoted, the allusion to Nero is seen to be quite possible; and the pseudo-Nero theory has sufficient attraction to make us willing to retain it, though not to the exclusion of all others, in our identification of dark passages in the sacred book. 'He has become,' but with others, 'for the Apocalypse the representative of the Roman rule and the Antichrist.'[4] To return: it is in association with Rome that the seven kings appear. It is this Rome, then, which in her fornication stands opposed to the purity of the army who follow the Word of God 'upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean' (xix. 16). It is this Beast,

[1] *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 506 *sqq.*
[2] *Cf.* Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 307–8.
[3] *Revelation of St. John*, pp. 142 *sqq.*
[4] Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 198 *n.*

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in whom the seven kings are drawn together, whom those who were 'axe-stricken for the witness of Jesus' (xx. 4) had not worshipped.

Such is Rome. How magnificently impressive is the contrast which stands out in passage after passage! Especially there stand side by side chapter iv., as the presentation of the spiritual reality, eternal in the heavens, and chapter xxi. as the spiritualized and ideal transcript of the same, the Church of the Living God upon earth. These two chapters correspond to each other, and each is an essential part of the contrast which the writer opposes to the demoniac force of the brute-power of the imperial religion embodied in Rome. 'I beheld, and lo a door was opened in Heaven'—and the mysteries of the unseen world are seen to be centred in God, who is Himself the centre of an organized systematic worship, regular and exact, formal as well as spiritual.[1] The transcript is the ideal Church—the 'new Jerusalem' (how fitly opposed to the old Rome) 'coming down out of Heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband'—containing the solace for all the sorrows of life, the persecutions and the martyrdoms, in the perpetual presence of God, the Beginning and the End. And the contrast is deliberately marked by the transition from the statement of the blessedness of those within the fold to the terrible record of the sins of those without—sins branded into the life of the Roman society.

'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful and unbelieving and the abominable and murderers and whoremongers and sorcerers and idolaters and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death' (Rev. xxi. 6–9).

The heavenly city, the *Civitas Dei*, as St. Augustine saw, is the direct contrast, in detail after detail, to the earthly *Civitas*, the great Empire of Rome. The 'holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of Heaven from God, prepared as a bride for her husband,' is surely not, as has been so generally thought, the Church of the Future, but the Church of the Present in her ideal beauty—the antithesis in every aspect to the earthly city of purely human organiza-

[1] It is a curious illustration of the way in whch details are found to illustrate the general contrast that Alford compares to the abasement of the 'elders' the laying down of Tiridates's crown before the image of Nero (Tac. *Ann.*)

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tion. The strength of appeal and of comfort, to the persecuted brethren whom St. John addressed, lies in the present truth of those exquisite verses: *Ἰδού, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσται, θεὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξαλείψει πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν*' (xxi. 3, 4). It is the echo of the Benediction of the Ascension: *καὶ ἰδού, ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος* (Matt. xxviii. 20). A present contrast, vivid and inspiring, is what the writer would bring out. The ever-present Christ Who 'tabernacles' with men is their comfort and stay when the imperial power, represented in a sin-stained man, is set up for their worship. Every aspect of His character, human and divine, that is dwelt upon, points a deliberate and intended contrast to the embodiment of 'this world' (or 'this age'), the deified Emperor.

Again the contrast is hardly less patent in the portraitures of the two 'Beasts' and the two 'Witnesses.' Chapters xi. to xx. are dominated by the first Beast, the Roman power, world-wide, entering in its claims into every region of life—the embodiment of the world's antagonism to God.

The second Beast or False Prophet appears to embody the same idea in a different aspect, or to be a special manifestation of it. This monster appears to represent in the East what the first Beast represents in the West. Coming in disguise and with blasphemies, he makes the first Beast a real object of worship to his followers. 'He acts as minister of the world-power, and employs all his talents and influence to induce the peoples of the earth to subject themselves as he has done.' 'The inspired prescience of the seer pictures the terrible result when the supremest power of mind and soul are dedicated wholly and unreservedly to the service of force.'[1]

Opposed to the two Beasts stand the two 'Witnesses.' These have been explained allegorically as the two testaments, Law and Gospel, but the more general interpretation has been personal. Elijah has been taken as one typical figure; Jeremiah, Moses, Enoch, indifferently, as the other. It has, however, been pointed out that the two great witnesses of the faith, the two most renowned of the martyrs, whose bodies lay in the 'great city'—not Jerusalem, but Rome—may most naturally be the two great fellow-workers and leaders, St. Peter and St. Paul.[2] Archdeacon Lee, though

[1] Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, xxxvii. 446 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Zechariah, iv. 11–14, with Apoc. xx. 4.

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without thus identifying them, speaks of them as 'designed to symbolize, one of them the Church's outward organization and polity, and the other her spiritual and evangelical teaching.' It may be safest not to identify them at all; but the contrast remains the same.

The opposition goes further. It is clear that the position of the heads of the Christian organization, as they are pictured in the Apocalypse, while it corresponds in certain points to that of the 'archpriests,' 'high priests,' of the imperial religion, is in its chief characteristics in marked contrast. The analogy in the very designation and title has been pointed out.[1] Surely it is little less than wilful misconception which fails to identify the ἄγγελος of the Seven Churches with the ἐπίσκοπος of Church organization. The 'Angel,' it may be clearly seen, is the idealized presentment of the office, not as it were the actual portrait of the existing 'bishop.' The history of his Church is represented in himself; he is identified with it; he is its ruler because he is its absolute embodiment and representative. All this has its analogy in the Roman priesthood. And as the 'sacerdos Romæ et Augusti,' attended by his lictor, with his seat and vote in the local senate, is in a sense the imperial representative, so are the 'angels' of the Churches the representatives of the Son of Man. 'He had in his right hand seven stars. . . . The seven stars are the angels of the seven Churches.' Thus surely Professor Ramsay[2] is wrong in saying that 'the episcopos or angelos [of the Apocalypse and 1 Peter] was very far removed from the monarchical bishop of A.D. 170.' The whole force of the 'letters' to the seven Churches depends upon the position of the angelos or 'bishop,' so absolutely identified with his Church. It is no 'humble' position which he occupies—except in so far as the higher a minister of Christ is placed the humbler must ever be his relation to his people, as to His Master—rather he might say, within his own sphere, 'l'église, c'est moi.' The ἄγγελοι are distinctly, like the bishops in Hermas, 'οἱ προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.'

It is in this that the analogy to the chief priests of the State religion is so exact. The chief priest was the general superintendent of all religious matters in the province. He was responsible for religious order, for carrying out the laws relating to religion, for punishing breaches of such laws. It was to him that it especially belonged 'to bring the

[1] Westcott and Hort, ii. 137.

[2] *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 368–9.

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Christian face to face with the demands of the imperial cultus.'[1] He was the messenger of the Emperor; the bishop was the messenger of God.

Such, very briefly, are some of the leading lines of the contrast. Still more briefly it may be noticed that the contrast is visible on minute examination in the very details of the composition. A striking instance of this occurs in the letter to the Church of Pergamum. The address 'Thou dwellest where the seat of Satan is' (ii. 13) had no significance even to so acute a critic as the late Mr. W. H. Simcox. '*Why* Satan's throne and dwelling-place is located at Pergamum is uncertain,' he says.[2] But Professor Ramsay has shown 'the supremacy of Pergamum in the imperial cultus,' and pointed out the significance of the special reference to the one example of a martyr mentioned by name, Antipas, 'the faithful witness' (ii. 13). This is only one example. Further examination of the history of Asia will doubtless add many to those already clear.

One further point may be alluded to. The great development of ritual, of detail, of precision, in the worship of 'Rome and Augustus' is notorious. The Apocalypse of St. John is, in one of its most prominent features, the presentation of the ideal worship, the worship of Heaven, intended to be full of suggestion in its dignity and grandeur, and in its lofty spirituality and simplicity a model for the worship of the Church on earth. Solemnity, and in a sense elaboration, are the characteristics of the worship of St. John's vision; but, no less, reality, complete and intense—the offering, ceaseless and triumphant, of a free heart. It is the freedom of the Christian worship, under whatever fixity of form, that is contrasted with the mechanical formality of the imperial *cultus*.

Such appear to be the main lines of the contrast which the writer of the Apocalypse desires to draw between the religion and the Church of Christ and the State-religion of Rome and Augustus. A word, then, as to the authorship.

If the writer be St. John, the circumstances of his own life and the chief sphere of his own work increase and illustrate the force of the opposition which his book is designed to develop.

Asia was the birthplace of countless superstitions and countless worships. Its cities boasted the protection of the gods, and prided themselves as the home of philosophers.

[1] Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 349.
[2] *Cambridge Bible, in loc.*

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Apollo of Claros, the Ephesian Artemis, Thales, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, were names familiar to the men of Asia Minor—memories of cults, philosophic and religious, that were slow to die. The 'seven Churches' themselves were the centres of political movement—the *conventus* of the province, associated with the constant manifestation of imperial power. It was there that the anger against the cruelty of Rome was most profound. St. Paul at Ephesus felt himself in the midst of foes. Asia was the province where the tyranny of Nero had been especially felt. It was there that superstition expected his return; it was there that an impostor actually appeared assuming his name.[1]

And when the question of authorship is raised it may not be forgotten that stronger perhaps than the great and admitted difference in literary style is the similarity in method between the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. St. John delights in antithesis. The parallelism and correlation, the correspondences and contrasts, have been shown by Dr. Westcott to belong to the very structure of the Gospel. The reiterated contrast between the world and the Church is an equally prominent feature of the Epistles. It is of a piece with this that the still darker contrasts of the Apocalypse seem to underlie the whole purpose of the inspired vision. If the Church has rightly understood the character of St. John—if the name 'Son of Thunder' has the meaning it is natural to attribute to it—this strong sense of contrast would naturally belong to his keen, impulsive, vivid, spiritual nature. His subtle insight into the reality of the unseen world and its reflection in common life could not be more clearly displayed than in an Apocalypse such as that which bears his name. Fitly, indeed, might he, of all Christian writers, draw the prophetic conclusion which is clear before the eyes of the Apocalyptic seer. He foresees the destruction of the city of Rome and the fall of the Empire. In neither case is the fulfilment literal, but the effect is even greater than if the prediction had been exact. In both cases transformation and reconstruction are the outcome. The fall of Babylon the great—so vivid before the eyes of one who knew of the fire under Nero, and who had heard thrilling tales of the sufferings of the city in the conflicts between the armies of Vitellius and Vespasian, who knew perhaps, too, that it was the burning of the Capitol which encouraged the revolt in Gaul—leads on to the fall of the power which is

[1] This may be admitted without going to the lengths of M. Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, pp. 348 *sqq.*; *cf.* De Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire*, ii. 68–9.

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based on Emperor-worship (xix. 19). The triumph of the Church follows the destruction; and Christ reigns where man had been worshipped (xx.).

We have thus endeavoured briefly to examine the reasons which enable us to fix the date of the Apocalypse with some approach to exactness: we have drawn out the contrast which it seems to us it was the aim of the writer to emphasize: and we have been led to find in both these strong arguments for the authorship of the sacred book. It is impossible to make such an examination without being impressed with a new sense of the sublimity of the revelation granted to St. John, and of its value to the Church for all time.

ART. IV.—SOME TYPICAL NOVELS.

1. *The Choir Invisible.* By JAMES LANE ALLEN, Author of *Summer in Arcady*, *A Kentucky Cardinal*, &c. (New York and London, 1897.)
2. *Sir George Tressady.* By Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD, Author of *Robert Elsmere*, *David Grieve*, *Marcella*, &c. (London, 1896.)
3. *The Christian.* A Story. By HALL CAINE, Author of *The Manxman*, &c. (London, 1897.)
4. *On the Face of the Waters.* By FLORA ANNIE STEEL. Third Edition. (London, 1897.)
5. *The Beth Book. Being a Study from the Life of Elizabeth Caldwell Maclure, a Woman of Genius.* By SARAH GRAND, Author of *The Heavenly Twins*, &c. (London, 1898.)

IN a recent lecture, of which we have unfortunately only seen an imperfect report, the accomplished Professor of Poetry at Oxford discusses the question whether a Law in Taste might not be discovered as a guide for criticism in taste and art. In favour of the attempt to formulate such a law Professor Courthope urged the endeavour made by all cultured peoples to work out a theory of fine art, and to illustrate its importance he had only to refer to the prevailing anarchy of opinion concerning æsthetic preferences. There is probably no sphere of literature in which this anarchy is more absolute than in the realm of fiction—a realm be it remembered, which occupies an enormous area and exercises a correspondingly wide influence. Yet in the case of fiction

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assuredly the fundamental rules which ought to govern its construction should not be far to seek. Adopting the ancient definition that all fine art has the twofold purpose of imitating an external object and of producing imaginative pleasure, the aim of the novelist should be concentrated on a truthful representation of the life he professes to portray and on the selection of such elements and such treatment of them as will engender the highest æsthetic pleasure.

It is the bane of much modern fiction that it disregards these canons of taste, and of more modern criticism that it applauds the art of those who wantonly contemn them. Deceived by the long extracts of unqualified praise with which contemporary novels are now commonly advertised, we have been at times betrayed into reading pernicious stories without one redeeming element of aught that is either beautiful or lovely. Alike in the choice and the treatment of their subject some novelists seem to revel in the hideous and the horrible. The morbid phantasy of an imaginative idiot finally dashing his diseased brains against the pyramid of the Sphinx, the foul realism of Oriental immorality lurid with the frightful excesses of a dying boy, the filthy blasphemy of raw recruits terrorstruck by the dangers of actual warfare: such are the topics which some recent writers have selected and which their critics applaud. Compared with such creations as these it is refined and cultivated taste which selects the carcase of a pig for careful delineation and which lavishes the highest skill of accurate painting in the reproduction of the ordure and offal of the shambles.

It is needless to say that such productions will meet with no recognition in these pages, and we should not care to speak of them were it not for the tendency, which is manifesting itself in much modern fiction, to rely for its effect, now upon a thinly veiled sensualism, now upon a morbid realism, and now again upon an exaggerated sensationalism which violates the canons of art. We have accordingly selected several typical examples from recent works which may serve to illustrate the observance and the disregard of the true Law of Taste in fiction. Let it be understood at the outset that we do not for a moment place all the works before us in the same category. *Sir George Tressady* and *The Choir Invisible* are on an altogether different plane from *The Beth Book*; whilst *On the Face of the Waters* and *The Christian* furnish a marked contrast in the absolute neglect throughout the one, and the extravagant travesty in the other, of religious conditions which in real life so greatly influence those phases

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of society with which Mrs. Steel and Mr. Hall Caine are dealing.

At the outset we are struck with the extent to which 'the novel with a purpose' has superseded the earlier school of fiction, so that out of the five works before us only one relies exclusively for its interest upon the author's ability as a *raconteur*. In place of the unalloyed serenity with which the reader could abandon himself to the enjoyment of Scott and Miss Austen, of Thackeray and Dickens, we are kept perpetually on the rack by questionable arguments and untrustworthy assertions to support the writer's pet theories, political, or social, or irreligious, until the tale is transformed into a treatise, and its wheels drive heavily. Of course in fiction, as in other branches of art, the artist must give expression to that which is within him; but it is of the essence of his craft that he should exercise some self-repression and a discreet power of selection, whereas so inextinguishable a passion for 'argufying' is predominant that, in the words of the late poet laureate, much novel reading is like wading through glue. With the exception of *The Choir Invisible* the movement of all the novels under notice is impeded by long discussions in which our interest in the narrative is broken by the introduction of reasoning which we cannot pass unchallenged, or of topics which jar painfully upon our feelings without (in most cases) contributing to the completeness or the necessary evolution of the story. It is, of course, a more serious blemish when the tone of a book is lowered by its trenching upon certain questions which exert so injurious a fascination upon many contemporary authors. 'Principiis obsta' is, we are persuaded, the safest maxim to adopt; although we allow that a story of sin and shame may legitimately and even usefully, when rightfully treated, form the theme of a novel. But, in the interests of purity and of due reverence for women, is it necessary to describe suppers at the Corinthian Club or to portray a married woman defending against his lawful wife her intention to elope with a man for whom she yet has no real affection, as Mr. Hall Caine and Mrs. Steel have done? Mrs. Grand is, we presume, regardless of all criticism on such questions, and adopts on her title-page the motto:

> 'I'll be in speaking, liberal as the air;
> Let heaven, and men, and devils, let them all,
> All, all, cry shame against me, yet I'll speak.'

It is time, however, to pass from these generalities to a con-

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sideration of the several volumes before us. Shall we first accord a hearty welcome to the American writer, whose story, written in accordance with earlier and, as we think, healthier, traditions, stands at the head of our list?

In the *Choir Invisible* Mr. James Lane Allen presents us with a charmingly sweet and pathetic story. Mr. Allen does not rely for his effects upon the glaring colours or the exaggerated shadows with which so many novelists disfigure their canvas. Like a true artist he is content with the truthful representation of very simple country life beneath the calm tenor of which the man who has eyes to see it, and skill to reproduce it, can always find pathos in abundance to point a moral or adorn a tale. Not that *The Choir Invisible* is a novel with a purpose. The writer simply wields the pen of a *raconteur*, and relies for the success of his book upon the innate and undying attractiveness of 'the old, old story,' and upon his own deftness in relating it: and the reader is spared the gratuitous irritation caused by the introduction in every chapter of dreary discussion and of questionable conclusions on matters alien to the progress of the narrative. It would be well if some of our modern teachers would take home the advice that it is better to leave an audience longing than loathing. The unabated interest with which we follow John Gray's career to its close contrasts strongly with the weariness that overtakes us ere we reach the end of *The Beth Book*, *The Christian*, or *On the Face of the Waters*.

The scene of the story is laid in the green wilderness of Kentucky in the year 1795, and its interest centres in the fortunes of John Gray, schoolmaster at Lexington, then little more than a collection of log houses, and his relations with Amy Falconer and her aunt, the wife of Major Falconer, a settler in the backwoods not far from Lexington, under whose roof Amy is living. We have a vivid picture of Kentucky life in those early days, with its perils from Indians and wild beasts in the wilderness, its strange intermixture of all classes in the town, its political apprehensions and suspicions which threatened to tear the Union asunder, its joyous wild life so full of vigour and freshness, so free from the conventionality and *mauvaise honte* of older communities. What energy inspired men who had to be ever on the alert to hold their own whilst conscious that they were making history and were laying the foundations of a future empire! What simple faith sustained the worshippers who gathered in the frame building for the ministrations of the Rev. James Moore, the flute-playing episcopal parson of the town, whose gentle piety at once won

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the respect of the roughest backwoodsman and satisfied the imperious and impatient questionings of John Gray! How real is the sense of dignity and peace, acquired through steadfast submission to duty under fierce inward struggles, which pervades the book and which inspires a longing for the simple living and high thinking with which we credit a past golden age! We fancy Mr. Allen lingering over his story as if he loved it; painting its scenery with careful accuracy, sketching in his figures with the art of a Meissonier—so appropriate are his epithets, so dainty his portraits, so finished his style. Perhaps he attributes more educational value to the extracts from the *Morte d'Arthur* than we should give them. Perhaps he makes Amy almost too selfish and too soulless a flirt, despite her winning attractiveness and her aunt's careful training. But as a whole *The Choir Invisible* is entirely free from exaggeration, is thoroughly natural and well proportioned, and the pleasure it produces is that of an absolutely pure and high-toned story.

It is long since we met in fiction with a more fascinating creation than Mrs. Falconer. Her unaffected dignity, her perfect self-control, the delicacy of her reserve, her innate refinement of mind, her largeness of heart, her clear strong intellect, form a character whose grandeur is enhanced by its setting in the wild, half-reclaimed backwoods settlement which forms her home. What a charming combination of practical usefulness and mental culture, with her gardening and her cookery and her spinning wheel, and her eager interest in politics and literature! Nowhere, we think, has Mr. Allen shown more penetrating and therefore more accurate insight into the nobility of her character than in her treatment of the pretty, heartless, shallow niece who owes her so much and tosses her obligation aside with such selfish heedlessness. What a world of pity softens, but does not blind her judgment of the frivolous coquette, who tries to conceal her satisfaction over her approaching marriage by the affected pretence that her aunt and uncle will do better without her. How admirably tenderness mingles in the decision with which she silences the presumptuous girl when, in the confidence inspired by her altered prospects, she ventures on sacred ground! How delicately she abstains from betraying Amy's weaknesses, whilst she points out to John Gray what an unsuitable wife for him Amy would have been, and with just discrimination makes him realize that it is himself with whom the blame of his disappointment must lie, and not with the pretty butterfly creature who was incapable of understanding his lofty

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ambitions and was only fit to bask in the summer sun! Here is an illustration. It is Mrs. Falconer who is speaking:

'"The last time you were here, you told me that I did not appreciate Amy; that I could not do her justice; but that no woman ever could understand why a man loved any other woman."

'"Did I say that?" he muttered remorsefully.

'"It was because *you* did not appreciate her—it was because *you* never would be able to do her justice—that I was so opposed to the marriage. And this was largely a question of little things. I knew perfectly well that as soon as you had married Amy you would begin to expect to act as though she were made of iron. . . . All the inevitable little things that make up the most of her life—that make up so large a part of every woman's life—the little moods, the little play, little changes, little tempers and inconsistencies, and contradictions and falsities and hypocrisies, which come every night and go every morning—all these would have been to you—oh, I am afraid they'd have been as big as a herd of buffalo! There would have been a bull fight for every foible.

'"Poor little Amy! She is not wholly to blame. I blame you more. You may have been in love with your great idea of her, but anything like that idea she has never been and never will be; and who is responsible for your idea, then, but yourself? It is the mistake that many a man makes; and when the woman disappoints him, he blames her, and deserts her or makes her life a torment. Of course, a woman may make the same mistake; but as a rule women are better judges of men than men are of women. Besides, if they find themselves mistaken, they bear their disappointment better and show it less; they alone know their tragedy; it is the unperceived that kills."'[1]

We cannot follow John Gray's fortunes when he leaves Lexington. Through the dishonesty of his trustees he loses everything, and is imprisoned for debt in Philadelphia, where he marries the daughter of the man who obtains his release from gaol and aids him to a fresh and successful start in life. Meanwhile, through Major Falconer's death, the woman on whom his heart has so long been set is free; but he is pledged and his affianced bride holds him to his promise, whilst Mrs. Falconer, with increasing wealth, is rebuilding and beautifying the home she trusts John Gray may share. Mr. Allen evidently believes that there are many who tread the high tableland that lies far on among the outposts towards Eternity, where 'dwells the Love of which there never has been any confession, from which there is no escape, for which there is no hope: the love of a man for a woman who is bound to another, or the love of a woman for a man who is bound to another' (p. 299). In the hands of too many modern novelists

[1] *The Choir Invisible*, pp. 259–261.

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such a conviction would engender much ingenuity of special pleading for breaking the seventh commandment and shaking off holy but inconvenient ties. We have to thank Mr. Allen for giving us a very sweet example of the worthier treatment of so widely discussed a problem, and for an ideal of womanly purity and endurance which reminds us of Lady Castlewood. Place side by side the modern self-assertive woman—rarely seen, we thankfully believe, outside the pages of fiction—and those to whom, as Mr. Allen phrases it, joy and sorrow come alike with

'quietness. Gazing deep into their eyes, we are reminded of the light in dim churches; hearing their voices we dream of some minstrel whose murmurs reach us imperfectly through his fortress wall; beholding the sweetness of their faces, we are touched as by the appeal of the mute flowers; merely meeting them in the street, we recall the long-cherished image of the Divine Goodness. They are the women who have missed happiness and who know it, but, having failed of affection, give themselves to duty' (p. 345).

The practised skill of Mrs. Humphry Ward has hardly surmounted the difficulty of making the same person serve as heroine of two consecutive stories, and we confess that we were more deeply interested in Marcella, the ardent, if inexperienced reformer, than we are in Lady Maxwell, in her character of wife of the Prime Minister, and guide, philosopher, and friend of Sir George Tressady. Not that Mrs. Humphry Ward's right hand has forgotten any of its cunning. Her ideal of the high-minded enthusiastic woman, whose combined beauty and earnestness exercise so powerful an influence over Sir George Tressady, and the dexterity with which she extricates her from the trying positions in which her admiring convert places her are worthily conceived and carried out. But the book well illustrates the dilemma which the political novel inevitably involves, and which few writers of this type of fiction, except Lord Beaconsfield, have escaped —the danger lest the novel should degenerate into a political treatise. Whole chapters are occupied with suggestions of a new Factory Act, whose terms are but faintly shadowed forth; with the fortunes of the Bill in its various stages, so that the progress of the story is wearisomely impeded. The truth is that Mrs. Humphry Ward is too intense for her art. She loses herself too much in her heroine and in the aims which she embodies, and the result is a want of that go which carries the reader along with it to the end. She needs to detach herself from her creations, and to survey them from the distance at which she may focus them correctly and give them

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their due proportions. Moreover, Sir George Tressady, despite the minute elaboration of the story, is pervaded by an atmosphere of unreality and transgresses the legitimate bounds of probability. The mere physical fatigue of life as spent by the Maxwells alternately at St. James's Square and Mile End, added to the stupendous responsibilities of the head of the government, would crush the life out of a Hercules.

It goes without saying that the force of a novel is seriously lessened when the reader finds it impossible to care one straw about its hero. Sir George Tressady is a man of more than ordinary ability and advantages, he has been brought up in a home which should have made him keenly distrustful of mere personal attractions: he has had ample acquaintance, in Eastern and Indian travel, with the temptations and trials to which wedded life may be exposed; he possesses sufficient sagacity and adaptability to make him, though a raw politician, a trusty lieutenant of the leader of his party in Parliament, and finally he prides himself upon the cynical coolness with which he regards the enthusiasm and the expectations of more sanguine men. Here assuredly we should look for the exercise of a sound judgment, and the avoidance of unpardonable blunders. At the very least we might expect an observance of the *convenances* which do more than make the wheels of social life run smoothly. Yet at every critical point in his career Sir George Tressady fails miserably. It is difficult to understand what could have induced him to marry the vain, underbred, heartless Letty, or to manage her so badly when he recognized his mistake; it is simply incredible that he should have deserted his political chief, the man to whom he owed his seat in Parliament, and have thwarted his party in the very moment of expected triumph, without the courtesy or the frankness to acquaint them beforehand with his intentions. Can Mrs. Humphry Ward have intended to portray in him the irony of fate or the deadly influence of heredity on the son of a stupid father and a fatuous mother?

The charm of *Sir George Tressady* consists in its light, airy conversation; in the pleasant social intercourse of the numerous friends assembled under Marcella's roof; in the rapid and felicitous touch with which most of the subordinate characters stand out clearly on the canvas; in the interchange of thought and feeling so vividly portrayed. The book reminds us by contrast of Sir George Cornewall Lewis's saying that life would be tolerable were it not for its pleasures. *Sir George Tressady* would be delightful were it not for its

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seriousness. When it is most laboured it is least successful. We are not enamoured of the habit, cultivated by Mrs. Humphry Ward together with other prominent novelists, of reintroducing in a fresh story characters which have already done duty in earlier volumes. It seems to us that writers presume somewhat unduly on the importance of the creations of their fancy by supposing that their readers must have indelibly impressed upon their memories all the qualities of the puppets which they thrust upon the stage. Mrs. Sarah Grand is a prominent offender in this class, and imagines that such dead and buried figureheads as Ideala and Angelica are enrolled amongst the immortals, and that a passing reference to them must be intelligible. But we make an exception in favour of Betty Lady Lever, whose fascination—so full of sound sense through all its rattling brilliancy—is so irresistible that we cannot help wishing Mrs. Humphry Ward would indulge more largely in her lighter vein instead of making all subordinate to the praise of the portentous political woman.

We question whether more improbabilities were ever crowded into a story than the number which Mr. Hall Caine has introduced into *The Christian*. The book is highly sensational, and has been described by some of its admirers as inaugurating a new era in novel-writing; but whilst we have no doubt that the immense pecuniary success of *The Christian* will produce a host of imitators, we cannot assign it the doubtful honour of originating the melodramatic novel—a type with which juvenile readers of the 'penny dreadfuls' have long been familiar. About the purpose and the power of the book we shall have something to say presently, but as to its style and structure there can be no question. Its effects are produced by contrasted lights and shadows, both alike being dashed in so coarsely and strongly as to resemble a gaudy advertisement rather than a finished picture. Or to put it more mildly, *The Christian* belongs to the broadest school of impressionism. The leading characters of the story are altogether abnormal and the situations singularly improbable; whilst in relating the most ordinary events which occur in it, Mr. Hall Caine has been too indifferent to inform himself whether his accounts agree with well-known and ascertainable facts. The scene in which Polly Love is dismissed from the London hospital of St. Martha's Vineyard, and the circumstances under which a colonial bishopric is offered to John Storm by his uncle, the Prime Minister, may be cited as violations of established and notorious practice. Such inaccuracies, however, would hardly call for remark did they not

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tend to accentuate the impression of unreality by which, despite its many striking qualities, the story of *The Christian* is marred.

It is difficult to understand why Mr. Hall Caine should entitle his story *The Christian*. Its hero, John Storm, to whom, we presume, the name is designed to appertain, is a pure fanatic, without one particle of prudence—high-souled, indeed, and single-minded, absolutely unselfish—but as utterly devoid of balance as an Indian fakeer. Now he is denouncing his rector, Canon Wealthy, in most unmeasured terms; then he is hurrying headlong into the Brotherhood of the Holy Gethsemane in Bishopsgate; soon he breaks forth from its intolerable restraints, only to submit himself once more to them irrecoverably when he thinks Glory is lost to him. Violent as are such alternations, they are only typical of his whole career. On the death of Father Damien, he determines to take his place in the lepers' settlement, and persuades himself that Glory will gladly accompany him. Disappointed in this, he works himself into such a frenzy about the temptations which beset Glory that he goes to her rooms with the purpose of slaying her as a solemn sacrifice which God has laid upon him. Next the dream possesses him that Divine wrath is impending over London, and that the Derby Day will be the Day of Wrath for the doomed city, and Epsom Racecourse is selected as the scene for the portentous warning. So widespread is the agitation that a meeting of the Cabinet is summoned to provide against the impending reaction when the prophecy is falsified, and in the tumult that ensues John Storm meets with a fatal blow. Abnormal to the last, the dying man, pledged to celibacy and scarce still breathing, marries Glory *in extremis*, and passes away before the marriage service is over. Let the wickedness of the world be what it may, let the failure of ordinary Church effort be what it will, is this the type of Christian by which life's ills will be redressed, or the millions of London be recovered to Christianity?

More abundant authority may no doubt be pleaded for the alternations in Glory's career and aspirations. *Varium et mutabile* we should expect the high-souled, impulsive girl to be, who has inherited the combined qualities of a devoted missionary father and of the French actress he so strangely chose to wed; and we have nothing but admiration for the innate purity which carries Glory unscathed through a series of perilous experiences, despite many serious indiscretions for which she has only herself to blame. We regard the

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conception and delineation of her character as by far the most masterly part of *The Christian.* It would be difficult to surpass Mr. Hall Caine's description of the mental struggle through which Glory passes under the distraction of her love for John Storm on the one hand, and of her delight in her success as an actress on the other, and the winsome sprightliness of her letters to her quiet Manx home is simply irresistible. Her brightness, her buoyancy, her beauty, her audacity, her self-reliance, her modesty, her tenderness, are all singularly fascinating, and we forget a few unaccountable follies in our admiration of the true-hearted woman now lovingly sheltering a fallen sister, now staunchly defending an absent friend against Lord Robert's brutal ridicule, now sacrificing her career to nurse her dying grandfather, or to take charge of John Storm in his desperate peril. How ever such a fanatic as John Storm could have imagined that this full-blooded creature with her exuberant enjoyment of social and artistic life could possibly be induced to minister to Father Damien's lepers we cannot conceive. She would have died for John, if necessary, without flinching, in the streets of London; she could not share with him the long-drawn terrors of that living tomb.

We would gladly quote one of her longer characteristic letters; we have only space for an extract from that in which she retreats from the rash promise which John Storm has extorted from her:

'"It is impossible, dear John. I cannot go with you to the South Seas. I have struggled, but I cannot, I cannot! It is the greatest, noblest, sublimest mission in the world, but I am not the woman for these high tasks. I should be only a fruitless fig tree, a sham, a hypocrite. It would be like taking a dead body with you to take me, for my heart would not be there. You would find that out, dear, and I should be ashamed.

'"And then I cannot leave this life—I cannot give up London. I am like a child. I like the bustling streets, the brilliant thoroughfares, the crowds, the bands of music, the lights at night, and the sense of life. I like to succeed too, and to be admired, and . . . yes, 'to hear the clapping of hands in a theatre.' You are above all this and can look down at it as dross, and I like you for that also. But give it all up, I can't; I haven't the strength; it is in my blood, dear, and if I part from it I must die. . . .

'"When I said I loved you I spoke the truth, dear, and yet I didn't know what the word meant really, I didn't realize everything. I love you still, with all my heart and soul I love you; but now I know there is a difference between us, that we can never come together. No, I cannot reach up to your austere heights. I am so weak, you are so strong. 'Your strength is as the strength of ten,

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because your heart is pure.' While I—I am unworthy of your thoughts, John. Leave me to the life I have chosen. It may be poor and vain and worthless, but it is the only life I'm fit for. And yet I loved you—and you loved me. I suppose God makes men and women like that sometimes, and it is no use struggling"' (pp. 349–50).

In noticing a work so pervaded with an air of unreality, we hardly know whether it is worth while to advert to Mr. Hall Caine's treatment of the Church and the clergy. He seems altogether ignorant of the earnestness which inspires the great majority of the priesthood in our crowded cities, and of the devotion with which—unalloyed by the extravagances which marred John Storm's career—they are spending lives of successful self-sacrifice amongst the masses that were once the despair of thoughtful men. No doubt there have been Canon Wealthys in past days, but even of these Mr. Hall Caine gives us no faithful portrait, but only coarse caricature; and the dissertation on the evils resulting from the union of Church and State, with which the Prime Minister favours the Cabinet and closes his official career, surpasses the most imaginative efforts of the Liberation Society, and should be offered by its author for republication as a leaflet to that now sorely dejected association.

It is difficult to understand what additional interest Mrs. Steel thought to give to *On the Face of the Waters* by making her story centre round so heartless and empty an adultress as Alice Gissing and her coarse-minded brutal paramour, Major Erlton. The book contains all the elements of a magnificent story. No more thrilling period than the Indian Mutiny could be selected for the *mise en scène*, nor could greater skill be displayed in describing the tangled intermixture of English and Asiatic life at that eventful period. Infinite pains have been bestowed to make every incident and every utterance of the European speakers exact in their minutest details, and in the representation of Oriental modes of thought fact and fiction are so skilfully blended that a very competent critic declared *On the Face of the Waters* to be the finest novel of the last quarter of a century. We do not undervalue the high dramatic power with which the shifting and contrasted scenes are placed before us. We do not complain that vice is tricked out in attractive colours, or that our sympathies are enlisted on the side of immorality. We highly appreciate the insight which Mrs. Steel affords into the difficulties of our position in India, amongst peoples so incapable of understanding our modes of thought and action.

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We admire the charitable discernment with which she brings out the better elements in Hindu and Moslem creeds too commonly unrecognized amongst us. But with such superabundant material to deal with, and recollecting that selection is indispensable in works of art, we hold that its fundamental rules are violated by the inclusion of such deforming and superfluous topics as the adulterous *liaisons* of English residents or the brothels of the native soldiery. Mrs. Steel's unquestionable—we had almost written, unrivalled—capability to make a most effective narrative out of the other and legitimate ingredients of her story, makes us regret the more deeply that she has introduced such alien and harmful matter.

Let us, however, first turn to the more attractive features of the work. The keynote is very happily struck in one of the earliest scenes, in which Mrs. Erlton is pleading with James Greyman not to expose her husband's dishonesty. Greyman has stood out resolutely, although she has prayed his forbearance for her boy's sake and her own.

'"And for my husband?" she asked. "Have you no word of pity for him? Is he not to be thought of at all? You asked me just now if I loved him, and I was a coward. Well! I do not love him, more's the pity, for I can't make up the loss of that to him anyhow. But there is enough pity in his life without that. Can't you see it? The pity that such things should be in life at all. You called me a religious woman just now. I'm not really. It is the pity of such things without a remedy which drives me to believe, and the pity of it that drives me back again upon myself, as you have driven me now. For you are right! Do you think I cannot see the shame? Do you think that I do not know that it is too late, that I should have thought of all this before I called my boy's nature out of the dark? And yet"—her face grew sharp with a pitiful eagerness, she moved forward and laid her hand on his arm—"it is all so dark! You said just now that I couldn't keep up the fiction; but need it be a fiction always? What do we know? God gives men a chance sometimes. He gives the whole world a chance sometimes of atoning for many sins. A spirit moves on the waters of life bringing something to cleanse and heal; it may be moving now. Give my husband his chance, Mr. Greyman, and I will pray that, whatever it is, it may come quickly"' (pp. 19, 20).

The appeal touches a chord in the heart of Greyman, who had himself been cashiered under trying conditions, and is longing for his own opportunity to recover himself, and so Mrs. Erlton's suggestion at once gives the title and supplies the undercurrent of the story.

As the scene shifts from Delhi to Meerut and back again, from the British cantonments to the mock Court of the Mogul,

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from the ridge outside the walls to the interior of the besieged city, the interest of the story never flags. British and native life in India have still much of the charm of novelty for us, and they are portrayed here by a master hand. The half-defiant, half-cringing attitude of the military section of the community, the fanaticism of Moslem moulvies and Hindu fakeers, the suspicions of the attendants waiting outside the Christmas Day service at Meerut lest their children should be treacherously made Christians by accepting presents from the Christmas tree, the clash and jealousy of contending native creeds ever ready to break out into open violence, the seething mass of corruption and intrigue in the zenana of the Delhi palace, the life in camp before the city walls, with the eager yearning of the soldiery to get to close quarters with the enemy—all are rendered with lifelike fidelity. Behind and beyond all this were the tremendous problems of the maintenance and failure of British rule in India, with its stupendous issues for the welfare, temporal and eternal, of one-fifth of the human race—issues then trembling in the balance, and contingent upon the moral force and energy of a mere handful of men amongst hostile millions. Such questions Mrs. Steel has no doubt deeply pondered, and she tells us in her Preface that the object of her book—whether it be regarded as story or history—is to promote the reconciliation of the races in the retrospect of that deadly struggle. How far that object will be promoted by its minute persistence upon certain highly regrettable incidents of the siege of Delhi, we do not linger to inquire. A record of the cold-blooded murder of English men and women as well as of native Christians, and of the burning desire for vengeance inspired in men who were maddened by the treacherous assassination of their comrades, will hardly make for peace and goodwill. What we ask ourselves is, whether, taking a just estimate of the religious, moral, and political conditions of the society she professes to describe, Mrs. Steel has given us a work of art with due regard to beauty, purity, and truth.

For the position of the English residents during the period of the Indian Mutiny was absolutely unique, and our triumph was secured by the energy of a score of able men, every one of whom would have made a most telling hero. What spirit animated these men is matter of history, as is the fact that wherever there was a body of native Christians we had allies who were invaluable in the crisis of our peril. Here is the

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description given by a competent eyewitness of the state of things at Agra:

'Outside the college, all alarm, hurry, and confusion. Within calmly sat the good missionary (French), hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible. *And so it was throughout the revolt.* Native functionaries, highly salaried, largely trusted, deserted and joined our enemies; but the students at the Government and still more at the missionary schools kept steadily to their classes; and *when others doubted and fled, they trusted implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause.*'[1]

Who can question that when the fortunes of England trembled in the balance it was the fidelity of the native Christians which inclined the scale? Foremost, too, amongst the champions of England at this crisis, alike in high office and amongst the ranks, were men conspicuous for their high religious character. When soldiers were needed to volunteer for a forlorn hope, the general said 'Go to the prayer meeting to-night; you will find there all the bravest men in the regiment.' In the face of facts so widely known, what are we to think of the typical English officer, the man who earns the coveted Victoria Cross, being represented by so brutal a loafer as Major Erlton, who divides his time between cheating at cards and on the racecourse, and abusing the hospitality of a European merchant, whose wife he is deliberately striving to seduce? To our judgment the scene is inexpressibly odious in which Alice Gissing, within a few minutes of her deathblow from the spear of Ahmed-Oolah, calmly maintains against the prayers and protests of Mrs. Erlton the right to run off with and ruin her husband. With the mighty tragedy of the Mutiny in all its colossal proportions to be dealt with by one who could handle it so well, what need that this foul trail of lust and adultery should be so perpetually dragged across the stage?

The Beth Book, by Mrs. Sarah Grand, is one of the most extraordinary volumes we have ever read. It might be classified as a novel with a purpose, save for the fact that it is hardly a novel at all, and that it is seemingly designed for an infinity of purposes. The story consists of the life, adventures, and opinions of Mistress Elizabeth Caldwell, commencing from the day before she was born, through the vicissitudes of her infancy, childhood, schooldays, and married life up to her twenty-sixth year, by which mature age she has

[1] Raikes, *Notes of the Revolt*, quoted in Birks's *Life of Bishop French*, i. 91.

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separated from her husband, written a work (not a novel) on some unknown subject which commands wide attention; has developed oratorical ability of the highest order, so that after a single speech of hers 'the postman came beladen, and there were brought to her pamphlets, papers, cards, letters, telegrams —a fine variety of praise, abuse, sympathy, derision, insults, and admiration' (p. 526); and has sounded and solved all the deepest problems, social and spiritual, of our complex life. Amongst the subjects discussed—and our list of them is not exhaustive—are the education and the rights of women, healthy and unhealthy habits, past manners and present social prospects, bypaths of medicine and vivisection, morals and motives and former states of being, religious books, priesthood and creeds, the relations between the sexes, and the charming views to be obtained from the roof of an omnibus. 'Femina sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto' is the proud motto of the modern woman, haranguing and enlightening a world sadly blinded in the past, but under her beneficent influence gradually awakening to a better state of things.

The recipe for the composition of such a work does not demand any severe elaboration. Given a commonplace book in which to write brief articles on every conceivable subject, and a person in whose mouth they serve for conversation or reverie, and the work is done. No matter that the same subject has been already discussed in *The Beth Book* and the author's views laid down with abundant insistence, we are frequently treated to a long-winded reiteration of them, and are thus instructed *usque ad nauseam* about the proper way of bringing up girls, the futility of style in literary composition, and the unspeakable superiority of our own days to those of our fathers. Perhaps one reason for this superabundant verbosity is Mrs. Grand's opinion that the briefer the story the greater the writer's inferiority of intellect. She would have scorned Bishop South's apology to Queen Anne, 'If your Majesty had given me longer notice I would have preached a shorter sermon.' In the good time coming power of condensation will, we suppose, be regarded as a weakness, and *non multum sed multa* an accepted postulate of literary merit. *The Beth Book* includes only three or four fully developed characters—Beth herself, her great-aunt, her mother, and her husband. All the rest are the merest shadows, with just substance enough to indicate that, beyond the charmed circle of Progressives, nearly all the men are brutes and all the women fools. Mrs. Sarah Grand appears

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incapable of portraying a high-minded, honourable man. Beth's father, who dies in her childhood, and on a tardy awakening to her admirable qualities gives her sensible advice, is represented as selfish and irritable, addicted to unseemly flirtation, and too fond of whisky. Her brother Jim, her uncle James, her admirer, Alfred Cayley Pounce, her husband, are all unmitigated scoundrels, whose coarser vices are but the deeper shadows of the selfishness and insincerity of her women.

The opening chapters of *The Beth Book* contain interminable details of Beth's infancy and childhood, including her vague conceptions of an earlier state of being, borrowed from Wordsworth, and certain little nastinesses which are all her own. Beth is an amusing specimen of the *enfant terrible* which the authoress of *The Heavenly Twins* can paint so vividly, and with all the *diablerie* of her species makes the most ill-timed remarks and blurts out unseasonable truths to the confusion of her hearers. We cannot reproduce the gradual evolution of a genius as conceived by Mrs. Sarah Grand. Beth cuts her brother's head open with a chunk of wood (p. 13), and says pleasantly to her father, 'If you drink whisky you'll be drunk again,' when five years old; and at the same age is absorbed and drawn out of herself by the union of sea and sky and shore. 'Her soul expanded, it spread its wings, it stretched out spiritual arms to meet and clasp the beloved nature of which it felt itself to be a part' (p. 15). In after years she was persuaded that the birth of her soul—a possession with which she did not credit every one—dated from this hour. It proved a troublesome acquisition, causing her to shed tears over the prospect from the Castle Hill, and making her run away two years later from a children's party lest she should shriek at the sight of some great green waves; whilst on the same day this sensitive creature says to her maid, 'Yer soul to the devil for an interfering hussy.' The amenities of life were not held in high honour in the Caldwell household, much as Mrs. Caldwell prided herself on her family. If she thumps Beth until she cannot stand over her for not understanding musical notation she has never seen before, the injured innocent periodically strips and has pitched battles in the kitchen with her younger sister Bernadine, and we decline to reprint the language in which she reviles a man who has killed her magpie.

Flirtation at eleven, carried on mainly by Beth, and by means of alternate delicacies and blows, love-making with another swain at fourteen, efforts at poetry as precocious as

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the girl who solved a problem in Euclid before she could speak, silly stories of a mysterious guild of humanity involving debts with horsekeepers, hairdressers, and pastry-cooks, incurred and allowed to the young daughter of a widow of notoriously narrow income, interspersed with poaching on Uncle James's preserves, midnight walks on the cliffs, and a narrow escape from drowning, which the reader regrets that she survived, fill up Beth's days until she is sent in her fourteenth year to the Royal Service School for Officers' Daughters. The description of the school and its high-minded principal is one of the pleasantest episodes in the volume; but the gradual improvement of Beth's character under the kindly guidance and the salutary, if strict, discipline of St. Catharine's Mansion would be too commonplace training for a genius. This ill-taught, untrained girl of fifteen becomes absorbed in questions of Biblical discrepancy, recalls the many mistakes made by the best and greatest men that ever lived, their differences of opinion and undignified squabbles, becomes a sceptic, and refuses to be confirmed. Presently her old craving for midnight walks revives. She goes out with only her nightdress on and bare feet, and is seen in this condition 'hanging over the rails looking into the river' at two o'clock in the morning by a gentleman, who reports the apparition and ends Beth's stay at St. Catharine's.

Another year is spent at the finishing school of Miss Blackburne, whose method of training is highly approved. One pupil is found lying on the hearthrug reading *The Idylls of the King* when strangers are shown into the drawing-room, another has a secret store of French novels; but 'the greatest pickle in the school is the daughter of an archbishop'—a masterly touch for one who so far has only sneered on every opportunity at the inferior clergy. Here is a specimen of the conversation carried on by these pupils, who are under the charge of high-minded and exemplary teachers 'whose influence was altogether benign':

'"Well, I'll make haste and marry me before I am afflicted with flesh, as I am sure to become. For I deny myself nothing—I live to eat," Geraldine rattled on cheerfully. "One can't get very fat before one comes out; and I hate a thin dowager. I'm engaged already, you know, but I don't like the man much—don't like him at all, in fact; and my sister says I can do better. She's been married a year, and has a baby. She told me all about it. Mamma imagines we're all innocent. A lady implored her to tell my sister things before she married, but she said she really could not speak to an innocent girl on such a subject. I don't believe she was ever so innocent herself. A grown girl can't be innocent unless she's a

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fool; but any way it's the right pose to pretend. You've got to play the silly fool to please a man; then he feels superior."

'"But it's hypocritical," said Beth.

'"Yes, my dear. But you must be hypocritical if you want to be a man's ideal of a woman. You must know nothing, do nothing, see nothing but just what suits his pleasure and convenience; and in order to answer his requirements you must be either a hypocrite or a blind worm without eyes or intelligence. Men don't like innocence because it's holy, but because it whets their appetites, my sister says, and if they're deceived it serves them right. They work the world for their own pleasure, not ours, and we must look out for ourselves. If we want money, liberty, devotion, admiration, and any other luxury we must pretend. Don't you see?"

'"I don't know," Beth rejoined. "But, personally, I shall never pretend anything."

'"Then you will suffer for your sincerity," Geraldine rejoined' (p. 315).

This conversation affords a good example of the extraordinary fascination which topics that are usually veiled in silence have for some modern novelists. There is hardly any objectionable phase of modern social life, hardly any topic calling for special delicacy of handling, which is not obtruded upon the reader. Worse even than some of the gratuitous discussion upon such matters is the perpetual introduction in *The Beth Book* of allusions to the nasty habits and vile immoralities of persons only casually mentioned, and whose actions have nothing in the world to do with the development of the story. We are informed, with quite superfluous particularity, of many trivial things which are designed to bring Beth's delicate fastidiousness into high relief; how sweetly pure-minded the conception of her really is may be judged from the fact that on a visit to Harrogate the authoress places Beth in the same lodgings with a certain Mrs. Crome and a man with whom she is obviously living in adultery. They are never mentioned except on a single page, yet, besides horrid innuendoes, Mrs. Sarah Grand is equal to adding one more dirty detail of their odious lives: Mrs. Crome kissed Beth, 'and Beth noticed that she had been eating onions, and for long afterwards she associated the smell with theatres, frivolous talk, and a fair-haired woman smiling fatuously on the brink of perdition' (p. 205). What refined realism! How justly the author of such exquisite conceptions is entitled to sneer at woman's lack of culture fifty years ago! For this is a theme on which Mrs. Sarah Grand descants unweariedly.

'In Aunt Victoria's day,' she writes, 'old people were only

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too apt to be selfish, tyrannical, narrow, and ignorant, a terror to their friends; and they were nearly always ill, the old men from self-indulgence, and the old women from unwholesome restraint of every kind. Now we are beginning to ask what becomes of the decrepit old women, there are so few to be seen. This is the age of youthful grandmothers, capable of enjoying a week of their lives more than their own grandmothers were able to enjoy the whole of their declining years; their vitality is so much greater, their appearance so much better preserved, their knowledge so much more extensive, their interests so much more varied, and their hearts so much larger. Aunt Victoria nowadays would have struck out for herself in a new direction. She would have gone to London, joined a progressive woman's club, made acquaintance with work of some kind or another, and never known a dull moment' (pp. 186–7).

It is the distinctive mark of great scientific generalisations that they are at once simple in action and universal in application, and we must congratulate Mrs. Sarah Grand on the discovery of a principle before the practical and universal utility of which researches into the laws of gravity or evolution appear worthless, which effectually alleviates the evils that trouble the larger half of humanity. The long-needed panacea for the ills which women suffer is at last revealed and proclaimed. Who so hard-hearted as not to pity the grandmothers under their unmerited disadvantages when the remedy was so simple and so widely efficacious, including all that women prize—personal appearance and sounder vitality as well as enlargement of mind and heart! But at last the Pythoness has spoken, the oracle is promulgated, the mystery of ages is solved. Join a progressive woman's club and you will never know a dull moment.

Is there any like hope, we ask, for the sterner sex? If Mrs. Sarah Grand's representation of it be true, it needs it sorely. For centuries, then, according to her teaching, men have tyrannized over women, have withheld from them the advantages to which they were justly entitled, have been solely guided in their dealings with them by selfishness or sensuality, and have reproached them for deficiences for which they themselves were blamable. Beth

'discovered that, in the estimation of men, feminine attributes are all inferior to masculine attributes. Any evidence of reasoning capacity in a woman they held to be abnormal, and they denied that women were ever logical. They had to allow that woman's intuition was often accurate; but it was inferior nevertheless, they maintained, to man's uncertain reason; and such qualities as were undeniable they managed to discount, as, for instance, in the matter of endurance. If women were long enduring, they said, it was

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because they were less sensitive to suffering, and so, in fact, suffered less than men would do under the circumstances' (p. 274).

Nothing brutalizes like tyranny, and this will probably account for the parlous state of the men whom we meet with in *The Beth Book*—a more odious crew it would be hard to conceive. If a young tutor, who remains anonymous, offers to help Beth with Latin, he shortly 'tries to insinuate into his teaching some of the sophistries which another tutor had imposed by way of moral philosophy on Rousseau's Madame de Warens in her girlhood, to her undoing' (p. 275). The academic mind, the clerical mind, the medical mind, the literary mind are all in turn held up to scorn, until we ask ourselves are all tutors men of flippant wit, cursed with a mere acquisitive faculty which lives on pillage and perverts its stolen knowledge to 'glib falsifications of all that is noble in sentiment, thought, and action'? (p. 275). Do the clergy as a rule add to the large incomes, which they pocket in idleness, by taking costly pupils, whom they disgracefully neglect? Is it characteristic of the medical profession to revel in the cruelties of vivisection, or in unblushing talk about the arcana of physiology; or would a call on a young married woman from a literary critic be the probable occasion of suggestions maintained until the small hours of the morning, at the first hint of which he should have been kicked downstairs? It is idle to say that Mrs. Sarah Grand brands the faults she describes with suitable anathemas, and asserts that intellect is inferior in force and charm to spiritual power—not only does she leave us in a complete mist as to what she understands by spiritual power, but her conception of purity differs widely from ours. Sin and lust are, alas! too prevalent in the world, but they only enter into fiction at the will of the author. If you want to keep chaff out of a sack the best thing is to fill it with wheat, and we are disgusted at the needless and frequent reference in *The Beth Book* to things of which it is a shame ever to speak. Possibly the prolixity of *The Beth Book* may serve as a deterrent to some readers, although Mrs. Sarah Grand thinks that she shall be read for her much writing.

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ART. V.—SOLOMON CÆSAR MALAN., D.D.

Solomon Cæsar Malan, D.D. Memorials of his Life and Writings, by his eldest surviving son, the Rev. A. N. MALAN, M.A., F.G.S. (London, 1897.)

DR. MALAN is one of the most interesting figures in the generation of Churchmen now rapidly disappearing. Though of foreign descent, he yet identified himself completely with England, for which in his boyhood and early youth he had conceived a strong admiration. Of the English Church also he became a devoted son, having passed through Oxford during the period of the early Tractarian struggles. The Memoir by his son is very well done, and gives a vivid picture of its subject, forming an attractive book which will be very welcome to the many admirers of the father.

The name of Malan belongs originally to the north of Italy. It was found by Dr. S. C. Malan's brother existing in Turin as early as A.D. 830. Even at that early period the Malans would appear to have been distinguished for their opposition to the prevailing religious system; for they are said to have accompanied Bishop Claude when, 'not willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome,' he retired to the valleys of Piedmont. At all events from that period the Malans were identified with the Waldenses, and shared all their persecutions and sufferings. The branch of the family from which Dr. S. C. Malan sprang—'les Malans de Mérindol'—is supposed to have emigrated from Piedmont to Mérindol in Provence during the great persecution in 1112. There they continued down to 1545, and during all that time were subjected at intervals to persecution on account of their faith. Many members of the family are enumerated as martyrs. At length in 1545, by a decree of the parliament of Aix, Mérindol was utterly destroyed and the family scattered. Some went back to the valleys of Piedmont, others escaped to Holland, and subsequently to the Cape of Good Hope, while the branch from which Dr. S. C. Malan sprang retired to Geneva.

Dr. Cæsar Malan, the father of Dr. S. C. Malan, who was pastor at Geneva in the beginning of the century, is a very interesting character. At that time the ministers of Geneva had fallen from the high Calvinistic faith which in earlier times distinguished them. They had become almost entirely

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Socinian. Dr. Cæsar Malan offered a strenuous opposition to this unfaithfulness, and stood forth as a witness to the faith of the Holy Trinity. In consequence he incurred the displeasure of the ecclesiastical authorities, and through their influence was excluded from every pulpit in the city. It appears that the sympathies of the population were on the side of the authorities, and in consequence he and his family were frequently subjected to insult. He held his ground, however, with great firmness, and having obtained the permission of the civil authority, he erected in his own garden a chapel in which he held his ministrations. It was named 'La Chapelle du Témoignage,' and, though scantily attended, stood out as a witness against the apostasy of the times.

It was under these circumstances that the young Solomon passed his boyhood and early youth; and his biographer draws out the great influence which it had on his subsequent character. Naturally he was led to look upon the outside world as an enemy, and this feeling seems to have accompanied him all through life and to have shaped very much his attitude towards his surroundings. He was also deeply influenced by the personality of his father, who was in many ways a remarkable man. From him he acquired, in addition to the lofty principle of religious faithfulness, a liking for mechanical pursuits, a devotion to art—especially sketching, in which he subsequently excelled—and above all the study of languages. It is related of Solomon that in early youth he spoke with fluent ease French, German, Spanish, and Italian, and less perfectly English. He was also at that early period well advanced in the knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, and other Oriental languages.

It was the earnest desire of his father that Solomon should succeed him as pastor of 'La Chapelle du Témoignage': but, although always looking up to his father with reverence and deep affection, his mind gradually formed itself on other lines. From English pupils he had gradually imbibed a strong affection for England, and a longing for a wider sphere such as England might afford. In the providence of God the gratification of this desire was brought about through a romantic attachment to an English lady, Miss Mortlock, who with her father resided some time in Geneva, and into whose company he was much thrown. It ended in an engagement, which was communicated to the father of the lady after their return to England. He at first objected; but finding that the health and happiness of his daughter were involved, he at length

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consented, making it a condition that the young man should pass through Oxford.

Solomon had thus obtained the satisfaction of his longings after a wider sphere. It was arranged that he should matriculate at St. Edmund's Hall; and it is related that when the news came that this was definitely settled, he burst into the study of a friend, exclaiming in a tone of exultation, 'I've got a career.' Unfortunately, the materials for his Oxford career are somewhat scanty. His biographer, however, has done his best; and we can see that he was particularly open to the influences of the place, and rapidly imbibed the tone and spirit of Oxford life. He devoted himself to hard reading; and unfortunately for him this resulted in a fever and a serious affection of the left eye. In the end he lost wholly the sight of the left eye, and his doctors warned him that if he would preserve the right eye he must give up reading. It is characteristic of the man that, in his thirst for learning, he deliberately resolved to make use of the remaining eye as long as it would last, and so continued his reading. Happily what the doctors feared did not take place, and he preserved the sight of his right eye during the rest of his life.

As a result of his Oxford career he was not so successful as his friends anticipated. His English, though perfect for purposes of conversation and spoken with a good accent, was not perfect grammatically. In consequence, in going in for the examination he petitioned the examiners for permission to write some of his papers in one of six other languages—French, German, Spanish, Italian, Latin, or Greek. The request was somewhat startling, and was refused. It was to the disadvantage under which he thus laboured that his friends attributed the result that he was placed in the second class *in Literis Humanioribus.*

Towards the close of 1837 Mr. Malan had the offer of Classical Professor in Bishop's College, Calcutta. After much deliberation he accepted the offer; and soon after he and his family left England for their new sphere. It was an appointment which seemed to open up great facilities for his favourite study of Oriental languages; but it was destined to be of short duration. It led to his introduction to a celebrated personage of congenial tastes—the famous Hungarian scholar and traveller, Csoma Körösi. Mr Malan thus relates the occasion of the introduction:

'On the morning of our arrival a beautiful blue butterfly sailed into the room where I was sitting at Bishop's College. At once I started in pursuit, and followed it out into the garden, where I

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caught it. Then a voice hailed me, 'Oh, are you fond of these things? Come here and catch some of this.' I found myself face to face with a wonderful man, no less a personage than Csoma Körösi. He was reading Tibetan, and I went to learn Tibetan of him every day. He gave me some three dozen of his books and manuscripts, and we corresponded after I left India till his death. I went on studying Tibetan, and my sorrow was that I could find no one interested in it. But by way of practice I translated the Gospels and Acts into Tibetan, and heard nothing more about it for nearly fifty years' (p. 48).

The friendship thus begun continued all through life, and Dr. Malan when finally distributing his books sent the Tibetan volumes he had received from Körösi to the Hungarian Academy of Science at Budapest.

But the Indian sojourn of Dr. Malan was brought to a speedy close through failure of health. The health both of Mr. and Mrs. Malan gave way, and in consequence it was determined that Mrs. Malan with her children should return to England, and that he should accompany them as far as the Cape of Good Hope. It was hoped that the sea voyage might recruit his health, and that he might be able after it to resume his duties at Bishop's College. They parted therefore at the Cape, she to go to England, and he to remain some time at the Cape and then to go back to Calcutta. As usual he illustrated his visit to the Cape by many sketches, and the following amusing anecdote is related in connexion with it.

'When asked, in after years, if he did not come across many of his own name during his sojourn at the Cape, he replied in his abrupt manner, "Oh, yes; I had nothing to say to them." In striking contrast to such reserve was the attitude of his son Charles, major in the 75th Regiment, who, many years later, visited the same regions. On first meeting one of his South African kinsmen he grasped his hand with a gush of good-fellowship, and, after a cordial interchange of compliments, he pressed his new acquaintance to come to breakfast on the morrow and "bring any of your relations." This gallant officer was somewhat disconcerted next morning when his kinsman appeared attended by 125 sturdy representatives of the family name' (p. 56).

Mr. Malan returned to India before the close of the year. The hoped for improvement in his health, however, did not answer the expectations of the doctors. He again succumbed to the climate, and at the beginning of the new year the doctors pronounced him incapable of remaining in India. Towards the end of January 1840 he finally quitted India. His biographer gives an interesting account of the voyage

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home. At Cosseir he left the ship in order to visit Egypt. He has left memorials of his wanderings in that country, in the shape of numerous sketches. At length, on April 26, he reached Alexandria and sailed for Malta.

At Malta he received a great shock. From the uncertainty attending his wanderings in Egypt he had fallen out of touch with England, and at Malta, taking up an old copy of the *Times*, he saw a notice of his wife's death. She had not, as hoped, recovered her health, but had fallen into a consumption which proved fatal. This naturally made a great change in his prospects, and he immediately returned to England. His health, it appears, was not yet satisfactory, and, after providing for his children, he was recommended to travel.

On his return from abroad much benefited in health Mr. Malan turned his thoughts towards settling down to permanent work in England. All thought of a return to India had now been abandoned; and in December, 1842, he received the offer of a curacy at Alverstoke, which he accepted. His Rector was no less a personage than Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce, and his fellow-curates were the Rev. R. C. Trench, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, and the Rev. W. H. Burrows—a remarkable assemblage of four remarkable men. The working of the parish was after the approved model of advanced High Church: that is to say, daily prayers, frequent preaching, visiting, &c. The influence of this on Malan was very great. He had inherited from his father the passionate love he had for the Bible as the Word of God, and now from Bishop Wilberforce and his fellow-curates he was indoctrinated in the *via media* High Church. More espepecially was he influenced by Bishop Wilberforce. That influence, with the tradition of his family, gave him his dislike of Roman ways; and in respect to Ritualism he perhaps went beyond the Bishop.

His opposition to it was very great. It was of a kind which has now become antiquated and need not be repeated. But the fact of its existence may give occasion to serious thought. It was shared by many at that time. It was, in fact, the attitude which the great body of High Churchmen took up in presence of the advancing tide of Ritualism. What did it mean? It is very easy to name it prejudice and so to dismiss it. But it coincided with a deep feeling among sober Catholics at the period of the Reformation—a feeling of weariness with the elaborate ritual handed down from the Middle Ages, a longing for something better adapted to the

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age. Our Ritualists seem bent upon reproducing mediæval ceremonial down to its minutest points. But the question arises: Is this a right course? Even if the reproduction is successful, will it satisfy the wants and aspirations of our age? There is no doubt that the Eucharistic ceremonial in the rendering given to it by Middle Age theologians receded immensely from the grandeur and majesty of the primitive Liturgies. May it not be that the ceremonial of these Liturgies, the production of a highly civilized age, is better adapted to our wants than the rendering of an age far inferior to it in civilization and intelligence?

The curacy at Alverstoke, though held only for a year, resulted in cementing a warm friendship between Mr. Malan and the Bishop, who ever after addressed him as 'My dearest Solomon.' In illustration of this his biographer gives the following anecdote:

'In September, 1872, in the vestry of the parish church, Alverstoke, where Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, was receiving candidates for ordination, he looked upon one of them with a very tender expression of kindness, and said, "Are you the son of my dearest friend Solomon Malan?" Then taking a slip of paper he wrote a note, and folding it into a small compass, said, as he gave it to the candidate, "Send that to your father."'

In September 1844 the perpetual curacy of Crowcombe, in Somersetshire, was offered to Mr. Malan by Bishop Denison and accepted by him. His sojourn there, however, lasted only one year. At the end of that period the valuable living of Broadwindsor falling vacant Bishop Denison presented it to him. Here he remained for the remainder of his active life—that is to say, for forty years. He used in late times to call it his forty years in the wilderness. From the time of his thus settling down, his life, externally viewed, appears still and almost without incident; but if looked at from the point of view of his study, it is a stirring and busy time, full of labours, efforts, and struggles, resulting in contests with the outside world.

Dr. Malan was pre-eminently a student; but unlike the generality of that race, his interests were by no means confined to his studies. He had many other points of character. He had inherited from his father a liking for mechanical pursuits, and these he practised all through life. He had his workshop and his tools; and it is recorded of him that he presented to a bride a beautiful workbox entirely of his own manufacture. He was fond of natural history, having a keen eye for the beauties of nature and a tender feeling for its

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denizens. He made a complete collection of the eggs of British birds, which he presented to the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter. He was very fond of animals, and had many pets of birds and dogs with whom he lived on terms of great friendship. He was also a keen fisherman, delighting on promising days to leave his books for neighbouring streams, where he could cast his line with marvellous dexterity. Then, too, he was an artist of no mean attainments, and he made great use of his sketching powers during his frequent travels abroad. He seems to have been passionately fond of travelling, and regularly planned his tours when late summer drew nigh. When the time came he would set out with a portable bag and umbrella, the only baggage he would allow himself, and after a couple of months or so he would reappear at home without warning. In this way he explored the greater part of Europe and Western Asia; and his path can be traced by the beautiful sketches he habitually made and punctually dated. Among these wanderings the most interesting were his visits to the seven Churches of Asia and to the Holy Land. He also visited Mesopotamia, tracing out the birthplace and first abode of Abraham; and subsequently Armenia and Georgia. His biographer has illustrated and made very attractive his book by giving a copious selection of these beautiful sketches.

It was, however, as a student that he was most remarkable; and the bent of his mind was towards Oriental languages and lore, which he cultivated with great success, always, however, with an eye to the illustration and defence of Holy Writ. He seems to have had an especial talent for the acquisition of languages, but, unlike Mezzofanti, the attraction for him was the lore enshrined in the various tongues. He began at a very early period. We have seen that in early youth he could speak with fluent ease, French, Spanish, Italian, German, and less perfectly English, and that even then he was well advanced in Hebrew, Sanscrit, and Arabic. In after life he continued the study. During his sojourn in India we have seen him labouring with Csoma Körösi in the acquisition of Tibetan. Subsequently he acquired a knowledge of Chinese, and many other Eastern tongues. In a short account of his library, which he left to the Indian Institute, Oxford, the linguistic item is given under the head of 'Grammars, Dictionaries, and Literature in the following Languages.' The list of these languages is simply amazing. It comprises no less than thirty-four European languages, many of them, such as Wotjak,

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Syrgenian, Lappic, Tchuwash, obscure even to the learned, and to the ordinary reader shrouded in darkness and awful mystery. Then there are twelve Semitic languages, forty-seven Asiatic, and thirteen African. All these languages he knew to some extent, and many of them thoroughly. In illustration of the thoroughness of his acquisition we may mention Georgian, not by any means an important tongue. Yet on the occasion of his visit to the Bishop Gabriel, of Georgia, it is recorded that he *preached* in the cathedral in Georgian.

His linguistic attainments would seem to many incredible were it not that they were recognized as real and profound by those best qualified to judge. Among these Dr. Pusey was conspicuous. He was an old pupil of Dr. Pusey's, and was ever after regarded by the Doctor with deep affection. Dr. Pusey tried to draw him from the country to the university; and it is said that he desired much that he might succeed him in the Hebrew Professorship. Sir W. Hunter, Sir Monier Williams, and Dr. Sinker, of Trinity College, Cambridge, also bear witness to the depth of his linguistic attainments. Sir W. Hunter says of him:

'He was a man whom I held in honour, I might almost say veneration. . . . He very kindly helped me in compiling my *Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*, in 1867–8; with special reference, if I remember rightly, to the Tibetan vocabulary. I well remember the benevolent and scholarly character of his letters to me, although we did not personally meet' (p. 262).

Sir W. Hunter expresses his regret that owing to his many wanderings from place to place most of his papers of that period had been destroyed, so that none of these letters were recovered. Dr. Sinker's testimony to Malan's profound scholarship is equally strong and decided. He says:

'My acquaintance with him, which gradually ripened, I can fully say for myself, into a very deep and warm friendship, began about twenty years ago in this way. I had been reading his book, *Philosophy or Truth*, which discussed some of the numerous errors in Dean Stanley's *Jewish Church*. Reference was therein made to the Armenian version of a work of which I had just edited the Greek text, the *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*; and I ventured to consult Dr. Malan, then a perfect stranger to me, on the subject. He gave me, I need not say, a most courteous and friendly answer, and put me in the way of obtaining all the information I sought.

'From that time forward I gradually got into the way of consulting him on various difficulties when I got beyond my bounds in a learned subject. Both then and now, as I look back on those

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times, I know not which impressed me most; his marvellous store of learning, on which he seemed to draw as on a store-room where all was in most perfect order; the kindness with which, amid a multiplicity of work, he always gave help ungrudgingly; or the transparent, simple humbleness with which he, *inter doctos doctissimus*, never seemed to give a thought to the wonderful position he occupied.

'My own knowledge of Eastern languages is confined to Hebrew and Armenian; and after Dr. Malan had given a large proportion of his books to Oxford, when, I fear, his sight was beginning to fail, he answered my questions on such points as the exact meaning of passages in the Armenian and Ethopic versions of the Bible, as readily and as fully as if he had come straight from a special study of the points I raised.

'Of course it is not hard to find men who are profound experts in a group of languages—the marvel in Dr. Malan's case was that he mastered a group as most men would master a single language; and this not as a mere Mezzofanti, but with the keenest appreciation of the literature into which he broke, as well as the purely linguistic side of the matter. Such works as that on the Revised Version of the New Testament, or the translation in parallel columns of the eleven oldest versions of St. John (exclusive of the Latin), are works which I suppose no other man in England could have done' (p. 399).

Sir Monier Williams's estimate of Dr. S. C. Malan is succinctly given in the following paragraph of a letter which he wrote to the *Times* on the occasion of Dr. Malan's death:

'The Oriental literary world has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Dr. S. C. Malan—an Orientalist absolutely unequalled, and never likely to be equalled, in respect of the marvellous diversity of his linguistic attainments and the profundity of his scholarship' (p. 370).

Dr. Malan was above all things a student, but we must not suppose that he was merely a student. On the contrary he exhibited a wonderful amount of literary activity. His biographer gives a list of his publications, and they amount to no less than fifty-five. Most of these are deep and learned works, but there are others of a different character. We get, for instance, a glimpse into one beautiful feature of his many-sided personality in a charming book entitled *Our Lord's Parables explained to Country Children.* It is a *résumé* of the instruction he was in the habit of giving to the school children at Broadwindsor, and it is characterized by great simplicity together with a wonderful richness of illustration derived from his familiarity with Eastern countries.

One can easily see what a power Dr. Malan might have

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become had he had the faculty of bringing his wonderful mental stores to bear popularly upon the great questions of the day. But like most profound students he had not that faculty. As a rule he did not come out spontaneously, but needed to be drawn. And his great works were beyond the popular depth. The great magnet that was sure to call him up was always something bearing on Divine Revelation, its interests or its dangers. Thus at an early period he was drawn into a great controversy raging among Christian missionaries in China. The question at issue was as to the best word for expressing Theos, God, in Chinese. One party were in favour of Shin, and the other were for Shang-Te. The profound knowledge Mr. Malan had, not only of the Chinese language but of its literature from the earliest period, led him to a decision in favour of Shang-Te; and he was roused and drawn into the controversy by accidentally meeting with a *Review of the Controversy* by a life member of the Bible Society. In this publication the reviewer called upon all friends of China, and the contributors to the beneficent scheme of giving one million New Testaments to China, to bring pressure upon the British and Foreign Bible Society to adopt the title Shin for God.

On reflection it will be seen how important the controversy was in view of the future of Christianity in China. Of course no word in the Chinese language was adequate to express the Christian idea of God, and whatever word might be selected would have to be raised by instruction to the Christian level. But it was of the greatest importance that the word selected should not in the popular mind carry associations antagonistic to Christian faith, and also should be capable of being raised. Dr. Malan entered upon the controversy with great vigour in his book, published in 1855, and entitled *Who is God in China, Shin or Shang-Te? Remarks on the Etymology of Elohim and of Theos, and on the rendering of these Terms in Chinese.* The book is a perfect mine of learning. It brings to bear upon the subject not only copious instances from ancient Chinese literature, but also from a multitude of other sources. In regard to Shin, the conclusion at which he arrives is that it is inappropriate. It is a generic term for spirits of all sorts—like the Roman *Genii* or the Greek *Dæmons.* It is a collective term answering to τὸ δαιμόνιον. From which the inference is that is undesirable to express the name of God by a word carrying such associations as these. In regard to Shang-Te Dr. Malan gives the following statement:

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'The Chinese, like every other nation under heaven, have worshipped one personal God as supreme over all. Already in the days of Yaou 2300 years before Christ, SHANG-TE had long been adored as alone supreme over all things in heaven and earth. His immediate attendants are five heavenly chiefs, who are set over the presidents of heaven, earth, and sea. These latter range in the world of Shin, as spirits of air, souls departed, and spirits of or under the earth. But above all these is SHANG-TE. One *Te*, i.e. ruler is *Shang* supreme. He is Shang Te, "the Majesty of the unseen Lord and God of Heaven"' (p. 168).

The case being as stated, it is seen that Shang-Te is the more appropriate term. Shin applies to a subordinate order of beings; Shang-Te, on the other hand, carries the attributes of ruler and supreme. One can see how to these attributes that of Creator might be added, as well as the other attributes of Revelation, and further how on this basis the doctrine of the Trinity as it exists in the Christian system might be erected.

From this period onwards the literary efforts of Dr. Malan seem mainly to have been directed to the defence of the Bible. Especially in defence of the Authorized Version and the received text he became a formidable champion. Whatever view one may take of these questions, one cannot but rejoice that it was so; for it was absolutely essential to a right solution of the questions that the conservative side should be well represented. As early as the year 1856 the cry for revision had been raised, and this at once brought him into the field. He published in that year his *Vindication of the Authorized Version.* The book shows how keenly he felt on the subject, and how deeply he prized the Authorized Version. While admitting that here and there amendments might be made, he yet deprecated any extensive alteration as tending to destroy its grandeur and beauty and to unsettle the unlearned. The result showed how much the warning was needed. The first attempt, indeed, at revision was in many respects commendable. In 1857 appeared the *Revised Version of the Gospel according to St. John, by five Clergymen.* It may be considered as a first attempt or earnest of a more extensive revision to follow; and in this respect it appeared very promising. It was set about in a reverential and sober spirit, and exhibited great moderation in adhering to the received text with only a few alterations. Yet there was something ominous in the fact that, though the whole Gospel contains no more than 879 verses, no less than 1340 alterations were made. It seemed as if, the principle of alteration once admitted, no limit could be set to its

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application. And the truth of this was fully exemplified in the Revised Version of 1881.

It was in view of the work of the five clergymen, that Dr. Malan published in 1862 one of his greatest works. It was entitled *The Gospel according to St. John, translated from the Eleven oldest Versions, except the Latin, viz. the Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, Memphitic, Gothic, Georgian, Slavonic, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic, and Persian, with Footnotes to every Translation, and a Criticism on all the* 1340 *Alterations proposed by the Five Clergymen in their Revision of that Gospel.* It is of this marvellous work that Dr. Sinker remarks 'I suppose that no other man in England could have done it.' The plan of the work is to exhibit in parallel columns the authorized English version alongside of translations of the eleven selected versions. Dr. Malan held that a study of these ancient versions is indispensable to a real criticism of the Bible. He remarked: 'We can form no just idea of our Saviour's teaching and of His conversation by reading them in the Greek of the Evangelists, which He never spoke; but we must look for the real spirit of them in the venerable idiom of the Peshito.' The production of these parallel versions occupies 427 quarto pages of the work; and the remainder is devoted to notes on the 1340 alterations of the five clergymen.

The book called forth many letters to the author from distinguished scholars. Among others he received the following from Dr. Pusey, so characteristic of the writer, and interesting as exhibiting the great affection he had for Dr. Malan. The letter, written on a half-sheet, bears no address.

'My dear Malan,

'I thanked you in my heart, in which way I fear I give a good many thanks. For I was very pressed with lectures, my book on Daniel, and a sermon or two.

'Advancing years contract reading yet more than before; for there is the less time to do anything of what one wishes to do for God; and so having to read a good deal for it, I can read next to nothing else. "The night cometh when no man can work."

'I have always on principle avoided acting as if I were anyone. People make too much of me always: some kindly, some unkindly. But love is precious, since it is of God. As, then, you like to express the memory of that love which I ever bear to my pupils, and which I had to you, who have yourself so much love, I thank you for the love which makes you wish it and accept it. Will my MS. bring you up to Oxford? I should be glad to see you.

'God be with you.

'Yours affectionately,

'E. B. P.'

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But Dr. Malan could not only bring forward many and weighty arguments in defence of the positions he took up; he could also deal crushing blows at the arguments on the other side. By this time both Dean Stanley and Dean Alford had come under his criticism; and it is difficult to say which of them came out of it the worst. He had in truth by this time become a power. His wonderful scholarship was widely known, as well as the keen and incisive effect with which he could use it in establishing his position or in beating off opponents. It was felt that anyone who should come forward on the opposite side had need to look well to the validity of his arguments. We need not wonder, therefore, if from this time he began to be regarded with a feeling of considerable uneasiness by the advocates of broad views. An amusing anecdote illustrative of this feeling is recorded in his biography. It was at Oxford on the occasion of some function at which both Dr. Malan and Dean Alford were present. A common friend, observing Dr. Malan, remarked to the Dean, 'There's Malan; shall I introduce you to him?' 'No, thank you,' was the reply; 'he smashed me up over γένεσις and γέννησις.'

The reference is to a book which Dr. Malan published in 1869, entitled *A Plea for the Authorized Version, and for the Received Text, in answer to the Dean of Canterbury.* The question as to γένεσις and γέννησις was one of the first points taken up, and it was effectually settled against the Dean. Dean Stanley also had come in for similar treatment in reference to his History of the Jewish Church. That was a book full of the wildest notions as to early Bible history, and calculated to give intense pain to simple-minded believing Christians. Unhappily for himself, the Dean had the imprudence to back up some of his broad views by references to Hebrew and Egyptian, with which languages he seems to have been imperfectly acquainted. The exposure by Dr. Malan was trenchant and complete. It was given in a work which he published in 1865, entitled *Philosophy or Truth? Remarks on the first five Lectures of the Dean of Westminster on the Jewish Church.* This was perhaps the most popular of all Dr. Malan's works; and it brought him much commendation, not only from divines and scholars interested in the question, but also from lay folks. It was reviewed with much praise by the Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite in the *Church and State Review.* Dr. Payne Smith also wrote regarding it:—'Stanley seems to me to have no appreciation of truth. There must be a true and false, and, as you show, the object

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of true philosophy should be to attain to the true. With him anything that is striking, fanciful, popular, novel, comes with more force to his imagination than the true does to his reason. His exposure by you is constantly complete; but thousands will read his works who care little for the difference between the true and the false, and think it is liberal to efface these distinctions. But what a multifarious man you are! You seem to have all knowledge at your finger-ends.' Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln, who was then Canon of Westminster, also wrote in acknowledgment of the gift of a copy of the book:—'I do not know whether to admire more the soundness of its doctrine or the depth and extent of its erudition, and I heartily thank God that it has pleased Him to raise up a writer in the present age who is so well qualified to refute the errors which are now propagated among us under the specious guise of superior intelligence, and to maintain, with irresistible power, the true Faith once delivered to the saints.'

Dr. Malan was strongly urged to continue his observations beyond the five lectures with which he dealt, but he does not appear to have seen his way to the carrying out of this request.

The controversy on the Revision of the Bible culminated in 1881. In that year appeared the *Revised Version of the New Testament.* There is no doubt it contained many emendations which were very desirable, and it was well calculated by its frequent variations in the rendering of old and familiar phrases, to assist the clergy in their studies. But it had its drawbacks. It was remarkable not only for its many departures from the received text, but also for the numerous changes it made in the Authorized Version. To such an extent did these changes run that, it is stated, eight or nine occur in every five verses of the Gospels, and fifteen in every five verses of the Epistles. The effect of this was that the rhythm and beauty of the Authorized Version were quite destroyed, and the revision became altogether unsuitable for use in public worship. One can easily understand the effect that these changes would have on minds so conservative as those of Dr. Malan and Dean Burgon. And accordingly we find that both these champions buckled on their armour for the combat. Dr. Malan first attacked the changes in the version in a very able and learned pamphlet entitled '*Seven Chapters of the Revision of* 1881 *Revised.* The seven chapters selected were Matt. i–vi. and Luke xi., and his observations, like all his work in defence of the Bible, were trenchantly and

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effectively made. He was especially angry at the changes in the Lord's Prayer, and characteristically he appends to his pamphlet translations of the Lord's Prayer from no less than seventy-one versions ancient and modern.

But the alterations in the received text were a much more serious matter. This was deeply felt by many outside the sphere of the immediate combatants. The alterations were based mainly on the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. and hence the question arose, Was it right, was it justifiable, to set these manuscripts against the traditional text to which the Christian Church had as it were set its seal? Dr. Malan dealt with the question of the text in his work entitled *Select Readings in the Greek Text of St. Matthew lately published by the Rev. Drs. Westcott and Hort.* He bases his protest on the fact, acknowledged by all, that nothing certain is known respecting the origin of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. This is undoubtedly a grave fact in view of the uses to which they were put. Surely, if their authority is to outweigh the verdict of the whole Church, we ought to know something about them. He also in the course of his argument lays down a principle of the greatest weight, the principle, namely, that the witness of accredited versions made *long before any known manuscript* ought to weigh for much in the decision. In any case they ought to outweigh the authority of two manuscripts of uncertain origin. In this work Dr. Malan reverts again to his old controversy on γένεσις and γέννησις, and brings forward further arguments in favour of γέννησις.

But the great champion as against the Revisers was Dean Burgon of Chichester. As is well known, his polemic appeared as articles printed in the *Quarterly Review*, and afterwards republished. It appears that during the composition of these weighty papers he was in constant communication with Dr. Malan, and availed himself largely of his vast learning. The following narrative, which is of considerable interest, occurs in the biography:

'Those "long summer days" devoted so assiduously by Dean Burgon to the preparation of his first article were succeeded by similar labour all through the autumn, while he was preparing his second article on "The New English Version." During that period, from May to December 1881, letters from the Dean of Chichester continually reached the Vicar of Broadwindsor, requesting him to search the ancient versions for the readings of various passages in the New Testament, no reason being assigned to explain the purpose for which they were required. The penmanship of the great Dean was

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notoriously difficult to decipher, and often at the breakfast-table, after the letter-bag had distributed its contents, the Vicar's brow would be seen contracted over the perusal of a letter which presented to him graver difficulties than the versions whereof it treated. But, none the less, in the course of the morning he would perform the service asked, and send off the results in the afternoon.

'The two articles duly appeared, and Mr. Murray forwarded copies of the *Quarterly* to Broadwindsor. Then the learned Vicar's eyes were opened. *There* were his verdicts of the versions all faithfully recorded—the batteries of heavy calibre were unmasked. While public speculation was rife, and men wondered who was the author of those mighty fulminations of scathing criticism, Dr. Malan at any rate recognized the sign manual of authorship' (p. 315).

The Dean acknowledged his obligations to Dr. Malan in the volume which subsequently reproduced the essays.

Dr. Malan's defence of the Bible seems to have been confined to the Revision controversy. He does not appear to have mastered, or to have taken any interest in, the Higher Criticism. This is perhaps to be regretted, as there are many dark points in that controversy on which his immense linguistic knowledge might have thrown a powerful light. There was, however, another subject in which all through life he took a deep interest, viz. the revival of intercourse with the ancient Churches of the East. It was a consequence of the Oxford Movement that a longing for the reunion of Christendom was widely spread. And more especially were the thoughts of many directed towards the East. It is characteristic of the Oriental Churches that they have preserved the great dogmas of the faith inviolate. And this is true not only of the Orthodox Eastern Church, but in some measure also of the separated Churches. It is said in the case of the latter that points which were grave and heretical at the period of the separation have in the course of time lost much of their meaning. The worship, also, of these Churches possesses a grandeur and beauty of its own. Dr. Malan, during his frequent tours in the East, became intimately acquainted with both the Armenian and the Coptic Churches, and he strove in a series of publications to draw attention to and awaken interest in them. Unhappily, he met with scanty encouragement. But we may hope that his labours were not thrown away. The works that he published were of great interest and value, and they helped to prepare the way for the subsequent mission of the Archbishop to the East.

In the year 1883 Dr. Malan's health, which up to this period had been good, began to fail. In May of that year he had a dangerous attack of jaundice and congestion of the

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lungs. It arose out of a chill caught at a Visitation held at Bridport, and the exposure at a funeral which he took after returning home completed the mischief. For many weeks he was in a critical state, but he ultimately recovered and went away to Wales for change. It is supposed that he sought change too soon, and in the event, instead of profiting by it, he had a dangerous relapse. Wales had a great attraction for him. It had trout streams in which he especially delighted; it had grand mountainous scenery and the freshness of novelty; but above all it had a language which he had not yet studied, He had already visited it more than once, but was in the habit of saying he reserved it for the time when he should be unable to go further afield. On this occasion he went to Bettws-y-coed, Pen Maen Mawr, and Llanberis. Unhappily, the fascination of the trout streams at Bettws, and the fatigue of an ascent of Snowdon, made from Llanberis, brought on the relapse. He had to hurry away to London for medical help. There he lay ill for a fortnight, and subsequently with Mrs. Malan he spent a week at Bournemouth. He seemed to have recovered so far, but on returning home to Broadwindsor he was again disabled; and subsequently he had to battle with frequent attacks of illness.

The conviction gradually came home to him that his physical strength was no longer equal to the burden of a large parish. He felt that he must resign Broadwindsor, of which he had been vicar for forty years—his forty years in the wilderness, as he was wont to call it. One can easily imagine how much the resolve, necessary as it was, must have cost him. As a sort of farewell to his parishioners he published *Morning and Evening Prayers for Day and Sunday Schools in the Parish of Broadwindsor.* One consequence of this resolve, deeply touching to himself, was the disposal of his library. He had collected a magnificent library, chiefly Oriental and linguistic. In it were embraced not only many works of great value, but also others exceedingly rare. He had also a fine collection of manuscripts. To gather them together had been the work of a lifetime, and they were associated with all the triumphs and difficulties of his literary life. Probably each book had a history of its own. And then, he had not been a mere collector: he had lived among his books, and had come to regard them with a feeling of affection, attributing to them almost the personality of friends. As he himself informs us, most of them were read, many of them studied, and others were placed lovingly on their shelves, waiting for the time, which alas! never came, when he might

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study them. To part from them was the great wrench of his life. And yet they must be parted with. But what was to become of them? He could not bear the thought of their being sent to the hammer to be scattered abroad, and many of them destroyed or lost. He would rather seek for them a home worthy of them; and in the search his mind naturally recurred to Oxford—'the centre of his earliest ambition, round which the enthusiasm of youth had woven its admiration, and manhood had matured its affections.'

At first he thought of offering the library to the Bodleian. But on proceeding to discuss the matter with Sir Monier Williams, who was then maturing his scheme for the foundation of the Indian Institute, he was led to decide in favour of the latter. A long correspondence is given in the biography on the settlement of the details. His whole heart was in the negotiation, and he set about it in the same spirit as if he had been providing for a beloved child. At length, the details having been finally arranged, an enormous waggon appeared at the vicarage. The much prized books were transferred to it, the vicar looking on in unspeakable agony. A diversion was happily created by the awkwardness of the driver, who, in moving away, demolished a part of the lawn. But that was only for a moment. In the evening his grief returned with renewed force. The burden of his lamentation was, 'I feel disembowelled. If they had torn out my inside they could not have hurt me more . . . Ah! that is the beginning of the end.'

Dr. Malan in parting with his books to the Indian Institute made an exception in regard to the Tibetan books and manuscripts which he had received from the Hungarian scholar, Csoma Körösi. These, after some correspondence with Dr. Duka, were given to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Buda-Pesth. The following is his letter in which he made the offer:

The Vicarage, Broadwindsor, April 5, 1884.

'DEAR SIR,—

I am about disposing of my Library; and I feel sorry to scatter abroad Csoma's Tibetan books and MSS., which he gave me in 1839, which I have used and kept ever since for his sake. But it strikes me that the University of Buda-Pesth would be the proper home for those treasures, under the learned care of Mr. Vambéry. There are some thirty volumes, and if you think they would prove acceptable to the University, and you would undertake to forward them, I will send them to you at once with pleasure.

'Believe me,

'Yours faithfully,

'S. C. MALAN.'

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The books were accordingly forwarded to Buda-Pesth, and were received with gratitude by the university. On July 4, 1884 Dr. Malan received by post an imposing document, which proved to be a letter of thanks from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In that letter, after acknowledging the gift, they add; 'The Academy received the report with great pleasure, and listened with deep emotion to your letters addressed to Dr. Duka, in which you remember the vicissitudes of our deceased learned countryman and his scientific merits with such warm sympathy and such high regard.'

In another letter to Dr. Duka, Dr. Malan gives an estimate of Csoma which is of interest. It was written in answer to the presentation of a copy of Csoma's *Life*.

'If by "philology" they mean the system now in vogue, of "making" languages—either one language out of two or three, or two or three out of one—then Csoma was no "philologist," neither am I, assuredly. But he was far better than that; he was devoted to his one object, was master of several languages, and over and above all, he has, and shall have to the end, the honour and credit of being the founder of Tibetan studies in Europe. He did not scrutinize the intricacies of hypotheses; he had too much sense for that. But he laid the foundation, and others only build upon it' (p. 342).

On January 1, 1885, Dr. Malan wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury intimating his intention of resigning the living; and on May 30 he and Mrs. Malan finally left Broadwindsor. They went at first for three months to Ilfracombe, and on September 1 took up their residence at West Cliffe Hall, Bournemouth, where they remained nine years, up to the period of Dr. Malan's death.

The life at Bournemouth appears to have been bright and happy—a smiling eventide to the many and varied occupations of his busy life. He was there in a circle of many valued friends. He had not yet altogether given up the work of the study, but failing sight limited it to a shorter time; and when the tired eye gave in, he would walk on the West Cliff, or hear the music at the Winter Gardens, or pay visits to friends. In these evening days music appears to have been his great delight. Nor had his passionate love of foreign travel forsaken him. We are told that he even planned a visit to Japan. But second thoughts and the state of his health made it impossible. So he had to content himself with frequent holiday visits to Wales.

It was on these evening days that he busied himself in preparing for the press that one of his books which will

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probably live longest, and which, though it may never be popular, will be deeply prized by scholars. From a very early period he had commenced his linguistic studies, and in the prosecution of them he was daily coming across in Eastern books gems of proverbial wisdom. A study of the Book of Proverbs showed him how nearly that book was allied to much of this Eastern lore. He in consequence conceived the idea that the Proverbs might be strikingly illustrated if brought into comparison with these Eastern sources. This, he thought, would be a far more appropriate commentary than adding another to the exegetical helps and critical treatises already in existence. In his Preface, after showing how the best of these Eastern sages were seeking after God, and expressing his conviction, in the words of St. Paul to the Athenians, that 'God is not far from every one of us,' he continues:

'We cannot study the best of those ancient children of the East without feeling drawn towards them. We cannot help being either pleased with their wit, with their quaint common sense, which they tell in their own way, or delighted with the freshness of their old ideas, and the beauty and elegance of their words, which, alas! wither and die in the rendering. This feeling of reverence for those ancient writings, but of worship for the Word of God, led me, when an undergraduate at Oxford, to begin these "Notes" and to continue them, through many vicissitudes and long intervals of time and place, as the by-work of other duties; looking forward, as I did, to the time when, free from the care of a large country parish, I should have leisure to revise and arrange my materials. The time came at last; but with it also came sickness and failing eyesight; and, worse, separation from my library, which is at Oxford. This left me almost entirely dependent on my notes, as they were written at the time—unable to verify many of my references, and to finish my work, which is, I fear, but a rough pen-and-ink outline of what was intended to be a true picture of Eastern thought and wisdom. These gleanings in the "East country," however, such as they are, may yet prove acceptable to some who feel interested in lore of this kind—who, like the favourite swan of Hindoo poetry, will "pluck curds of wisdom from the whey" of what may seem perhaps childish and trivial' (p. 396).

The Notes number altogether about sixteen thousand, drawn from the most varied sources. A writer in the *Oriental Review*, after mentioning that they are taken from untranslated original texts, adds that they are culled from a range of Oriental tongues such as few scholars have ever encompassed, In effect in the collection of them, the literature of China, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and the Sanscrit, Bengali, Tamil,

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Telugu, Pali, Burmese, Malay, and all the Semitic, Persian, and Turco-Finnic languages, as well as Georgian, Armenian and Russian, have been laid under contribution. The writer concludes with the remark that few readers will be able to gather from the simple and unpretending references at the bottom of each page the marvellous extent of Oriental reading which has furnished the author with parallel passages from the literature of the East.

But we have not only the notes in the published volumes, we have also, what is a perfect curiosity in literature, a large manuscript volume containing the notes in their native language and dress as they were originally culled from their sources. Dr. Malan had begun by copying the extracts upon sheets of blue foolscap, which he subsequently had bound in a volume. This manuscript is a marvel of penmanship. Dr. Malan was not only an expert in sketching landscapes, he seems to have had the same genius for throwing himself into and expressing, in their ideal form, the written characters of ancient tongues. His son remarks that he 'seemed so to infuse himself into the particular language with which he was dealing at the moment, as to catch the spirit of the very letters, so that it is questionable whether any scribe of the East could excel him in such transcription.' This wonderful volume now reposes with his other manuscripts in the Indian Institute.

But the time was now approaching when his earthly career must come to an end. Towards the beginning of 1894 his strength began to give way. He had for some time complained of an internal pain; about this time its cause was revealed—an internal tumour, which must prove fatal. Fortunately, it was not attended by much suffering. 'I could not,' he said, 'be let down more gently.' And so, with the meekness and resignation of a Christian, he looked forward to the end. 'There is nothing left but for God to take me to His kingdom.' His wife gives the following account of his last year:

'1894.—In February there was evidence of the internal disease which ended fatally the following November. During the intervening months there were fluctuations of temporary improvement; but the sentence of death had gone forth, and the physical strength, which had resisted so many previous illnesses, was now visibly declining. His knowledge of medicine probably made this plain to him, but he never talked of it. His studies and his music came to an end. He could no longer visit his friends. . . . In the course of the summer his few remaining Eastern books were packed and given away. This was the last wrench, and it was bitter work. Yet amidst all priva-

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tions, the time never seemed long; and his last summer was the happiest he had known. There was no longer any feverish craving for Japan. Even Wales was impossible. The old impetuosity was often breaking out, but amidst all which was denied him of former pursuits, the back was fitted to the burden. . . .

'He loved to hear hymns repeated, and the last chapters of St. John were his greatest comfort. He heard Collects repeated, early every morning; and at last he became reconciled to the impossibility of going to church. He enjoyed carriage-drives and wheel-chairs, as also sitting or lying down in the garden.

'There was no marked change till the end of October, when a critical attack came, and he then thought he was dying. His last words on leaving the drawing-room were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Dr. Nankivell assisted him to bed, and he never rose from it again.

'Five more weeks of decay followed, and Sunday, November 25, closed his pilgrimage. He had been unconscious for several days. There were no final words, and at 6.30 P.M. the watchers' work was over. The church bells were just commencing for the evening service, which he had loved. The conflict ceased, and the spirit fled' (p. 421).

Thus passed away the greatest linguistic scholar of the nineteenth century, a man, too, distinguished for other points of character, and above all for the depth and intensity of his Christian faith. *Requiescat in pace.*

ART. VI.—ST. WILLIAM OF NORWICH.

The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich. By THOMAS OF MONMOUTH. Now first edited from the unique manuscript, with an Introduction, Translation and Notes by AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D., Honorary Canon of Norwich, &c. &c., and MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Litt.D., Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and Fellow and Senior Dean of King's College, Cambridge. Illustrated with five Plates and a Map. (Cambridge, 1896.)

IT would be difficult to conceive a stranger destiny than that which has befallen 'The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich.' Its author, Thomas of Monmouth, was a monk of the Benedictine Priory of Norwich, concerning whom nothing is known beyond what may be gathered from the biography he wrote 700 years ago. His fluent Latin, 'less crabbed and pretentious than that of his noted contemporary Geoffrey of Monmouth,' shows that he had received in youth

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a scholar's training. He is familiar with Virgil and Horace and other classic authors; he has the Vulgate at his fingers' ends; he gives copious quotations from the Lives of the Saints; he shows full acquaintance with the writings of Gregory of Tours—in short, he possessed a wide range of reading for his times. His personal character and his credibility as an historian we shall consider presently, but his literary merit did not avail to preserve his memory from oblivion, and it is only recently that his manuscript was disentombed from the darkness in which it had been enshrouded for centuries. After lying unrecognised since A.D. 1700 in the Parish Library of Brent Eleigh, in Suffolk, it was purchased in 1889 for the Cambridge University Library. The copy is believed to be absolutely unique. What happier fortune could an author desire, after so protracted an eclipse, than to reappear under the auspices of such past masters in antiquarian lore as Dr. Jessopp and Dr. Montague James?

Brother Thomas's work—of which more anon—is one unbroken and lavish panegyric of the martyred saint, with unbridled denunciation of all who dare to question his authority. It literally rains miracles, until the reader wearies with the incessant obtrusion of the supernatural into the most commonplace events of daily life. We can comprehend the impatience with which many readers would glance at its pages and the contemptuous ridicule with which they would pass it by as utterly incredible and therefore absolutely worthless legend. Yet the conclusion, as Dr. Jessopp explains, does not necessarily follow, even if the premises be conceded, and he quotes in his support the words of an eminent French historian:

'Les vies de saints sont aussi de l'histoire. Ce qu'il faut chercher, ce sont les habitudes, les faits généraux et permanents, et l'hagiographe n'avait aucun intérêt à les altérer. Il peut inventer un miracle, il n'en invente pas les circonstances' (Fustel de Coulanges, *La Monarchie Franque*, ch. i. p. 12).

In his indiscriminate farrago of senseless prodigy and needless portent the monkish chronicler unconsciously 'furnishes some valuable side lights which give here and there a glimpse of the habits and manners and superstitions and religious observances of various classes of people in the twelfth century' (p. xv). Shall we try, under the guidance of the two learned editors, to learn what Thomas of Monmouth has to tell us about what is, perhaps, the very darkest period of our national history? We will take, first, the essence, and then the accidents of the story.

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The scene lies in the city of Norwich and its environs; the time is the reign of Stephen and the first twenty years of his successor. From the bloodshed and devastation which waste the rest of England, Norfolk is comparatively free, and the administration of justice has gone on uninterruptedly according to ancient precedent. In the city of Norwich, which was the Manchester of the period, there exists a two-fold jurisdiction: one royal, under the Sheriff, who holds directly from the Crown and occupies Norwich Castle, the other that of the municipality established by charter; and its inhabitants include a community of Jews, under the special protection of the king and his representative, and a Benedictine Priory (founded a quarter of a century before the boy William's dead body was found in Thorpe Wood), to which Thomas of Monmouth was admitted as a member. Such are the *dramatis personæ*, concerning whom some further particulars will be helpful for the elucidation of the narrative.

Dr. James naturally asks on what scale he is expected to treat the enormous subject of the alleged murders of Christian children by Jews, and quotes the passage from Socrates, which records the earliest known example of these so-called ritual outrages. The popular conviction of such misdeeds was all but universal, and in all probability at least a hundred cases could be quoted between the fifth and seventeenth centuries. The position of the Jews caused only too ready an ear to be lent to the most hideous calumnies against them, and 'prepared people to believe that the objects of their hatred were capable of perpetrating every kind of wanton cruelty.' The grounds of this hatred Dr. Jessopp thus explains:

'The cause of this ill-feeling is not far to seek, inasmuch as the Jews were the only financiers, money-lenders, and pawnbrokers who were tolerated. To receive any interest for money advanced on security was denounced as a breach of the moral law, which the Church sternly condemned; yet the capital required by those who embarked in commercial ventures, or were engaged in those architectural works which were the rage of the time, had to be found somewhere, and the Jews, who had no scruple in charging their price for providing the accommodation required, were the only capitalists to apply to for assistance. The interest charged was very high; it could hardly be otherwise when, for obvious reasons, the security was difficult to realise, and in the case of an utterly dishonest and unscrupulous debtor the chances of recovering the loan, or even the interest, might easily be reduced to the vanishing point. As Miss Norgate has put it, the Jew was not a member of

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the State, he was the King's chattel, not to be meddled with, for good or evil, save at the King's own bidding. Exempt from toll and tax and from the fines of justice, he had the means of accumulating a hoard of wealth which might indeed be seized at any moment by an arbitrary act of the King, but which the King's protection guarded with jealous care against all other interference' (Introduction, pp. xl–xli).

It is easy to understand how under such conditions a violent outbreak against the Jews might occur at any moment. The animosity entertained against them by those of the higher orders who were largely in their debt was shared by the artisans and needy folk whose clothes and implements the Jews held in pledge. The municipal and ecclesiastical leaders were jealous of the royal prerogative which checked their authority and protected these hated aliens. The Jewish community at Norwich were tenants at will of the king, liable to be turned out at a moment's notice, living under the shadow of the mighty Castle, then recently erected as a standing menace to turbulent priest or burgher. Every motive of patriotism, of interest, of religion, combined to fan the flame of Anti-Semitic aversion which burned in the twelfth century as fiercely as it has raged in Russia in recent days. Under Muscovite domination, tempered by the influence of some centuries of Christian teaching, the explosion took the form of wholesale deportation. Under Norman and Saxon passion it would have culminated in a general massacre, which was deliberately planned, and which only the iron hand of Stephen's representative effectually repressed.

It is difficult to trace any connexion between the story of the child murder at Inmestar in the fifth century and the martyrdom of St. William in the twelfth, although Dr. James points out that there was a Latin translation of the earlier legend given in the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorus which Thomas of Monmouth might be acquainted with. But for the seven centuries intervening there is no record of child-martyrs and apparently no belief in ritual murders. On its first promulgation the legend of St. William was far from obtaining general credence, and that the monks of the Benedictine Priory at Norwich were largely opposed to its acceptance is apparent from the stern order of the Prior Elias that the carpet and light, placed without his permission, at St. William's shrine, should be forthwith removed. It was only when a strong supporter of the legend had succeeded to the see of Norwich and crowds began to assemble at the sepulchre that opposition was gradually overcome. Possibly

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the profit derived from the offerings of the credulous had no little weight in silencing objections on which it was apparently useless to insist.

The story as told by Thomas of Monmouth is as follows:

William was the son, born on Candlemas-day A.D. 1132, or 1133, of Wenstan and Elviva, at Haveringland, in Norfolk. Wenstan was a farmer in comfortable circumstances, who died before his son's martyrdom; his wife was the daughter of a married priest, Wiward, noted for his skill in the interpretation of dreams. When he was eight years old William was apprenticed to a skinner in Norwich, with whom he remained four years and during that time made acquaintance with some Jews who were his master's customers and who, according to the chronicle, allured the boy 'step by step to be made a mock of and to be put to death, because by the ordering of divine providence he had been predestinated to martyrdom from the beginning of time' (p. 15). It was in vain that he was forbidden by his uncle Godwin, the priest, and by 'a certain' Wulward with whom he lodged, not to have any more dealings with them. Their Passover was approaching and they had determined he should be their victim; so they sent a person who professed to be the cook of William the Archdeacon of Norwich to offer him an advantageous post in the kitchen. His mother sorely distrusted the traitor's statement, but the lad was fascinated, and finally Elviva, seduced by the glitter of three shillings, offered as the price of the innocent's service, gave her consent. On their return to Norwich they passed the house of William's aunt, who instantly sent her daughter to watch whither they were going. She followed till they entered the house of a Jew, and the boy was never seen alive again.

The details of the martyrdom, as given by Brother Thomas, were well calculated to raise the frenzy of the populace. It was the eve of the great Jewish festival when the boy returned to Norwich, and on that day he was kindly treated; but on the next, after the Passover hymns had been sung in the synagogue, they suddenly seized the boy as he sat at dinner, in no fear of treachery.

'Some of them held him, while others opened his mouth and introduced an instrument of torture called a teazle, and, fixing it by straps through both jaws to the back of his neck, they fastened it with a knot as tightly as it could be drawn. After that, taking a short piece of rope about the thickness of one's little finger, and tying three knots in it at certain distances marked out, they bound round that innocent head with it from the forehead to the back,

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forcing the middle knot into his forehead and the two others into his temples, the two ends of the rope being most tightly stretched at the back of his head and fastened in a very tight knot. . . . Not even yet could the cruelty of the torturers be satisfied without adding even more severe pains. Having shaved his head, they stabbed it with countless thorn points and made the blood come horribly; and cruel were they and so eager to inflict pain that it is difficult to say whether they were more cruel or more ingenious in their tortures. . . . And while these enemies of the Christian name were rioting in the spirit of malignity around the boy, some of those present adjudged him to be affixed to a cross in mockery of the Lord's passion. . . . Conspiring, therefore, to accomplish the crime of this great and detestable malice, they next laid their blood-stained hands upon the innocent victim, and, having lifted him from the ground and fastened him upon the cross, they vied with one another in their efforts to make an end of him. And we, after inquiring into the matter very diligently, did both find the house and discovered some most certain marks in it of what had been done there. For report goes that there was there, instead of a cross, a post set up between two other posts and a beam stretched across the midmost post and attached to the other on either side. And, as we afterwards discovered from the marks of the wounds and of the bands, the right hand and foot had been tightly bound and fastened with cords, but the left hand and foot were pierced with two nails: so in fact the deed was done by design that, in case at any time he should be found, when the fastenings of the nails were discovered it might not be supposed that he had been killed by Jews rather than by Christians. But while in doing these things they were adding pang to pang and wound to wound, and yet were not able to satisfy their heartless cruelty and their inborn hatred of the Christian name, lo! after all these many and great tortures, they inflicted a frightful wound in his left side, reaching even to his inmost heart, and, as though to make an end of all, they extinguished his mortal life so far as it was in their power. And since many streams of blood were running down from all parts of his body, then, to stop the blood and to wash and close the wounds, they poured boiling water over him" (pp. 20–22).

We have given this (slightly condensed) narrative of the martyrdom to illustrate the spirit of the age and the temper of the chronicler. Its laboured and suspicious particularity, its ready acceptance of common rumour as trustworthy evidence, its unhesitating imputation of motives, its bitter animosity against the whole Jewish race, and its studied effort by reiterated imputations of cruelty and malignity to exasperate popular hatred against them, bespeak the rancorous partisan rather than the impartial historian. The age in which Thomas of Monmouth wrote was not critical, and he would doubtless have regarded impartiality as Laodicean luke-

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warmness and some indulgence in the fabrication of suitable details as the obvious duty of a martyrologist. He was no half-hearted upholder of the boyish saint, and no words were too strong in which to exalt the dignity of his martyrdom or to reprobate the incredulity of those who questioned the scope or the power of his miracles. Yet wide as we shall find the range alike of his faith and of his fancy to be in one direction, Thomas of Monmouth was singularly limited. The miracles attributed to St. William, almost infinite as they are declared to have been, all bear a strict resemblance to those assigned to other mediæval saints; whilst beyond a few rather commonplace graces his celestial sanctity is chiefly illustrated by the display of a quite overweening appetite for candles.

The murder was committed on Absolution Day when penitents from all parts of the diocese crowd at the Mother Church at Norwich, and when all night long they visit the various churches in the city to pray before the shrines of the saints; so that it was just daylight when Aelward Ded, one of the most eminent and richest of the citizens, on his way with a single servant to St. Leonard's Church near Thorpe Wood, met some Jews who were carrying on horseback a sack which contained the blessed martyr's body. Aelward halted for a moment, laid his hand upon the sack and recognized its contents. The terrified Jews galloped off and hung their burden on a tree; the Christian returned to his devotions and forgot his suspicions; the bribe of a hundred marks secured the support of John the Sheriff, who compelled Aelward to swear that he would lay no information against the Jews. Five years later, on his death-bed, Aelward, warned in a vision by the holy boy, revealed the whole story to Wicheman, an authorized confessor, and priest of St. Nicholas; from whose lips, writes our author, 'I have been careful to hand it down in writing, because I did not think the story of so important a truth ought to be lost or concealed by silence.'

Various portents bore significant testimony that Divine pity overshadowed the martyr's death. A light from heaven, like unto a ladder of fire, flashed down upon the spot where the body lay. It was seen by Henry de Sprowston, the Bishop's stud-groom, and by the lady Legarda, a nun of high birth and eminent piety, who followed its guidance until she reached the corpse, which two ravens vainly tried to devour and kept falling off from on either side. Despite several days' delay before the burial the remains emitted such a fragrant perfume as filled the nostrils of the bystanders, and when Godwin the

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priest, whose wife was the martyr's aunt, went some days later to the grave in Thorpe Wood with his son Alexander, then a deacon, and with Robert, the martyr's brother, in order to identify it, the like miracle of special fragrance was renewed. When Godwin Sturt brought home the news, his wife, Leviva, forthwith remembered a dream, on the Saturday night before Palm Sunday, in which the Jews had suddenly seized her in the High Street of the Market Place, had broken her right leg with a club, had torn it from her body and run off with it! What could such a vision mean but that she would certainly lose one of her dear ones through the Jews? We need not repeat the details of the mother's piercing grief on reaching the city and learning all the horrid circumstances of the tragedy. With possibly unconscious frankness we are told that:

'From many probable indications and conclusions she was convinced that they were not Christians but Jews who had dared to do the deed. *With a woman's readiness of belief, she easily gave credence to these conjectures.* Whereupon, she at once burst forth into denouncing the Jews with words of contumely and indignation. . . . This conduct worked very greatly upon the minds of the populace to accept the truth, and so everybody began to cry out with one voice that all the Jews ought to be utterly destroyed as constant enemies of the Christian name and the Christian religion' (p 42).

A few days later a Synod was held at Norwich over which Bishop Eborard presided, when Priest Godwin rose and formally accused the Jews of being guilty of William's murder. The evidence which he adduced was a medley of uncorroborated assertion, with ingenious appeals to the prejudices of his hearers. That the deed was actually done by the Jews, he urged,

'you yourselves can judge, *as well from the practices which the Jews are bound to carry out on the days specified, as from the manner of the punishment inflicted and the character of the wounds*, and the many confirmations of circumstances which agree together. To these and many other most evident proofs Leviva, the boy's aunt, must be taken into account, with her very remarkable warning vision. There is also the weeping mother, who deplores the fact that she was circumvented and seduced by the crafty tricks of a very cunning messenger of the Jews, and so her son was taken away' (pp. 44–5).

This was the whole proof alleged by the prosecution, and it consisted of a groundless imputation of annual ritualistic murder, a questionable vision, and a mother's tears. The

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matter was postponed to the day following, when the Dean of Norwich was bidden to summon the Jews to appear before the Synod. Hereupon Sheriff John intervened and informed the bishop that he had nothing to do with the Jews, who would make no answer in the absence of the King. After some further parley,

'it was determined by common consent that notice should be given to John that he should not protect the Jews against God, and to the Jews that peremptory sentence would be passed upon them, and that unless they at once came to purge themselves they must understand that without doubt they would be exterminated' (p. 47).

The terrified Jews forthwith took refuge within the Castle precincts, and with an appeal from Priest Godwin to God's judgment through trial by ordeal the first act of the drama is closed.

There was present at the Synod Aimar, the Prior of the Cluniacs of St. Pancras at Lewes, and he, seeing possibilities (as Dr. James puts it) in the case, begged the Bishop to let him have William's body for Lewes Priory. Eborard declined to do this, and allowed the corpse to be transferred to the Monks' Cemetery. Once more, after an interval of thirty-two days, the translation took place, on April 24; the same evidence of sanctity was borne by the sweet fragrance and the uncorrupted corpse. There, however, for the present the matter rested. Little notice was taken of Godwin's story, which appears to have been generally discredited. It was not till five years later that the assassination of the Jew Eleazar, by the followers of Sir Simon de Novars, helped to resuscitate the story, which was just then attracting some attention owing to a reported miracle wrought upon a young lady at Dunwich. Then, Thomas tells us, 'the memory of the blessed martyr revived, for it had gradually been waning; yea, in the hearts of all it had well-nigh entirely died out' (p. 84).

A large space in Thomas of Monmouth's second book is filled by seven arguments on which he insists in support of the legend of St. William. We may pass over so much of them as was urged by Priest Godwin at the Synod and some additional imputations of attempts by the Jews to bribe both the Bishop and Robert, the saint's brother, which were possibly true and yet do not amount to a confession of guilt.

'The fifth,' as Dr. James points out, 'is the most sensational of all. Theobald, a Jew of Cambridge, was converted to Christianity, and became a monk in Norwich Priory. He told Thomas that the Jews had a written tradition that in order to regain their freedom and

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their fatherland they must sacrifice a Christian every year. In order to select their victim the leading Jews of Spain assembled annually at Narbonne, where they were exceedingly influential, and cast lots for all the countries of the world where any Jews lived. The country which was selected by lot had in turn to cast lots for all its cities, and the city thus selected had to furnish the victim. Theobald asserted that it was within his knowledge that in 1144 the lot had fallen on Norwich. If this is a lie—and we are assured that it is by those who have studied the subject—it is one of the most notable and disastrous lies of history; and we must look upon Theobald of Cambridge as responsible for the blood of thousands of his fellow-countrymen' (pp. lxxi–lxxii).

The fame of the boy martyr, however, had almost become extinct when it was singularly revived through the proceedings consequent upon the assassination of the Jew Eleazar by some retainers of Sir Simon of Novars. So atrocious a crime naturally aroused the keenest desire for vengeance. Sir Simon was deeply in Eleazar's debt, and if such a method of wiping out heavy liabilities were unchecked, no Jew's life was worth many months' purchase. The cause was brought before the King's High Court of Justice, over which Stephen presided in person, at Norwich. Thomas of Monmouth was not present, but he gives an imaginary sketch of the trial, with elaborated details of the pleadings on either side. The case against Sir Simon had made so strong an impression that the knight entreated Bishop William, under whose jurisdiction he was, to plead for him. It hardly accords with modern ideas of the impartial administration of justice to read that the prelate decided first to win over the minds of his hearers by skilled oratory and then to employ the remainder of his speech in making a counter-charge. This, however, was the method adopted, and it appears to have succeeded. The Bishop diverted attention from the crime actually before the court by renewing the charge of the boy William's murder against the whole Jewish community in their corporate capacity. The King, pleading fatigue, adjourned the session indefinitely, and, Thomas affirms, was heavily bribed to discontinue the proceedings. We have no record of any final verdict, but our author asserts that the Sheriff John and the Christianicide Jews eventually became exemplary instances of Divine retribution. 'Hence let the careful attention of the reader perpend how heavily the vengeance of God strikes the man who is not afraid to pit himself against Holy Church and Christian law' (p. 112).

Such is the substance of the once famous legend whose wide acceptance led to such disastrous results to the Jews

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not only in England but on the continent of Europe. We cannot follow the story of the allegation of like murders at Huntingdon and Gloucester and Winchester, at Orleans and Blois; for a thoughtful estimate of these we must refer the reader to Dr. James's essay. Nor can we trace the rapid rise of the cult of the boy martyr, with the successive translations of his highly-prized remains from the Monks' Cemetery to the Chapter House and thence to the church, where they were first laid on the south side of the high altar and then found their final resting-place in the Martyr's Chapel. Each translation is marked by appropriate prodigies, which Thomas of Monmouth does not fail duly to record: even the discovery of an empty stone sarcophagus is to his exuberant faith a miracle wrought by Divine foresight to receive the sainted corpse. Miracles followed thick and fast to attest a sanctity which the reader is solemnly warned not to call in question. Cures of every disease, conceivable and inconceivable—amongst the latter, a youth who brought up live vipers, and a man swelled and blackened by a viper's breath—were effected, and bodily presence at the martyr's shrine was not essential: dust scraped from the tomb and swallowed in holy water healed patients in their own homes. Fetters burst at the touch of the stone which enclosed him. Oxen and horses were allowed to share the benefit of his beneficence. Even the unlimited appetite of the hagiologist for the marvellous at times grows weary. 'I have not put in all names and details, in order to avoid tediousness; for an excessive length plainly tends to mar the devotion of the reader;' so he writes at the end of the fourth book, and forthwith recommences the tale of further portents.

One of the most prominent features of the narrative is the extraordinary virtue attributed to the offering of candles to be burned at the martyr's shrine. No recipient of St. William's favours was allowed to evade this mark of gratitude, and the larger their size the greater the saint's satisfaction. Some of their oblations were stupendous—the length of the sepulchre, or the length and breadth of the person who had been healed. Nothing can be more ludicrous to our modern thinking than the solemn description of this saint in Paradise stirred to wrath because a carpet and a candle have been removed from his tomb, and jealous of anyone to whom handsomer candles are given than those assigned to himself. When Brother Richard in his sickness is laid to sleep by the sepulchre in the Chapter House St. William appears to him in a vision, and, in reply to his request to be made whole, brusquely rejoins:

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'Thou hast brought nothing, thou hast offered nothing, brother.' Then the monk answered, 'What shall I give?' The martyr replied: 'I was born on a day called Candlemas Day, and candles I love, and therefore of course I call on thee for what candles thou hast.' And when he declared he had no candles, he added: 'Nay, brother, thou not only hast certain candles which thou didst acquire wrongly, but thou hast hidden away some of the largest and the handsomest, which thou art keeping in thy private possession. *All these I desire to have, and especially the handsomer ones which thou hast determined shall be given to thy brother's wife*' (p. 138). An angry colloquy ensues, in which the saint threatens Brother Richard with severe penalties unless the choicest of the stolen goods are devoted to him. 'Know of a surety,' he insists, 'whether thou wilt or not, these candles I will have.' The disregard of this injunction wonld be visited with such agony as the monk had never known. Of course the terrified man eventually complied. The whole section is a singular commentary on the text 'I hate robbery for burnt-offering.'

We have only space to notice a few side-lights cast upon the habits and manners of the age. It is observable that every priest whom Thomas names is married; and no wonder when the three immediate predecessors of Bishop Herbert were almost certainly married men. The practice of auricular confession had not been made obligatory, nor was secrecy of the essence of confession in those days, so that Wicheman had no scruple in revealing the dying confession of Aelward Ded. The legend reveals the prevalence of proper names and the circulation of more money than might have been supposed at that early date—there were licensed coiners at Norwich, and the poorest could find the threepenny fee for a candle—more education, too, of a certain kind. We presume that the Robert who slept in the church of St. Andrew for fear of the sheriff was taking sanctuary there, but the sacrist and others are spoken of as sleeping in the cathedral, and might well welcome to have lights burning before the altars. The legend bears evidence of much correspondence between distant parts of the country, and we find the prior of Lewes visiting Norwich, whilst Dr. Jessopp points out that William, a monk of Ely, was at this time Abbot of Pershore, in Worcestershire. Many superstitions and customs of the day—such as the murderer who in his penitence bound his arm with an iron ring made of the pitchfork with which he killed his brother, and, clad in a hair shirt, spent years in seeking mercy at various shrines—are embedded in the narrative.

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Dr. Jessopp's verdict on the credibility of the story and the good faith of Brother Thomas, gathered as it is from careful study of the statements made in the body of the narrative, will be of special interest. It may be summarized as follows:

One fact stands out indisputably—the finding of a boy's dead body in Thorpe Wood by Henry de Sprowston on March 24, 1144, who buried it where he found it. Godwin Sturt, the priest, now appears on the scene and recognizes the corpse as that of his wife's nephew, and she forthwith has a vision to relate about which she had never said a word till now. The evidence of the Jew's servant, of Theobald the Jew, and of that attributed to Sir William Hastings is all rejected as incredible. Almost equally improbable, or at any rate very suspicious, are other details, and the story of the birds that would not settle on the body is obviously borrowed from the *Life of St. Columban.*

'On the other hand,' Dr. Jessopp continues, 'it is certain that Brother Thomas did not invent the story: it was current when he first became a monk at the priory. The priest Godwin was, one cannot help suspecting, the originator of the accusation, and he comes out of it very badly. He not only got hold of the *teazle,* which he affirmed was the very instrument with which the Jews had tortured their victim, but he made merchandise of it for years, playing upon the credulity of simple people to extort money from them' (p. xiii).

Nor even by his own showing is the character of Brother Thomas by any means blameless.

'He appropriated candles, and assures us he forgot all about them; he stole the martyr's shoe and hid it away; he filched his teeth and told lies about them. Only when somebody else was informed of his pilferings in a vision did he go any way towards making restitution. There is some reason for suspecting that he got his office of sacrist to the martyr by revelation, and there is only one hint of his having been promoted to any of the more important offices in the priory, though at the time his book was written he had been member of the convent for more than twenty years. That indicates pretty clearly that he was not trusted by the brethren, and that successive priors, in whose hands all the patronage of the monastery lay, kept him at arm's length and did not promote him to any responsible office. Yet it would be rash and unwarrantable to insinuate that he was from first to last a cunning and designing rogue. In an age of measureless credulity, when doubt is reckoned devil-born, and unquestioning acquiescence in the dominant beliefs of the day is apt to be regarded as more meritorious than the practice of the lowly virtues of uprightness and tolerance, even good and fervent men, and much more those who are very zealous for

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what they hold to be a great cause, can easily persuade themselves to accept without hesitation or demur the conclusions of those in authority. Unconsciously they get to subject their reason to their interest or their inclinations, till their mental condition becomes one of miserable intellectual torpor, and, the critical faculty being paralysed, they lose the power of distinguishing truth from falsehood. It is very easy to call such men impostors: it is wiser to remember that in every age there have been examples of this type, men and women of whom it has been said that they are "deceivers and being deceived"; and yet it would be hard, perhaps impossible, to say when and how the one merged into the other' (Introduction, pp. xiii–xiv).

Whatever our judgment on the moral character of Thomas of Monmouth, of the disastrous influence of his work there can be no question. Stories of ritual child-murder committed by the Jews—as baseless as the hideous slanders circulated against the Knights Templars in the fourteenth century and the religious houses in the sixteenth—inflamed the popular hatred which culminated in the massacre of Jews at the coronation of Richard I., and which was repeated the following year at Norwich and elsewhere. To the influence of the work before us its editors assign the tremendous responsibility of first stirring up 'that mighty wave of superstitious credulity, unreasoning hate, and insatiable ferocity which has not yet spent itself, though more than seven centuries have passed since Thomas took his pen in hand' (Introduction, p. xlv).

ART. VII.—ENGLISH POETRY FROM WYATT TO MARLOWE.

A History of English Poetry. By W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Vol. II. (London, 1897.)

MR. COURTHOPE'S *History of English Poetry* promises to stretch to colossal dimensions. The first volume, which we reviewed on its appearance two years ago, dealt with the *origines*, and brought the story down to the end of the school of Chaucer; the second, which we now have before us, carries it no further than Spenser and the early dramatists, the predecessors of Shakespeare. It covers a period of some seventy years, from 1525 to 1595; and when it is remembered that during the earlier half of this period poets were still few and far between, that English poetry at the end of it is but

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starting on its great career, that three hundred years still remain to be dealt with, in which the number of noticeable poets continually increases, it will be seen that many volumes are likely to be required before Mr. Courthope can lay down his pen. The period now under notice contains but one poet of the first rank, Edmund Spenser, just as the period covered by the first volume contained none but Geoffrey Chaucer; in the volumes that are to come we have still to look for Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Scott, Byron, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning, with a vastly increasing multitude of poets of lesser eminence than these, but requiring adequate notice. Truly an ample prospect lies before Mr. Courthope and his readers.

For Mr. Courthope this prospect is one of much labour, and we would hope of some enjoyment too; for his readers it is one of much interest, but also of some little labour. Mr. Courthope has many of the qualities which go to make a good critic and historian. He has wide reading, he has earnestness of purpose, he has sobriety of judgment, he has a capacity for taking pains. But for some reason which is not quite easy to analyse, he is apt to be somewhat heavy in the reading. The author of the delightful *Paradise of Birds* cannot be supposed to be wanting in vivacity, and the traditions of the professorial chair once held by Matthew Arnold do not require its occupant to be professorially dull; yet Mr. Courthope's *History*, with all its solid merits of learning and taste, fails to arouse the enthusiasm of which its splendid subject is capable. It may be that Mr. Courthope does not feel such an enthusiasm himself, at least for the periods and the poetry with which he has hitherto dealt; and in literary criticism, if anywhere, the Horatian rule is true, *si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi.* Or it may be that he is afraid of indulging his feelings too freely, and that the responsibility of sitting in judgment upon all English poets weighs somewhat heavily upon him. In either case the fact remains that the reader will turn to his pages rather for information than for inspiration, for sober reflection on the character and development of English poetry rather than for an enthusiastic appreciation of the great heritage into which the English-speaking nations of the earth are born.

The period to which our attention is now invited contains, as has been said above, one poet of great and permanent value, in the person of Spenser. It contains likewise one poet of unquestionable genius, though of unequal and undeveloped performance, Christopher Marlowe. There are also two or

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three authors a few of whose pieces have fully earned their entrance into those anthologies which glean from among the minor poets the scattered flowers which still retain their life and fragrance for readers of to-day, such as Sidney, Lodge, and Greene. The rest of the writers of this period have a relative rather than an absolute value. They are interesting, sometimes even admirable, for their contributions to the development of our literature. They may have added something to the metrical capabilities of our language, or introduced some fresh fashion or inspiration from abroad. Studied in their proper place in the history of our poetry, they fall into an order and sequence which is interesting to the student of literature; and one who has immersed himself in the records and writings of the period may be able to realize somewhat of the position which they held in the eyes of their contemporaries. But taken out of their own surroundings they lose their vitality. Their metrical achievements have been surpassed by their followers, their sentiments have been better expressed by later poets, their defects are painfully prominent in the eyes of those who have been brought up upon Tennyson and Swinburne. Spenser will be read by all lovers of beautiful poetry as long as the English language lives, for his own sake and not for his historical position; but can it be honestly said that there is any other than an antiquarian and historical, or biographical, interest in Sackville, Gascoigne, Churchyard, or even, if Mr. Courthope will allow us to say so, in Surrey and Wyatt? Their value now is for the student of literature rather than for the lover of poetry.

Historically, however, writers such as these, and others who have not yet been mentioned, hold an interesting place in our literature. Put in the briefest way, the sixteenth century marks the rise of poetry in social status, as the result of the spread of literary tastes among the upper classes of society. During the Middle Ages, literature was either clerical or professional. Before the dawn of the Renaissance, it was almost wholly in the hands of monks; and when it passed out of the cloister into the world, it was still practised mainly by men of middle or low rank, who earned their living by their pen. Even Chaucer, who rose higher in the social scale than most of his fellows, was the dependent rather than the friend of the great persons among whom, for a time, he moved. But soon after the invention of printing, literature became fashionable. It was an age of intellectual ferment, which pervaded all classes. Even kings, such as Henry VIII., became authors, instead of being merely patrons of authors. Theo-

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logical and literary ideas were discussed in courts and palaces; and in England especially the most noteworthy authors were men who also held prominent places in politics and society. More, Wyatt, and Surrey are the principal writers in the early part of the century; Sackville, Sidney, Raleigh, Essex are prominent in the reign of Elizabeth, and are only representatives of the tastes and tendencies of their class. Spenser, the great poet of the period, is the friend of Sidney and Raleigh, and ranks in every respect as a gentleman, though not a nobleman. As landowner and sheriff he may claim a social position on an equality with the yet greater genius who, in the nineteenth century, owned Abbotsford and was sheriff of Selkirk.

The effects of this advance in the social scale are seen in the character of the poetry of the period. The taste for simple narrative, created by Chaucer, has died out, and poets are always casting about for ornamental devices and novelties of style. In substance, our poetry makes no advance after Chaucer, until we reach Shakespeare; but its style undergoes great modifications. Not all these modifications are, in themselves, improvements. The unaffected and apparently artless style of Chaucer is infinitely preferable to the conceits of the minor bards of the sixteenth century. Word-hunting and word-tormenting, alliteration and inversion, are the stock-in-trade of many of the writers who drive Mr. Courthope into the use of strong language, and whose works are unreadable by any except hardened enthusiasts. Yet in the history of the development of English literature this phase had its very real uses. It increased the range of resources open to the true artist. It placed more stops at the disposal of the musician in the composition of his melodies. It led up to the beautiful effects of Spenser and the illimitable variety of Shakespeare.

The main influence which guided and fashioned this development was that of Italy. Italy led the way in the Renaissance, and it was to Italy that the writers of other countries looked for their inspiration. Castiglione, with his *Cortegiano*, or picture of the perfect courtier, set up the standard by which the youths of France and England formed their ideals of culture and refinement. Machiavelli furnished them with political ideas, and taught them to cultivate intellectual ingenuity. Above all, Petrarch set a fashion both in the form and the matter of verse which colours all our court poetry from Wyatt to Spenser, being responsible for the predominance alike of love as the theme of the poet, and

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of the sonnet as the form in which his sentiments are embodied. It is a little odd that Mr. Courthope, who is fond of tracing in detail the continental origins of various features in our literature, and who gives full accounts of such writers as Castiglione and Guevara (the founder of Euphuism), has not allowed more space to a consideration of the work and influence of Petrarch.

Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Earl of Surrey are, by common consent, regarded as the pioneers of the new order of things ; and Mr. Courthope not unnaturally devotes a considerable space to the examination of their work. Both were men of rank and ornaments of the court, and thus representatives of the new literature in one of its most characteristic features. Both drew the greater part of their inspiration from Italy, imitating or even translating the sonnets of Petrarch and (in the case of Wyatt) the satires of Alamanni. Both (in imitation of Petrarch) set the fashion, which pervades our sixteenth-century verse, and especially the sonnet, of grouping a number of images round one central idea. No one can read these two poets, after studying the school of Chaucer, and not feel that a new order of things has come. There is a great gulf between Lydgate and Occleve on the one side, and Wyatt and Surrey on the other, while from Wyatt and Surrey to Sidney and Spenser the transition is simple and easy, the difference being merely one of artistic skill and poetic genius, not of spirit or method. Of the two, Wyatt has the greater force and originality, Surrey the greater smoothness and technical resource. Surrey, indeed, as Mr. Courthope fully points out, deserves credit as one of the poets who have exercised a decisive influence on the metrical development of our poetry. The secret of Chaucer's rhythms had been wholly lost, mainly through the disappearance of the accented final *e* which plays so important a part in his language. In the sixteenth century men believed that he wrote in an irregular lilting metre, caring for little except the rhyme at the end of the line ; and consequently the art of a regular and musical cadence had to be learnt afresh. To this end the example of Surrey was of great value. He introduced blank verse into the English language, and in blank and rhymed verse alike taught the true principles of the iambic metre, with its even distribution of accents and harmonious use of the pause or cæsura. His rhythms and his rhymes alike are greatly superior to those of Wyatt, which it is often impossible to read with any semblance of metrical music ; and his vocabulary is purer and more dignified.

So far one may go in agreement with Mr. Courthope as

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to the merit of Surrey on the technical side, but we are hardly prepared to share his estimate of his excellence on the spiritual or poetical side. Of Surrey's lines written in captivity, in which he recalls the joys of his past youth, Mr. Courthope says, 'I know of few verses in the whole range of human poetry in which the voice of nature utters the accents of grief with more simplicity and truth; it seems to me to be the most pathetic *personal* elegy in English poetry.'[1] The poem contains a striking picture of the sports and occupations of a young courtier, with a simple and straightforward expression of grief at his changed condition; and for the times in which it was written it is a fine and admirable piece of poetry; but we should hesitate much before assigning it the absolute value in the world's literature which it has in Mr. Courthope's eyes. This is, perhaps, the only place in the volume where Mr. Courthope errs on the side of excessive praise—which, after all, is a fault on the right side.

Wyatt died in 1542, Surrey in 1547, both of them in the prime of life; and after them a generation elapses before any poetry is written which has to-day more than an antiquarian interest. The historian of our literature must indeed devote some space to Churchyard and Sackville, Gavin Douglas and Phaer, Turbervile and Gascoigne, and even other less known names than these; but a reviewer may claim the privilege of passing over them very lightly. Of them, if of any writers, it may be said that their value is merely relative, and not very great even from that point of view. There are, no doubt, gradations even among these, just as it is on record that 'little fleas have lesser fleas, and so *ad infinitum*;' but it is with the standard of the historian that they must be measured, who watches for signs of progress in an age in which little progress is made. It is not until the reign of Elizabeth is well advanced that we can mark a real and appreciable movement; and then, with but little preparation or warning, we find ourselves in the full blaze and glory of one of the greatest ages of English, or even of universal literature.

The explanation is probably to be found in the social and political circumstances of the time. In the stormy and uncertain days of Edward VI. and Mary, and even at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, courtiers had little opportunity and little inclination to occupy themselves with poetry. The stream of court culture, encouraged by Henry VIII. himself and exemplified in More, Wyatt, and Surrey, is checked for a

[1] *History of English Poetry*, ii. 85.

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time, only to resume its course when Elizabeth was firmly seated on the throne. Meanwhile popular literature had not yet made a start. The inspiration of Chaucer had died out, leaving no inheritor; and popular literature existed in little save theological tracts and the doggerel of moralities or interludes, the successors of the mediæval miracle plays. Hence the impulse given by Surrey and Wyatt seemed in danger of coming to nothing; and had the interval been longer than it was, some new source of inspiration might have come in and diverted the course of our literature into quite other channels. But as the religious conflict died down, the influences of continental culture reasserted themselves, and the court of Elizabeth took up the tale much where the court of Henry had laid it down.

The principal new factor in the court poetry of Elizabeth's reign is that of Euphuism, or the fashion of excessive elaboration of language, introduced into England by John Lyly, but apparently traceable ultimately to a Spanish bishop, Antonio Guevara, who deliberately tried to model the prose of his day on the complicated rhetorical structure of the Ciceronian style. In the form in which he wrote it, and in which it passed, through the medium of translations and imitations, into English literature, it is characterized by long balanced paragraphs, stiff with antithesis, and progressively more and more spotted with alliteration; while at the same time an attempt is made to produce a refined vocabulary by the use of rare and novel words. The fashion chimed in with the temper of the times. From the conceits of fancy popularized by Petrarch to the conceits of language affected by the euphuists was no long or difficult step. Lyly's romance became the model of courtly conversation and writing, and its influence affected, perhaps unconsciously, even those who, like Sidney and Spenser, had the taste to see its faults and condemn its excesses. It is only outside the court that it made no headway. The translations of the Bible, from Tyndale to the Authorized Version, keep on a steady course of pure and dignified English, which is likewise found, though modified in the direction of long and balanced paragraphs, in the stately prose of Hooker.

It is with Sir Philip Sidney that the court poetry of Elizabeth's reign first becomes interesting to the ordinary reader, not only on account of the glamour which has attached itself to his name through the charm of his life and the heroism of his death, but for the real merit of his verse.

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Its bulk is not large, being confined to the 110 sonnets of his *Astrophel and Stella* and the verses with which his romance of *Arcadia* is interspersed; but among these are poems which have stood the test of time and can be enjoyed to-day without the allowances and *arrières pensées* which sometimes form a part in our judgment of the poetry of earlier generations. His sonnets have received the rare honour of a special commendation from so fine a critic as Charles Lamb, who ranks the best of them 'among the very best of their sort;' and no anthology of this class of poem would be complete which did not contain at least those addressed to the Moon and to Sleep. It is curious that it should be a matter of controversy whether this series of love-poems relates to a real passion or not. It has been usual to suppose that they do, and that Sidney was seriously in love with the 'Stella' to whom they are addressed; but Mr. Courthope's contrary opinion has, to our mind, considerable probability. The point is of some importance with regard to our judgment of Sidney's character, since the lady in question, Penelope Devereux, daughter of the Earl of Essex, was already married to Lord Rich;[1] and, although the marriage took place against her will, it is inconsistent with the whole tone of Sidney's life to suppose that he was deliberately and almost publicly pressing his suit upon her so soon afterwards. Six years earlier, when she was not yet fifteen, there had been some idea of a betrothal between them, by the wish of her father; and the fact that the matter went no further is some proof that Sidney was not very ardent in his devotion. Hence there is considerable plausibility in Mr. Courthope's view that in writing *Astrophel and Stella* he was but half in earnest. Sonnet-cycles, after the manner of Petrarch, were in fashion at the time, as those of Spenser, Watson, Constable, Drayton, Shakespeare, and many others show. Sidney had recently been indulging in the practice of literary composition, having written his *Arcadia* in 1580; and the news of the reluctant marriage of one to whom he had at least ostensibly been attached might serve as the stimulus for a further indulgence of his poetical vein. He was enough in earnest to put life into his work; not so much so as to provoke reflections on his character or harm the reputation of the lady

[1] This is clear from the poem on her married surname in Sonnet xxxvii. The marriage took place in 1581, and therefore it is a little misleading to say, as Mr. Courthope does (p. 232), that the sonnets were 'evidently conceived in the spirit encouraged during the year 1580,' while Sidney was an exile from the court. His exile ended in October 1580.

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whom he addressed. Hence it is that the best of the sonnets are those which have least to do with the celebration of Stella's charms. The two specially mentioned above (both of them quoted by Mr. Courthope as examples of Sidney's best manner, and both named by Lamb among his three chief favourites) express a general sense of a lover's melancholy rather than any ardent devotion to his mistress. Without bringing into comparison such sonnets as those of Rossetti or Mrs. Browning, written under such different circumstances of literary taste and tradition, it is sufficient to look at those of Spenser to feel that, while the literary conventions are the same as in Sidney's, there is a far greater sincerity of passion in the former.

This fact does not, however, destroy Sidney's poetical merit, and the sonnets may be read with none the less pleasure for the half unreal character of their central thought. Indeed, in some respects it is a gain not to have to suppose that these stereotyped exaggerations of the lady's perfections are uttered by one really in love with the person addressed. A parallel may be found in Milton's *Lycidas*. Milton knew Edward King, and no doubt regretted his untimely fate; but there is no reason to suppose that he was on terms of special personal intimacy, or that the sense of loss was very deep and lasting. There was, in Milton's case as in Sidney's, enough reality of feeling to give genuine vitality to his utterances, but not so much as to interfere with an elaborate exercise of his poetical art; and in the result we have in *Lycidas* one of the masterpieces of our literature.

The merit and attractiveness of Sidney's poetry lie in its combination of individuality of feeling with artistic skill. In the charm of manner which endeared him to his contemporaries there was a large element of generous enthusiasm for what was good and beautiful, which finds its way into his writings. There is a striking individuality of tone in his *Apology for Poetry*, and even in much of his *Arcadia* (in spite of its highly artificial structure), as is shown by its influence in suggesting themes to subsequent writers; and this asserts itself also in the best of his sonnets. With as strong an individuality as Wyatt, and as fine a character, he is far in advance of him in literary art. His rhythms are smooth, his language in good taste, his conceits kept within bounds; and the result is that he represents the high-water mark of the courtly poetry as written by those who were really courtiers. One poet alone excelled him in this type of literature; and this was one who was poet first and courtier afterwards, who

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ranks indeed among the foremost poets of our language, Edmund Spenser.

It is Spenser, in fact, that gives the courtly school of poetry its importance. Without him it would have been but an episode in our literary history, contributing little of permanent value to our poetical wealth, remarkable as evidence of a certain intellectual fashion and of a certain spread of culture, but of greater social than literary interest. In Spenser, however, the characteristics of the courtly poetry are summed up in a poet of genius, which makes it worth while to consider the phenomenon in greater detail than would otherwise be necessary. Certainly it is to Spenser that Mr. Courthope's present volume owes the greater part of its interest; and that although Mr. Courthope's criticism, in spite of its intelligence, is hardly sympathetic, much less enthusiastic.

Spenser is probably the least read of our great poets nowadays, and for fairly obvious reasons. His greatest poem is very long, and as a narrative it is tedious, while its merits are of a kind which requires some literary training to appreciate. 'Few and weary,' says Macaulay, 'are those readers who are in at the death of the Blatant Beast'—an event, be it observed, which does not in fact take place, the Beast at the conclusion of the sixth book meeting a fate suggestive rather of a carted deer than of a fox. Had the original scheme of a poem in twelve books been accomplished, it would indeed have needed an iron determination to carry the reader through it continuously. The narrative, moreover, has other faults than that of tediousness. It is allegorical, a class of literature not now much in favour; and the allegory is not consistently worked out, which does not mend matters. The knights, who are the heroes of the several books, are somewhat colourless in characterization; and the incidents are invented with indifferent skill and narrated without much conviction. Further, the language is 'Wardour-Street English,' a deliberately archaic dialect such as no one ever spoke or wrote in real life. Faults such as these lie on the surface of Spenser's great poem, while its beauties are of a kind hardly likely to be appreciated by the casual reader.

In what, then, it may be asked, does the greatness of Spenser consist? Expressed in the briefest terms, it lies in two things: in his sense of beauty and his literary art. No poet before Spenser, and few after him, had so keen a sense of what is beautiful, whether in scenery or in sentiment; and few have had such a power of expressing a beautiful thought

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in appropriate language, or of depicting a scene, whether beautiful or otherwise, in full and elaborate detail. Within the limits of the first book alone, the descriptions of the Seven Deadly Sins, of the Cave of Despair, and of the House of Holiness, are notable examples of this side of Spenser's genius. It is in elaboration, not in construction, that his strength lies, and this beauty of detail and workmanship requires study and taste for its appreciation.

It is somewhat strange that Spenser should have set before himself Ariosto as his model, or rather as a standard to be surpassed. The qualities of the two poets are essentially different. Ariosto excels in narrative, in the invention of incidents, in rapidity of transition, in sustained interest, and in a certain cynical humour which pervades the whole. Spenser's merits lie on the side of pictorial representation, in deliberation, in an alluring slowness of movement (to which his metre powerfully contributes), in elevation and seriousness of thought, in purity of moral intention. He mistook his own powers when he challenged Ariosto on his own ground by undertaking a long narrative poem ; and that he escaped failure, and won success, in his achievement, is a striking testimony to the saving power of literary art and taste. It is here that Spenser appears as the consummation of the courtly school of poetry. That school, drawing its inspiration from Petrarch, had devoted itself to elaboration of detail, heaping up sonnet after sonnet upon the single theme of love, and image upon image within each sonnet. Its productions were rarely remarkable for their matter, and sought distinction rather for their elaboration and wealth of vocabulary. The extreme of this tendency took the form of Euphuism, and on this was modelled the language of courtly society. The genius of Spenser took up this fashion of verbal and metrical elaboration, and applied it with a far higher art than that of the courtiers to a long narrative poem ; and while the narrative is now nought to us, the 'antiseptic of style' has preserved the poem alive through three centuries, with unbroken admiration from those who could appreciate poetic art.

A dictum of Mr. Courthope's, twice repeated, here challenges consideration. Twice, in speaking of writers once famous but now almost forgotten, he says that they incurred the fate of all who set style before substance.[1] Rather one

[1] Of Lyly he says (p. 201), 'His reputation shared the fate which must ultimately overtake all those who think of style before substance ;'

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would say that in most cases it is to a poet's style that he owes his immortality, if immortality he has. It is the picturesqueness, the vividness of Pindar's style that carries him safe through the commonplaces by which his subjects were necessarily beset. It is the style of Virgil that compensates for his want of the epic power of narrative and of the dramatic power of characterization. The story of *Paradise Lost* is known to all readers from their infancy, without recourse to Milton; it is the grandeur of his style, the music of his verse, which make it a great poem. It is style that is predominant in Shelley and, to take a poet of our own day, in Mr. Swinburne. It is not every poet who can live in virtue either of his dramatic power of characterization, like Shakespeare and Browning, or for his special message to mankind, like Wordsworth.

Indeed, if the truth lay in either extreme, we would rather look for it in the direct opposite to Mr. Courthope's dogma, and say that it is style, and not subject, which makes the immortal poet. This would be an exaggeration, but it would be nearer the truth than its opposite. A certain class of critics, or rather of writers—since the critical faculty is generally wanting in the persons of whom we are speaking—is fond of enlarging upon a poet's 'philosophy' or 'message to his age,' whereby they are apt to convert a good poet into the guise of an indifferent preacher. As a rule, the truths preached most impressively by poets are the great eternal verities—whether of God or of human nature—which are the common property of all the ages, and it is in the manner of the presentation, rather than in the matter, that the secret of the poetry lies. A poet whose claim to immortality rests mainly on his subject must usually be either a narrative or a dramatic poet, and his greatness consists in the varied types of character which he creates, in the pictures which he presents of human nature under various circumstances. This is the fundamental greatness of Homer and Ariosto and Chaucer, of Aristophanes and Shakespeare and Goethe, whatever added charm they gain from their style. But there are many other poets, not less immortal, who live not by reason of what they have told us, but because of the way in which they have told it. Greek literature as a whole owes the position which it holds among the literatures of the world to its purity of style, its exquisite sense of form. Virgil lives solely through his style; the woes of the pious Æneas are nothing to us now, yet the *Æneid* is

and of Lodge (p. 322), 'Lodge has suffered the fate of all poets who have thought of their style before their subject.'

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immortal. The sentiments of Horace are commonplaces, but commonplaces conveyed in perfectly artistic style. Ovid attained his wonderful popularity through the perfection of his form. The same may be said in our own literature of Pope, the great technical master of one class of rhythm and metre. In Shelley we admire the wonderful visions of his imagination, but we admire almost more the marvellous music of the language in which it is conveyed, which at times makes one forget the sense of a passage in listening to its sound. The narrative poems of Keats charm us, not like those of Chaucer, by their gifts of characterization, but by the beauty of the verse, and by a style which, luxuriant at first, grows in strength and self-command with his later poems. Tennyson, in our own day, is the great stylist, whose charm of rhythm and language will preserve his poetry alive, when readers have ceased to be interested in the philosophical notions of the nineteenth century; while Browning, who for original thought and intellectual power is surpassed by no poet in our literature, runs the peril (at least in many of his later poems) of losing hold upon posterity through his inability to command the gifts of style.

So many of our poets live by their style and not their substance; but of none throughout the whole course of our literature is this so true as of Spenser. He is a narrative poet, and therefore should fall into the same category as Homer, Ariosto, and Chaucer; yet it needs but to recall the feelings suggested by these names to realize how great is the difference between him and them. He is a narrative poet, in the incidents of whose narrative it is impossible to feel the smallest interest. His heroes are personified virtues, whose characters can present no features of novelty or dramatic attractiveness. Mr. Courthorpe rightly praises his types of women for their purity and refinement; but, except in the case of Britomart, and, to a smaller extent, of Una, they are but slight sketches. His morality is excellent, but has nothing new in it. If only the substance of Spenser's poetry were in question, he would never be read. But because he has the gift of style he is one of our great poets; and because his greatness rests almost solely upon his artistic qualities, he is known as the poets' poet. The popular gifts of incident and characterization he lacks; and his special merits can best be comprehended by those who themselves have most acquaintance with the poet's art.

The poetry of Spenser is luxurious poetry, to be read at comfortable times and in comfortable ways. There must be

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no haste about reading him. His stanza—a triumph of artistic construction—rises and falls, unhasting, unresting, through its recurrent rhymes, all knit together into one period by the final Alexandrine. On summer afternoons, when the air is warm and the bees are in the limes, when no cares are worrying us, and we are content to enjoy and not to think—then Spenser may be read, even though it be at some peril of being lulled to sleep by his music. Then we have no care for his morality, and less for his allegory, but we delight in the rich splendour of his descriptions, the musical melancholy of his reflections, the beauty of his language, the soft cadences of his rhythm; and if we come down to think of such mundane matters as professors of poetry, we recognize that, in spite of them all, here is a poet who deliberately sets style before substance and yet has attained a place among the immortals.

With the study of Spenser Mr. Courthope's second volume should, artistically speaking, come to an end. He is the climax, both in genius and in date, of the court poetry, which did not outlive him long. The court of James I. was hardly likely to be distinguished for its poetry, and in that uncongenial sphere the fashion, which had been set by Henry VIII. and intensified by Elizabeth, came to an end. The court poetry had had its day and had done its work. It had produced its great poet; it had made literature fashionable; it had done much to enlarge the resources of the language; it had cultivated the love of beauty in form, even at the expense of some defects in taste and excessive luxuriance of ornament. Those were the services which it could render to English literature. Meanwhile, side by side with the poetry of the court, the poetry of the people was growing up. On one side, that of lyrical verse, it had connexions with the court influences, the pastoral and amatory compositions of such writers as Lodge and Greene, who had no social position, being cast in the same mould as those of Spenser and Sidney. But the more truly popular literature was that of the drama, and this worked out its own development with little or no assistance from above. It is the narrative of this development which occupies the concluding portion of Mr. Courthope's volume, tracing it up from the miracle plays and moralities, or interludes, through such early examples of regular drama as *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Ferrex and Porrex*, to the genius who wrought out these rough materials, by the intermixture of literary art, strong imagination, and some infusion of classical influences, into the full-grown tragedy which paves the way for Shakespeare. With Christopher Marlowe

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the volume comes to an end, on the threshold of a greater task. Mr. Courthope's history of the earlier drama is full, careful, and interesting; but it is alien to the subject which occupies the rest of the volume, and of which we have spoken in this article. We prefer, therefore, not to embark upon it here, but to return to it (if ever) when (it is to be hoped, at no distant time) Mr. Courthope has given us his history of the great years of the English drama, of which Marlowe was but the forerunner.

ART. VIII.—SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY.

A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom. By ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, LL.D. Yale, L.H.D. Columbia, Ph.D. Jena. In Two Volumes. (London, 1896.)

MORE than a quarter of a century ago the author of these two elaborate volumes gave a lecture in which he endeavoured to maintain the thesis *that in all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interests of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably; and on the other hand all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science* (Introduction, p. viii). This lecture was subsequently republished in an enlarged form, and, after passing through various stages of development and being augmented by additional chapters, has reached its ultimate consummation in the work before us. It is helpful to have a writer's purpose thus carefully laid down, if the definition be accurate and unambiguous and also marks out exactly the scope of the argument by which it is upheld. But clear and clean cut as it sounds, Dr. White's thesis abounds in ambiguities, and in its discussion he travels far beyond even its ample limits. There is much ambiguity lurking under the term 'interference' which may embrace all manner of action from the most unjustifiable attempts to suppress discovery to the imperative duty of withstanding unsound conclusions. Like uncertainty attaches to the use of the term 'science' under which, as will be seen, Dr. White includes the history of the interpretation and criticism of the sacred writings: nor can we be sure after a careful thought over the multifarious topics

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gathered into his pages, whether the thesis would not warn us off from 'interference' with his *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.* No less doubtfulness surrounds the connotation of 'theology' as employed throughout his work by the triple doctor of Yale, Columbia, and Jena, and we shall have occasion to dwell upon the extraordinary looseness with which he uses this word, which serves in his hands to express at one time the declarations of Holy Scripture, at another the decision of some remote provincial council, but far more generally the individual and unauthoritative opinions of more or less well-known Christian writers scattered over the area of Christendom during the nineteen centuries of our era.

For the method adopted by Dr. White is sufficiently significant. It is a far cry to the fourth century after Christ and to the most distant points on the earth's wide surface, but no less extensive range of time or space will satisfy the sweep of Dr. White's investigations. The survey which he professes to undertake is encyclopædic, and whilst every branch of science in turn is summoned to bear witness to the malevolent influence of theology, no individual theologian is too obscure to escape the verdict of condemnation which falls impartially upon Popes of Rome and curates of Rotherhithe (ii. 286). The reader is introduced in succession from the warfare between Genesis and geology, and between the traditional and modern views of the antiquity and the Descent of Man, to the origin of species and the Darwinian theory of evolution. The writer then passes to the discoveries made in geography, astronomy, and chemistry, with the subordinate topics of the Fall of Man, of witchcraft, and of magic. Half the second volume is filled with a sketch of the growth of medical knowledge, which Dr. White holds has dissipated all well-grounded belief in miracles or in demoniacal possession; and the remainder is devoted principally to the latest results of the higher criticism of the Sacred Oracles, which is described as conclusively destructive all along the line. We shall notice presently Dr. White's reiterated assertions of his respect for Christianity, and of his regard for the clergy, and it is only just to give him full credit for sincerity, however strongly the tone and temper of his book seem to betoken a very different spirit. But taking his elaborate and bulky history with its singular and repeated introduction of the most trivial incidents which seem to make against theology, it is probably the most gigantic development of the *argumentum ad invidiam* which was ever drawn up by human pen.

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It would, of course, be impossible within the limits of our space to enter upon a detailed examination of Dr. White's volumes. To do this it would be necessary to reopen every branch of the controversy which has been waged so long and so widely. We must content ourselves with inquiring into the indications which his pages afford of the author's fitness to be a judge in so important a suit, and his qualifications for placing the evidence impartially before the jury; and on these points there are grounds for serious misgiving. Despite his many disclaimers of hostility towards the clergy or towards Christianity, he set out upon his task with the firm persuasion that there is an internecine conflict between what he terms 'two epochs in the development of human thought—the theological and the scientific' (p. ix); and this conviction was fostered by his own personal share in a bitter struggle between theologians and scientists in Cornell University, wherein he holds that all the 'sweet reasonableness' was all to no purpose with the latter, and that a sterner mode of warfare was indispensable. Of that conviction the work before us is the result. It is the avowed production of an earnest partisan. Everything is yellow to a jaundiced eye, and it is through such a discoloured medium that the facts related in this history from first to last are contemplated.

The effect of this bias is betrayed at the very commencement of Dr. White's *History*, whose opening sentences relate how, in masses of cathedral sculpture, the Almighty is sometimes represented as accomplishing His work of creation in human form.

'The furrows of thought,' he writes, 'on the Creator's brow show that in this work he is obliged to contrive; the knotted muscles upon his arms show that he is obliged to toil; naturally, then, the sculptors and painters of the mediæval and early modern period frequently represent him, as the writers whose conceptions they embodied, had done—as, on the seventh day, weary after thought and toil, enjoying well-earned repose and the plaudits of the host of heaven. In these thought-fossils of the cathedrals, and in other revelations of the same idea through sculpture, painting, glass-staining, mosaic work, and engraving, during the Middle Ages and the two centuries following, culminated a belief which had been developed through thousands of years, and which has determined the world's thought until our own time. . . . The conception of a Creator of whom man is an imperfect image and who literally and directly created the visible universe with his hands and fingers' (i. 1, 2). 'From this idea of creation,' Dr. White adds, 'was evolved in time a somewhat nobler view. Ancient thinkers, and especially, as is now found, in Egypt, suggested that the main agency in creation was not the hands and fingers of the Creator, but his *voice*. Hence was mingled with the earlier

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cruder belief regarding the origin of the earth and heavenly bodies by the Almighty, the more impressive idea that "he spake the word and they were made," that they were brought into existence by his *word*' (i. 2, 3).

We confess to a feeling of despair in our attempt to analyse these sentences and to grasp the writer's meaning. Does he intend us to understand that a belief developed through thousands of years attained its ultimate expression in the conviction that God was obliged to labour like a man with toil of heart and brain in the work of creation, and that theology was responsible for so crude a persuasion? Would he have us believe that every anthropomorphic phrase, suited as it might be to the childhood of humanity, and every bold metaphor of poetry down from early ages to the date of *Paradise Lost*, are to be taken as representing in the most literal reality, the poet's exact persuasion of the manner of creation? What, we would fain ask, is the period to which Dr. White refers in his statement that from the earlier and cruder belief in creation by the hands and fingers of the Almighty there *was evolved in time* the somewhat nobler view that the universe was made by His *voice*: has the author discovered some treatise of earlier date than the first book of the Pentateuch whose very first words express *the somewhat nobler view*, and describes every step in creation in the terms, at once so simple and so sublime, 'God said and it was so'? It would almost seem, by Dr. White's italicizing the terms *voice* and *word*, as though he thought these were regarded as the material instruments of creation instead of being the only possible terms for the expression of His Will by which 'all things are and were created.'

It is not a matter of any great difficulty—how far it may be profitable is quite another question—for anyone who cares to take the trouble to write a couple of volumes upon the mistakes and imperfect knowledge of a score of centuries, and in Dr. White's prosecution of his task his paragraphs are followed by notes which often cover hardly less space than his text, and in which he gives the authorities from which his statements are derived. It is no reflection upon either his intelligence or his integrity to say that the number of subjects embraced in his history, and the number of works quoted upon each of them, is far greater than any one man could so fully master and digest as to make his decision authoritative; and this conviction is not materially affected by his acknowledgment of help from several friends. The natural result is that his work is singularly patchy, that it intermingles indis-

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criminately authorities of the highest value and of no value at all, that it quotes now a decision of acknowledged weight and in juxtaposition with it the *obiter dictum* of an obscure author, that it is loose in its use of expressions whose meaning should be carefully defined, and that with profuse protestations of respect for Christianity it leaves the reader in complete uncertainty what it can be, beyond the barest Deism, which the writer would deem it necessary or possible to uphold.

These strictures are prompted by our keen interest in many of the questions which Dr. White discusses, and by our desire to ascertain exactly what it is that he and those who hold kindred convictions would have us substitute for the 'faith once for all delivered unto the Saints.' So far as his pages are devoted to an accurate record of the struggle through which scientific discovery has gained general recognition we have no cause of controversy with him. We lament as much as he can the folly and shortsightedness of men who, often with sadly inadequate equipment, have ventured upon unfamiliar ground and have erroneously quoted Holy Scripture as decisive of questions which may well be left for science to determine. We should be content to leave many perplexing problems unsolved in the consciousness that our present knowledge is only in part, and that we are surrounded on all sides by the dark shadows of mystery into which the most enlightened modern science has but dimly penetrated, whilst we hold fast as the most certain of all certainties the cardinal truths of the Catholic faith. But this is not Dr. White's position.

'My conviction is,' he writes, 'that Science, though it has evidently conquered Dogmatic Theology based on biblical texts and ancient modes of thought, will go hand in hand with Religion; and that, although theological control will continue to diminish, Religion, as seen in the recognition of "a Power in the universe, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness," and in the love of God and of our neighbour, will steadily grow stronger and stronger, not only in the American institutions of learning, but in the world at large. Thus may the declarations of Micah as to the requirements of Jehovah, the definition by St. James of "pure religion and undefiled," and above all the precepts and ideals of the blessed Founder of Christianity himself, be brought to bear more and more effectively upon mankind' (Introduction, p. xii).

The terms of this matured conviction, reached after the long period of study inseparable from the production of Dr. White's two elaborate volumes, deserve the most careful attention, not only because they contain the concentrated

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essence of his ripened thought, but because they give shape to a plausible sentiment which at the present time is vaguely floating in many minds, that it is possible to sacrifice dogmatic truth and yet to retain the essential core of Christianity. Let us assure Dr. White that in our examination of his 'conviction' as here formulated we desire to write, not merely without bitterness, but with all kindliness and courtesy, that we give him full credit for being animated by no unworthy motives, and that with him our sole object is to uphold the truth.

Our first remark on the brief extract just quoted is that its terms are singularly obscure. It leaves altogether undecided how much is included in such expressions as 'Dogmatic Theology,' 'ancient modes of thought,' and 'theological control,' or in 'the precepts and ideals of the blessed Founder of Christianity.' Is the doctrine of the Incarnation to disappear with the dismissal of the first, the belief in the superintendence of a Divine Providence with the second, and the Church's preservation of revealed truth with the third? In view of the terrible power which evil exercises in the world and in the heart of man, and of the effect which experience shows that the love of God, as engendered in man by what we presume we must now call the Christian superstition, can exert in restraining it, does Dr. White really believe that the love of a 'Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness' will be *more effective* in enabling men to obey the precepts and aim at the ideals of the blessed Founder of Christianity than was the exploded belief which generated that constraining love of Christ which animated St. Paul or St. Augustine or St. Bernard? Is this presentation of a Power not ourselves in the universe which has implanted in nature a blind instinct of selection through whose long-drawn and God-abandoned action humanity has gradually emerged from the level of the brutes, a more attractive, and so more effective, object of love and eager imitation than an Almighty Father of mercies who made us in His own image that we should be a kind of first-fruits of His creatures, and has redeemed us from sin at the priceless sacrifice of His only begotten Son? And, to suggest only one further question, Which of the precepts and ideals of the blessed Founder of Christianity are to be abandoned and which retained? That these queries are not unseasonable will, we think, be but too apparent as we examine the contents of Dr. White's two volumes and become acquainted with his conclusions.

We cannot linger over the chapters devoted to the history

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of the transition 'From Creation to Evolution' and 'From Genesis to Geology.' Dr. White makes merry over the mistakes committed by many Christian apologists who were not in advance of the scientific ignorance of their time; and, without defining in what sense he uses the word 'evolution,' and in spite of the warning of so competent a man of science as Virchow, he asserts that the theory of an evolution process in the formation of the universe and of animated nature *is established* (i. 86). His view of the value which the Scriptures have for those who dwell in the light of modern scientific knowledge is expressed as follows:

'That to which the great sacred books of the world conform, and our own most of all, is the evolution of the highest conceptions, beliefs, and aspirations of our race, from its childhood through the great turning-points in its history. Herein lies the truth of all bibles, and especially of our own. Of vast value they indeed often are as a record of historical outward fact; recent researches in the East are constantly increasing this value; but it is not for this that we prize them most; they are eminently precious, not as a record of outward fact, but as a mirror of the evolving heart, mind, and soul of man. They are true because they have been developed in accordance with the laws governing the evolution of truth in human history, and because in form, chronicle, code, legend, myth, apologue, or parable they reflect this development of what is best in the onward march of humanity. To say that they are not true is as if one should say that a flower or a tree or a planet is not true; to scoff at them is to scoff at the law of the universe. In welding together into noble form, whether in the Book of Genesis or in the Psalms, or in the Book of Job, or elsewhere, the great conceptions of men acting under earlier inspiration, whether in Egypt or Chaldea, or India or Persia, the compilers of our sacred books have given to humanity a possession ever becoming more and more precious; and modern science, in substituting a new heaven and a new earth for the old—the reign of law for the reign of caprice, and the idea of evolution for that of creation—has added, and is steadily adding, a new revelation divinely inspired. In the light of these two evolutions, then—one of the visible universe, the other of a sacred creation legend—science and theology, if the master minds in both are wise, may at last be reconciled. A great step in this reconciliation was recently seen at the main centre of theological thought amongst English-speaking people when, in the collection of essays entitled *Lux Mundi*, emanating from the college established in these latter days as a fortress of orthodoxy at Oxford, the legendary character of the creation accounts in our sacred books was acknowledged, and when the Archbishop of Canterbury asked, "May not the Holy Spirit at times have made use of myth and legend?"' (i. 23–4).

The more we ponder this crucial passage the harder we find it to grasp the writer's meaning, or even to comprehend

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the sense in which he employs its ruling terms. We pass by its allusion to *Lux Mundi* and the adroit use which here and elsewhere he makes use of the weapons the Keble tutors have forged for him, and we confine ourselves to Dr. White's own definitions. In what intelligible sense can it be said that sacred books *conform to the evolution of the highest conceptions and beliefs of our race*, or is it only a tortuous mode of stating the self-evident truism that the sacred books of every people express and contain their highest conceptions and beliefs? Are the 'other bibles' referred to legitimately to be placed on no different plane from that of Holy Scripture, save that the latter 'conforms to the evolution' of some happier guesses at truth than its congeners? Is the highest value of the Christian Bible centred in the fact that it mirrors the evolving heart, mind, and soul of man, and not, according to the conviction of many centuries, that it reveals to us under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost the mind and will of God? Is the evolution of divine truth in Holy Writ only parallel to the evolution of a flower or a tree, so that to speak of its context in terms of praise or blame really involves no more of moral judgment than if one spoke disrespectfully of the equator? Is the inspiration by which men are led to the knowledge of God's moral nature and attributes, and are moved to imitate His holiness and obey His will, so slightly differentiated from the inspiration by which they are moved to study and enabled to understand the method of His working in nature, that both may without confusion of thought and conception be described under the same name in the same breath? Dr. White has, in our judgment, not only singularly failed to distinguish between things that differ, but has absolutely reversed the true order of cause and effect; whilst his dextrous misrepresentation of the Christian position as a 'reign of caprice' shows that he has not fully comprehended the theology whose utter downfall he so triumphantly proclaims.

To take the last point first: Holy Scripture sets forth the Divine Creator as of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the rightful and righteous governor of the world which He has made, Whose actions are only imperfectly understood, but Whose nature excludes the faintest conception of caprice. He does all things according to the counsel of His own will; He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; with Him there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning—such are some of the phrases in which so much of the Divine nature as man can grasp is shadowed forth, and in the light of their

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affirmations it is, to our minds, a gross perversion of the truth to speak of theology as establishing 'a reign of caprice,' because the Bible records examples of the exercise of the Divine will which range beyond the limited arena of man's everyday experience. But we must pass from this minor utterance to the central idea of the passage before us.

In our conviction it is an absolute misconception of the chief importance of Holy Scripture to say that it consists in its history of the steady striving of our race (or of a part of it) after higher conceptions, beliefs, and aspirations. We hold firmly, on the contrary, that its inestimable value lies in its record of the gradual revelation to man of the highest ideal, which thenceforth claims his belief and quickens his aspirations. The distinction between the two conceptions is radical and fundamental. Of course we acknowledge a progressive revelation from God with a correspondent evolution and expansion in the heart, mind, and soul of man. As we may trace in Holy Writ the preparation 'through sundry times and divers manners' to 'the fulness of time,' so we may also see there in Dr. White's phrase, a mirror of man's evolving heart, mind, and soul—an evolving which is still continuing through the influence of the Church, and is, we fondly trust, destined to attain a far higher and wider development. But the priceless core of Holy Scripture lies not in the development of man, but in the revelation of God, and the latter is not to be explained away on any theory of evolution. The Christ of history, the Gospel of St. John, the Epistle to the Ephesians are crucial illustrations of our position. We maintain that they cannot be so accounted for as Dr. White would apparently have us believe. We are irrevocably convinced that they are not the product merely of the evolving mind of man, but of the miraculous revelation of God. The issue between Dr. White and ourselves is clear and essential, and cannot be sublimated by laudatory phrases about the value of the Bible in common with the other 'great sacred books of the world.' So far is it from being true that the highest conceptions and aspirations contained in our sacred books were the inevitable evolution of the preceding ages which culminated naturally in them, there is nothing more startling than the contrast between the moral and spiritual elevation of the New Testament and the general degradation of the age which saw its birth. At the most unlikely period in the world's history the people which sat in darkness saw a great light, as there flashed out upon them an ideal of morality and religion, towards the full

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imitation of which the evolving mind, heart, and soul of the foremost races of the world are still imperfectly striving after the evolution of nineteen centuries.

It is, of course, impossible within the limits of our space to follow in detail the course of Dr. White's elaborate history. He has nothing of exceptional importance on the questions involved under such titles as 'From Genesis to Geology,' 'The Antiquity and the Fall of Man,' as he reads them in the light of ethnology and anthropology, or in the altered conceptions of natural phenomena, which he describes as transitions from the Prince of the Power of the Air to meteorology, and from magic to chemistry and physics. As we follow again the narrative of lamentable errors made by conscientious men in the name of religion—the persecution of Galileo, the opposition to Copernicus, the terror occasioned by comets, the epidemics of panic at imputed witchcraft—whilst we unfeignedly deplore them, there is no more reason to renounce theology because of such serious mistakes than Madame Roland found to forsake the cause of freedom when constrained to exclaim, 'O Liberty, how many crimes have been committed in thy name!' We do not complain of Dr. White's insistence upon these facts, but we note as highly significant the omission of much that would qualify our judgment respecting them. We will mention but one example. Is it worthy of an historian, when describing the discouragement of chemistry, to suppress the notorious fact that in its earlier stages the study of chemistry was mainly pursued by poisoners, and that it was hopelessly tainted by its employment for the most deadly and diabolical aims? It is a like prejudice which leads Dr. White to lay all persecution for witchcraft and magic to the account of Christian theology rather than to the belief in malignant influence, which is yet more prevalent among heathen peoples.

We are not concerned to defend the scientific errors committed by theologians in the ages of scientific ignorance. We can rejoice as unfeignedly as Dr. White over the marvellous discoveries which have been the glory of the nineteenth century, and can honour with him the patience and ability with which the secrets of nature have been unravelled. But we fail to trace the connexion which Dr. White discerns between the explosion of superstitious fears regarding comets and improvement in religion or morals.

'In the realm of religion,' he writes, with what we presume is meant for withering sarcasm, 'the Psalms of David remain no less beautiful, the great utterances of the Hebrew prophets no less

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powerful; the Sermon on the Mount, "the first commandment, and the second, which is like unto it," the definition of "pure religion and undefiled" by St. James, appeal no less to the deepest things in the human heart. In the realm of morals, too, serviceable as the idea of firebrands thrown by the right hand of an avenging God to scare a naughty world might seem, any competent historian must find that the destruction of the old theological cometary theory was followed by moral improvement rather than by deterioration. We have but to compare the general moral tone of society to-day, wretchedly imperfect as it is, with that existing in the time when this superstition had its strongest hold. We have only to compare the court of Henry VIII. with the court of Victoria, the reign of the later Valois and earlier Bourbon princes with the present French republic, the period of the Medici and Sforzas and Borgias with the period of Leo XIII. and Humbert, the monstrous wickedness of the Thirty Years' War with the ennobling patriotism of the Franco-Prussian struggle, and the despotism of the miserable German princelings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the reign of the Emperor William' (i. 207, 208).

Yet whatever scorn may justly attach to debasing or fanatical ideas about the mission of comets, is it not altogether fantastic to connect the advance over a wide area of central and southern Europe, as Dr. White does, with a clearer conception of law in the universe, or with man's realisation (as the author phrases it in terms which calmly assume much that is open to dispute) 'that he is part of a system not requiring constant patching and arbitrary interference'? So far as our study of history guides us we are not convinced that the banishment of God in any degree conduces to the elevation of man. The ablest teacher of evolutionary ethics, in his famous Romanes Lecture, most forcibly insists upon the necessity for the unwearied maintenance by man of the struggle against inevitable tendency to degeneration, a singular commentary on his place in a system not requiring constant patching and arbitrary interference. But it is needless to labour this point further. The relation between the cause of improvement and its effect as discovered by Dr. White may find its parallel in that of Tenterden steeple to the Goodwin Sands.

Dr. White is not content to relate the story of ecclesiastical interference with scientific discovery. In his anxiety to strengthen his indictment against theology, he gives the reins to his imagination and relates what might have been the result had a different course of action been followed. Surely it is not the part of an historian to state as unquestionable fact what is at best but an opinion, more or less probable in itself, and founded upon deductions from the

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advance of science under essentially different conditions. Here, for example, is the author's commentary upon the treatment of Roger Bacon :

'Sad it is to think of what this great man might have given to the world had ecclesiasticism allowed the gift. *He held the key of treasures which would have freed mankind from ages of error and misery.* With his discoveries as a basis, with his method as a guide, what might not the world have gained? Nor was the wrong done to that age alone, it was done to this age also. The nineteenth century was robbed at the same time with the thirteenth. But for that interference with science the nineteenth century would be enjoying discoveries which will not be reached before the twentieth century and even later. Thousands of precious lives shall be lost, tens of thousands shall suffer discomfort, privation, sickness, poverty, ignorance, for lack of discoveries and methods which, but for this mistaken dealing with Roger Bacon and his compeers, would now be blessing the earth.

'In two recent years sixty thousand children died in England and in Wales of scarlet fever; probably quite as many died in the United States. Had not Bacon been hindered, we should have had in our hands, by this time, the means to save two thirds of these victims; and the same is true of typhoid, typhus, cholera, and that great class of diseases of whose physical causes science is just beginning to get an inkling. Put together all the efforts of all the atheists who have ever lived, and they have not done so much harm to Christianity and to the world as has been done by the narrow-minded, conscientious men who persecuted Roger Bacon and closed the path which he gave his life to open' (i. 390).

We may take Dr. White's handling of the growth of medical science as a typical example of his method. It fills nearly the half of his second volume, so that it is extensive enough to supply a fair test, and it is freer from the technicalities and the special knowledge which some branches of his work demand before the reader can reach a well-informed opinion. At the outset we are curious to know what injury Christianity condensed into dogma can have wrought in this particular field; for amongst the many material blessings which the spread of the Gospel has brought to human misery, we may assuredly affirm that care for the sick and suffering holds the foremost place. And we must not omit to state that so much Dr. White fully allows.

'The influence of Christianity,' he says, 'on the healing art was twofold: there was first a blessed impulse—the thought, aspiration, example, ideals, and spirit of Jesus of Nazareth. This spirit, then poured into the world, flowed down through the ages, promoting self-sacrifice for the sick and wretched. Through all those succeeding centuries, even through the rudest, hospitals and infirmaries

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sprang up along this blessed stream. Of these were the Eastern establishments for the cure of the sick at the earliest Christian periods, the Infirmary of Monte Cassino and the Hôtel-Dieu at Lyons in the sixth century, the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris in the seventh, and the myriad refuges for the sick and suffering which sprang up in every part of Europe during the following centuries. Vitalized by this stream, all mediæval growths of mercy bloomed luxuriantly. To say nothing of those at an earlier period, we have in the time of the crusades great charitable organizations like the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and thenceforward every means of bringing the Spirit of Jesus to help afflicted humanity. So, too, through all those ages we have a succession of men and women devoting themselves to works of mercy, culminating during modern times in saints like Vincent de Paul, Francke, Howard, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, and Muhlenberg' (ii. 3, 4).

But side by side with this beneficent stream Dr. White tells us a second and injurious current flowed down from the two-fold source of widespread belief in miracles, and of the conviction that disease resulted from Divine wrath or diabolical malevolence. Along both these intermingling streams, 'one arising in the life of Jesus, and the other in the reasonings of theologians, legends of miracles grew luxuriantly'; and through long ages reliance upon, or confident expectation of, miracle on the one hand, and the persuasion that supernatural powers needed to be appeased on the other, were amongst the causes which helped to divert men from the study of medicine, and so may have served to delay its progress. Whether they had so deep and disastrous an influence as Dr. White conceives is, we think, fairly open to question, and it seems idle to speculate on what might have been had the conditions of human life been other than they were. The perusal of many medical prescriptions in the earlier and middle ages of our era might well incline even a sceptic to believe rather in the efficacy of prayer than in that of such monstrous nostrums.

We cannot follow the author through his description of the growth of legends of healing, or through his account of the evolution of legendary miracles as illustrated in the later biographies of St. Francis Xavier. Despite the questionable terms in which Dr. White refers to the New Testament as showing 'the inevitable mode of thought'—viz. the idea of supernatural intervention in causing and in curing disease—as a refracting medium through which the teachings and doings of the Great Physician were revealed to future generations' (ii. 2), he does not appear to question the authenticity of all miracles, or absolutely to deny the

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possibility of the miraculous. Such, at any rate, is the interpretation we put upon his admission that, 'while modern thought holds the testimony to the vast mass of legends of healing in all ages as worthless, *it is very widely acknowledged* that great and gifted beings who endow the earth with higher religious ideas, gaining the deepest hold upon the hearts and minds of multitudes, may at times exercise such influence upon those about them that the sick in mind or body are helped or healed' (ii. 5). To this halting utterance may be added his further confession that 'there are undoubtedly serious lesions which yield to profound emotion and vigorous exertion born of persuasion, confidence, or excitement, and that intense feeling or passion may bring out great muscular force' (ii. 25).

Before we pass on it may be well to note the far-reaching significance of the admission with which the author commences this large and important division of his work. 'Nothing,' he writes, 'in the evolution of human thought appears more inevitable than the idea of supernatural intervention in producing and curing disease' (ii. 1), and we ask can that which is inevitable be utterly baseless? Is that which is thus confessed to be the universal conviction of mankind to be set aside because it does not square with the evolutionary theory? It is the credibility of all miracle which is the question largely debated at the present day, and if the idea of supernatural intervention be inevitable in the evolution of human thought the whole ground is cut from under Hume's much vaunted essay.

There are some serious questions, on which Dr. White does not enter, which may be asked before we can with him dismiss the subject of demoniacal possession. Has scientific and medical discovery, we venture to inquire, disproved the accuracy of the Biblical accounts of it, and is the Sadducean spirit which pervades so much of contemporary scientific literature the inevitable and necessary consequence of enlarged acquaintance with disease or with improved methods of combating it? Suppose it be allowed that the Gospel story of the demoniac boy presents a striking parallel to epileptic seizure, how does that refute his possession by an evil spirit? We have the distinct and positive assertion of the Evangelists that Jesus healed all manner of sickness and all manner of disease amongst the people, and that He did this in many instances by casting out the spirits with His word. We have the further record of the sending forth of the Apostles, who both preached repentance and cast out many devils. Again,

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we have the mission of the seventy disciples, with their joyful testimony on their return, 'Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through Thy name.' What possible reliance can be placed upon the testimony of the inspired, or, indeed, of any, writers in bygone times, if such statements of fact are to be virtually discredited, whilst the character of the authors is maintained because under an 'inevitable mode of thought' they could only see things 'through the refracting medium' of the miraculous? We hold it to be of essence of the Catholic faith that it has its basis not in subjective opinion but in objective reality, in the historic facts of the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord. It was on this foundation that St. Paul preached repentance and remission of sins. It was of these facts that the Apostles declared they were witnesses. To speak of sublimating the facts and retaining the doctrines that spring from them, is to expect the tree to flourish when severed from its roots.

Dr. White enlarges upon the consequences of belief in demoniacal possession, but we think very large deductions should in all justice be made from the share which he assigns to theology in its results. In every department of human thought advancing knowledge has had to maintain a struggle against the prejudices and the mistaken judgments of prevalent ignorance; and amongst these, erroneous conclusions from Holy Scripture have doubtless had their share, which has been probably neither so extensive nor so disastrous as Dr. White would have his readers to believe. If a too literal adherence to the letter of the Bible has at times been injurious to the advance of any branch of science, the influence of the spirit of Christianity has been no mean factor in its progress, and we wonder that, when taking so wide a view of the progress of human thought, Dr. White has not pondered more deeply the significant fact that no other save the Christian form of civilization, however great its advance in arts and crafts, has for two thousand years progressed materially in scientific knowledge, and that the awakening of Mahommedan interest in it was soon stupefied under the deadening influence of Islam.

It would have been more worthy of the pains which Dr. White has obviously bestowed upon his history if, instead of allowing himself to be entirely absorbed in the task of hunting out every blunder ever committed by theologians, he had endeavoured to ascertain whether there is any ruling principle persistently underlying all Scriptural teaching concerning the realm of nature. Now Scripture uniformly speaks of

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natural forces as the home and the vehicle of hidden evil agencies, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers. They act through the avenues of physical forces which have power to enfeeble and deprave us, through the lusts of the flesh and the longings of the mind, through bodily disorders, through the invisible forces stored up in the universe. The fetters which bind men to sin are ofttimes no less physical than moral, and the disease which bowed together for eighteen years the woman whom Jesus healed, and which may have been an ordinary rheumatism, our Lord ascribed to Satan. Now, if there be such living forces—and he is a bold man who will venture positively to deny them—how is their credibility lessened by the fact that modern discoveries in medical science has taught us how we may more effectually combat them, and what is there irrational (at least from the evolutionist's standpoint) in believing that in God's counsel man's advancing knowledge may check Satanic influences? To us it seems not a little singular that whilst the science of our day mainly concerns itself with the investigation of things invisible, scorn should be cast in the name of science upon belief in active invisible powers.

It is difficult to understand, if we concede Dr. White's fundamental principles, the relevance or the reasonableness of the blame which he applies so energetically to Christian theology. According to his teaching, the great mistake of theologians in all ages has been insistence upon dogmatic theology and a failure to grasp the universal action of law by which all things, theology included, have been developed. Evolution, which explains everything, unfolds to its more competent disciples the inevitable stages of development, not only of matter but of mind; and Dr. White can accordingly explain the growth of theories of inspiration and of what he deems excessive respect for the Holy Scriptures; and he kindly defines for us some of these laws in such terms as the following. We number them for the facility of reference:

1. 'With wide differences in origin and character, this sacred literature (which comprises the great sacred books of the world) has been developed and has exercised its influence in obedience to certain general laws. First of these in time, if not in importance, is that which governs its origin: in all civilizations we find that the Divine Spirit working in the mind of man shapes his sacred books first of all out of the chaos of myth and legend; and of these books, when life is thus breathed into them, the fittest survive' (ii. 288).

2. 'As the second of these laws governing the evolution of sacred literature may be mentioned that which we have constantly seen so effective in the growth of theological ideas—that to which Comte

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gave the name of the *Law of Wills and Causes.* Obedient to this, man attributes to the Supreme Being a physical, intellectual, and moral culture like his own, hence it is that the votary of each of the great world religions ascribes to its sacred books what he considers absolute perfection: he imagines them to be what he himself would give the world, were he himself infinitely good, wise, and powerful' (ii. 290).

3. 'Still another law governing the evolution of sacred literature in every great world religion is, that when the books which compose it are once selected and grouped they come to be regarded as a final creation from which nothing can be taken away, and of which even error in form, if sanctioned by tradition, may not be changed' (ii. 291).

4. 'Still another law is, that when once a group of sacred books has been evolved—even though the group really be a great library of most dissimilar works, ranging in matter from the hundredth Psalm to the Song of Songs, and in manner from the sublimity of Isaiah to the off-hand story-telling of Jonah—all come to be thought one inseparable mass of interpenetrating parts; every statement in each fitting exactly and miraculously into each statement in every other; and each and every one, and all together, literally true to fact, and at the same time full of hidden meanings' (ii. 292).

5. A further law of development is 'that, when literal interpretation clashes with increasing knowledge or with progress in moral feeling, theologians take refuge in mystic meanings—a law which we see working in all great religions, from the Brahmans finding hidden senses in the Vedas, to Plato and the Stoics finding them in the Greek myths; and from the Sofi reading new meanings into the Koran, to eminent Christian divines of the nineteenth century giving a non-natural sense to some of the plainest statements in the Bible' (ii. 293).

Here then we have laid down a great evolutionary code. It is at our peril that we dare to scrutinize it—but is it absolutely indisputable? We are not desirous in any degree to undervalue the sacred books in which the highest wisdom and morality of non-Christian peoples have been stored; but is it really true that, as suggested in the fifth of these laws, there is no essential difference in nature and origin betwen our own Holy Scriptures and the Koran, the Vedas, and the Hellenic myths? Is the moral and spiritual teaching of the Bible on the same plane as that of the Koran, and is the higher estimate of the latter over a wide area of Semitic and Hamitic races to be rightly estimated as the survival of the fittest? Or, to take another example, are the Christian Gospels and the Vedas in any reasonable sense of similarity, of such kindred elevation of thought as rightly to be included under a common connotation or as the evolved product of the same origin of myth and legend which has blossomed in the latter in the Vedas

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and in the former in the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John? Or despite all the manifold and painful blots which disfigure Christendom, when its influence is compared with that wrought by any other creed, is it scientific to assert virtual identity of cause where there is such marked dissimilarity of effect? Or, to take another example, is it not a gross caricature of intelligent Christian conviction respecting the authority and inspiration of the Bible to state, as laid down in Dr. White's fourth law, that it is a dictum of theology that every statement in each book of the Holy Scriptures fits exactly and miraculously into each statement in every other book? Our acceptance, which, we presume, should be absolute and implicit, of laws laid down in terms so distinct and dogmatic, is already sorely shaken, and it is not strengthened by the unqualified adoption of Comte's *Law of Wills and Causes* in the terms employed in law No. 2. Is a physical, intellectual, and moral culture like man's own attributed in the Bible to the Supreme Being? Are not the two rather brought into the most startling contrast? In the grand simplicity of early religious thought and acquirement no doubt many anthropomorphic terms are used which fall somewhat strangely on modern ears, but, from so ancient a book as that of Job to the utterances of Isaiah, the whole spirit of the Holy Scriptures is in harmony with the sublime assertion, 'As the heavens are high above the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways and My thoughts than your thoughts.'

But we have a further test afforded us by Dr. White himself of the value of the laws he has so carefully enunciated, and one which may help us rightly to appreciate them. 'The working of law No. 3,' he tells us, 'has recently been seen on a large scale.' We could not desire a better crucial test than that which he alleges nor a more striking illustration of the superficiality of these pretentious generalizations. Dr. White's law expressed in technical language would run: 'No error even in form can be corrected when once the Canon of Scripture has been decided,' and he quotes the distaste expressed in certain quarters of the Revised Version of the Bible as an illustration of the working of the law. It would have been hard to select a more unfortunate instance. The revision was undertaken with the express purpose of correcting those very errors which Dr. White's third law asserts 'may not be changed.' It was elaborately discussed, and after long and serious debate the revision was recommended by both Houses of the Convocations of the Northern and Southern Provinces of the Church of England. Representatives of the Non-

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conformist bodies united with Churchmen in the prosecution of the task, and their labours were aided by the simultaneous efforts of American revisers, who were in constant consultation with their brethren across the Atlantic. Under the mournful conditions of disunion which sever English-speaking Christians no more signal example of united effort has been supplied than this common determination to remove errors 'which may not be changed.' Nor is the unpopularity of the Revised Version in any degree due to blind adherence to error, but to other more simple reasons which are too well known to require further mention here.

An amusing illustration of Dr. White's indiscriminate heaping together the most trivial things in order to discredit theology is supplied in the following extract from a chapter entitled 'From Leviticus to Political Economy:'

'The dealings of theology with public economy were by no means confined to the taking of interest for money. It would be interesting to note the restrictions placed upon commerce by the Church prohibition of commercial intercourse with infidels, against which the Republic of Venice fought a good fight; to note how, by a most curious perversion of Scripture in the Greek Church, many of the peasantry of Russia were prevented from raising and eating potatoes; how, in Scotland, in the beginning of this century, the use of fanning mills for winnowing grain was widely denounced as contrary to the text, "The wind bloweth where it listeth," and as leaguing with Satan, who is "Prince of the powers of the air," and therefore, as sufficient cause for excommunication from the Scotch Church. Instructive it would be also to note how the introduction of railways was declared by an Archbishop of the French Church to be an evidence of the Divine displeasure against country innkeepers, who set meat before their guests on fast days, and who were now punished by seeing travellers carried by their doors; how railways and telegraphs were denounced from a few noted pulpits as heralds of Antichrist; and how in Protestant England the Curate of Rotherhithe, at the breaking in of the Thames Tunnel, so destructive to life and property, declared it from his pulpit a just judgment upon the presumptuous aspirations of mortal man. The same tendency is seen in the opposition of conscientious men to the taking of the census in Sweden and in the United States, on account of the terms in which the numbering of Israel is spoken of in the Old Testament. Religious scruples on similar grounds have also been avowed against so beneficial a thing as life insurance.'

'Apparently unimportant' (adds Dr. White) 'as these manifestations are, they indicate a widespread tendency; in the application of Scriptural declarations to matters of social economy, which has not yet ceased, though it is fast fading away' (ii. 285–6).

We entirely agree with Dr. White that these unimportant

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manifestations, so carefully recorded, do 'indicate a certain tendency' widespread throughout his volumes—a tendency, which appears to us illogical and not a little reprehensible, to identify theology with the follies and blunders of persons who have not the remotest claim to be called theologians. Our readers will form their own estimate of a theory which needs to be bolstered up with such futilities as these. Or does Dr. White's contempt for theology lead him to the polite conclusion that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with?

In concluding our review of Dr. White's elaborate volumes we hope that it is sufficiently clear that we object, not to the record of facts, but to the conclusions which the historian would have us deduce from them. The annals of human error and ignorance convey lessons of inestimable value, and their prominence in the pages of Church history gives pointed emphasis to the truth that our own faith must not stand in the wisdom of men but in the power of God; but we have ample warning that the weakness of the superstructure does not affect the immutable stability of the foundation, and the Church is built on a rock against which the gates of science will not prevail. With the motives by which Dr. White professes to be inspired in his dealing with what he vaguely terms theology we have nothing to do; we give him full credit for sincerity in his professed desire to save the essence whilst sacrificing what he deems the accidents of religion; but with his method we are profoundly at variance. In his hands evolution becomes a universal solvent, under whose disintegrating influence all distinctive Christian teaching melts away, whilst by the specious jugglery of a conciliatory phraseology the distinction between falsehood and truth is obliterated, and clear statements of fact are glozed over as the inevitable tendency of humanity in the prescientific age to regard things through a certain refracting medium. In this fashion, the creation of man in God's own image, the fall, the early history of the chosen people, the credibility of prophecy and of miracle, the reality of Satanic agency, the integrity and authenticity of the Canon of Holy Scripture, are all in turn melted in the crucible of evolution, from which there emerges in their stead the pale vision of certain Christian sentiments, perfumed with the odour of a sanctity distilled in days when words were held to express realities, and this faint shadow we are urged, under pain of absolute loss of all Christian truth, to accept as a substitute for the faith once for all delivered to the saints. The proffered reconciliation of Christianity thus realized as seen through the refracting medium of bygone

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credulity with the asserted conclusions of science is the more astounding from the historian who repeatedly denounces the futility of like attempts by Christian apologists. So far as the discoveries of science appear to be in conflict with revelation we are content to wait for fuller light, remembering that Catholic truth is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer, and already there are indications that much which has been positively maintained as established is open to serious dispute. Let science pursue her own path unimpeded —so far we are entirely in accord with Dr. White—but to us the historic facts of Christianity are the most certain of all certainties, and we absolutely decline, under the pressure even of acknowledged difficulties—ten thousand of which do not, in our minds, create one doubt—to surrender any vital portion of the sacred deposit committed to our charge.

ART. IX.—THE EARLY STONE AGE IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

1. *Les Cavernes et leurs Habitants.* Par JULIEN FRAIPONT. (Paris, 1896.)
2. *La France Préhistorique.* Par EMILE CARTAILHAC. Deuxième édition. (Paris, 1896.)
3. *On certain Phenomena belonging to the close of the Last Geological Period, and on their bearing upon the Tradition of the Flood.* By Sir JOSEPH PRESTWICH, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S. (London, 1895.)
4. *Etude sur l'Ethnographie de l'Homme de l'Age du Renne, dans les Cavernes de la Vallée de la Lesse.* Par EDOUARD DUPONT. (Bruxelles, 1867.)
5. *The Bone Caves of Ojcow in Poland.* By Dr. FERD. RÖMER. Translated by J. E. LEE. (London, 1884.)
6. *Excavations at the Kesslerloch, near Thayngen.* By CONRAD MERK. Translated by J. E. LEE. (London, 1876.)

IT is now twenty-three years since the great work of Christy and Lartet, entitled *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, issued complete from the press, and, notwithstanding the time that has elapsed since its publication, this magnificent treatise is still the standard authority on the antiquities of the Palæolithic Period in Southern France. It contained a series of memoirs, in which the Palæolithic caves of the Dordogne, with their antiquities and human remains, were described and classified.

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The customs of barbarous races—such as the Eskimo and the Indians of Alaska—were compared with the relics of the ancient hunters of the Vézère ; the habits of the reindeer, the musk-ox, the glutton, and the hippopotamus were noticed at length ; and a series of Palæolithic skulls and bones found in the Dordogne caverns was minutely described. Such leading anthropologists as Rupert Jones and Flower in England, and Lartet, Broca, and Pruner Bey in France, all contributed to the work, which was further enriched by the most splendid collection of plates that ever appeared in any book relating to prehistoric archæology. Since its publication a host of eminent scientists, such as Quatrefages, Arcelin, Hamy, Mortillet, Joly, and Cartailhac, have described innumerable fresh discoveries in the Palæolithic deposits, and we purpose to summarize the principal of these in the following article.

France is the paradise of archæologists. Its Quaternary beds are so extensive, its bone-caves are so numerous, and its sepulchral and megalithic monuments are so countless, that no thorough idea of the prehistoric ages can be obtained unless its antiquities are thoroughly studied. English archæologists have too often neglected to do this, and by refusing to look with any degree of attention beyond Great Britain, they have fallen into serious error. We shall, in reviewing the works above mentioned, confine ourselves to the Continent, and only inferentially refer to English discoveries.

The book of M. Fraipont, which has only just issued from the press, is most important. Its author is Professor of Palæontology in the University of Liège, and in connexion with M. Lohest, he compiled some years ago a most valuable work on the oldest human remains in Belgium.[1] He had also the good fortune to examine scientifically the skeletons which were discovered in 1886 at Spy by MM. Lohest and Marcel de Puydt, and which are probably the oldest at present known in Europe ; and for the last ten years he has been incessantly exploring the numerous bone-caves in Belgium. His present work deals with both the early and the later Stone Ages, but only the first part will fall under our notice. No better archæologist than M. Cartailhac could possibly be chosen to write on prehistoric France. He is well known in England for his elaborate writings on the Stone Ages in France, Spain, and Portugal, and in the Balearic Islands ; whilst he also held in France the most important post of editor of the accounts of the researches into the history of primitive man,

[1] *La Race Humaine de Néanderthal ou de Canstadt en Belgique.*

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which was regularly issued under the name of *Matériaux pour l'Histoire Primitive et Naturelle de l'Homme.*

In discussing the question of the antiquity of man, it is necessary to examine the evidence for the existence of man during the Tertiary Period. All geologists admit that in the earliest deposits of this period—that is, in those of the Eocene epoch—no relics of man have been discovered. But in the following, or Miocene formation, many shattered flints have been found at Thenay, near Tours, which are thought to have been made by man. MM. Quatrefages[1] and Hamy[2] consider them to be of human origin, but MM. Cartailhac[3] and Fraipont[4] reject this idea, whilst most English and American geologists look upon these flints as works of Nature; and M. Gaudry supposes that they were formed by an anthropoid ape.[5] The strangest opinion is that of M. de Mortillet, who fancies that these flints were fabricated by a nondescript hairy creature, half man and half ape, which he terms *Anthropopithecus*, whose remains cannot be found, and whose existence is purely imaginary![6] Here we have indeed the hairy animal with pointed ears and a tail which Mr. Darwin considered to have been the remote ancestor of man;[7] but unfortunately the remains of this interesting creature have not yet been discovered. The Thenay flints speak for themselves, and they are so ridiculously small and rude that it is impossible to imagine that they are the work of man. Similar flints have been found in Miocene beds at Otta on the Tagus, and at Puy-Courny in Auvergne, but they are clearly formed by Nature, and M. Cartailhac rejects them.[8] In the Pliocene Period, which follows, not merely the *weapons*, but also the *bones*, of man are said to have been found. In 1885 M. Sergi found in a Pliocene deposit near Brescia five skeletons, which he declared belonged to the members of a family who had been drowned in a shipwreck in those distant ages. The age of the deposit, however, is doubtful, and M. Sergi has recently adopted the opinion that the skeletons are those of human beings who were buried at a later time.

[1] *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*, pp. 91, 92.
[2] *Précis de Paléontologie Humaine*, pp. 45–50.
[3] *La France Préhistorique*, pp. 36, 37.
[4] *Les Cavernes*, p. 53.
[5] *Les Enchaînements du Monde Animal*, p. 241.
[6] *Le Préhistorique: Antiquité de l'Homme*, p. 105.
[7] *Descent of Man*, vol. i. 206.
[8] *La France Préhistorique*, p. 37. M. Cotteau has also shown that many of these so-called Miocene flints at Otta really belong to a much later period, and that their claim to be of Miocene age is of little value.

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The cuts on the bones of St. Prest, and the flints found at that place, which were thought by Quatrefages[1] and Hamy[2] to show evidences of human workmanship, are now, we are informed by M. Cartailhac, abandoned as evidences of the existence of man in Pliocene times. Of course if man lived in the Miocene and Pliocene Periods his antiquity is enormous, but the whole case in favour of man's existence during the Tertiary Era has hopelessly broken down. It rests principally on some rough shattered flints, which cannot possibly be proved to have been made by man, as similar rude fragments of flint can be found in still earlier deposits, which belong to times in which no one dreams that man could have lived. A strong reaction is taking place against considering that these insignificant flints are the work of man; and in America especially many fractured flints which were formerly thought to have been made by man are now looked upon by geologists with great suspicion, or pronounced to have been formed by natural causes.[3] In England our best geologists such as Professors Boyd Dawkins,[4] Hull,[5] Hughes,[6] and Sir Joseph Prestwich,[7] have rejected the idea of Tertiary man; and Sir John Evans, having lately reviewed the whole of the evidence produced to prove that man lived in the Tertiary Period, finally decides that the verdict must be 'Not Proven.'[8]

Evolutionists are placed in a position of great difficulty with reference to Tertiary man. All the *undoubted* remains of man found in the Quaternary Period show that man was as much true man as he is to-day, so it is necessary to go still further back to find any forms intermediate between man and apes. Now, either the human relics found in the Tertiary deposits are of Tertiary age, or they are more recent. If they belong to later (*i.e.* to Quaternary times), then the missing links between men and apes have still to be found. If, however, these bones, flints, and other relics are genuine remains of men who lived in the Tertiary Periods, then an equal difficulty arises. For, the oldest bones and skulls of man, in the Tertiary deposits, belong to individuals of a very high character, who were as truly

[1] *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*, p. 17.
[2] *Précis de Paléontologie Humaine*, chap. iv.
[3] See *Anthropological Journal*, August 1896.
[4] *Early Man in Britain*, pp. 66, 90.
[5] *Sketch of Geological History*, p. 144.
[6] *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1879.
[7] *Nineteenth Century*, April 1895.
[8] *Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association at Leeds*, 1890.

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human as the modern Europeans; so that the further we go back into antiquity, the more highly developed, and less ape-like, do the human remains become. More than this, if finely developed men lived in the Pliocene Period of the Tertiary Era, we are confronted with a further difficulty, that immediately before that time no man-like apes whatever existed, from whom man could have been developed.

The Quaternary Epoch succeeded the Tertiary Era, but it was of comparatively brief duration, and it contained the great winter of the Glacial Period. Thus, the Quaternary Period may be conveniently divided into the Pre-glacial, Glacial, and Post-glacial Periods, the latter of which is succeeded by the Recent Era. There are no definite traces of man in England before the Glacial Period; for, although Sir Joseph Prestwich has thought that the flints in the gravels on the Chalk Plateau to the south of the Thames (which are said to be human implements) are of Pre-glacial age, Sir John Evans and Professor Boyd Dawkins cannot accept his conclusions.[1] The flints in the Cave of Cae Gwyn, in the valley of the Clwyd, have been thought to be of Pre-glacial antiquity, but the fauna associated with them is of Post-glacial and later date, and Professor Hughes has shown that the cavern deposits in this cave are of a later era also.

On the Continent, however, different opinions are held, and both M. Fraipont and M. Cartailhac consider that the earliest traces of man are of Inter-glacial age. They maintain that there were two Glacial Periods, the first occurring at the close of the Pliocene Era, and the second in the Quaternary Epoch, and in the period between these two Glacial Periods they place the appearance of man. There is, however, conclusive evidence that all through the Pliocene Era a warm climate prevailed in Western Europe, and snow and ice could only have existed on the tops of lofty mountains. Professor G. de Mortillet admits but one Glacial Period, which he places in the Quaternary Epoch,[2] and he considers that man existed in Western Europe before the Great Ice Age. Mortillet, also, makes a very elaborate classification of the prehistoric Stone Age, which he divides into the following eras, characterized by different forms of stone weapons. His classification, which has been largely adopted in France, is as follows, commencing with the oldest era:

I. The Chellean Period, which was Pre-glacial, and in which the climate was mild and warm. This was the era

[1] *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxi. 1892.
[2] *Le Préhistorique: Antiquité de l'Homme*, deuxième édition, p. 311.

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of the gravels of the east of England and the north of France. Man appears first, but only his weapons of flint are discovered, and these were merely held in the hand, and were not fitted to a handle. The characteristic animals of the time were the straight-tusked elephant and the Merkian rhinoceros.

II. The Moustérien Epoch, which is equivalent to the Glacial Period, and had the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros for its chief animals. Man lived in caverns at this time, and used rough flint implements.

III. The Solutréen Era, which was also a part of the Glacial Period. Man now began to use bone implements, and chipped his flint weapons with great care.

IV. The Magdalénien Epoch, which was Post-glacial, although the climate was still very cold. Man now was an artist and a tailor. The reindeer was the characteristic animal of the period.[1]

Fraipont accepts this classification, but in England it is generally rejected. No change in general occurs in the fauna throughout the whole of the Quaternary Period, and the different types of weapons are often found side by side. Rudeness of form in implements is no sign of antiquity. Sir Joseph Prestwich has maintained that the gravels of the valleys are synchronous with the cave-deposits,[2] and Professor Boyd Dawkins declares, that the animals which are said by Mortillet to characterize his different eras have all left their remains side by side in the valley-gravels of the east of England.[3] M. Cartailhac follows the plan proposed by M. Boule, and considers that the latter part of the Quaternary Epoch was cold, whilst the former portion was warm. When we remember, however, that the hippopotamus lived in Northern Europe at the close of the Quaternary Period, and that at the same time the mollusk *Cyrena fluminalis*, now only found in warm regions, abounded in our rivers, we see that a warm climate must have prevailed at the close of the Quaternary Era. In fact, it is not possible to make out divisions in the Quaternary Period founded on different human weapons, or on variations of fauna, and any attempt to do so will certainly end in failure.

All evidence tends to show that Man did not appear until after the Glacial Period, so that the Early Stone Age may be termed the Post-glacial Era; it may also be called the Palæolithic (or Old Stone) Period, because at that time Man

[1] *Le Préhistorique: Antiquité de l'Homme*, pp. 130–2.
[2] *Geology*, ii. 488.
[3] *Nature*, August 13, 1896.

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merely chipped his stone weapons, and did not grind or polish them, as he did in the Later Stone Age or Neolithic Period.

The eminent French anthropologists, MM. Quatrefages and Hamy, have divided the men of the Palæolithic Age into three races, basing their arrangement chiefly on the form of the skull.[1] First: the Canstadt race, the men of which were savage and brutal, possessing low foreheads, projecting jaws, and dolichocephalic skulls. Secondly: the Cro-Magnon race, the men of which were tall and splendidly developed, whilst their skulls, which were also dolichocephalic, possessed brains as large as those of the civilized European. Thirdly: the race of La Truchère (or Furfooz), the skulls of which were brachycephalic, and the human members of which were of medium height, and also possessed large brains.[2] Evolutionists have seized upon this arrangement, and have tried hard to show that the Canstadt—or the most brutal—race came first, and that the most intelligent race—*i.e.* that of Cro-Magnon—appeared last, so that there was a gradual development from the lowest to the highest race, during the whole of the Palæolithic Period. The attempt, however, has completely failed. The skulls of Neanderthal, Canstadt, Brux, and Eguisheim, which are of Canstadt type, and were formerly thought to be of high antiquity, have recently been proved to be of a much later date, and the human remains in the caves of Spy and of La Naulette are the only relics of Canstadt man which are undoubtedly of great age. The race of Cro-Magnon is of equal antiquity, since the large and finely developed skull of Engis is fully as old as any relic of the Canstadt race. Moreover, both M. Fraipont[3] and M. Cartailhac,[4] admit that the splendid skull of La Truchère—which is brachycephalic and of a very high type—is as old as any skull as yet discovered. The three races, therefore, are of equal antiquity. Besides this, the Canstadt men were as fully human as many average human beings. Quatrefages has shown that their skulls are no more brutal than those of many modern Europeans,[5] and many of the clever and semi-civilized Mound-builders of ancient North America possessed heads which had a form still more brutal than those of the much-abused men of the Canstadt race.[6] Evolutionists can gain no advantage from the study of the bones of the earliest men.

[1] See *Crania Ethnica. Les Crânes des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1882.
[2] Dolichocephalic, *i.e.* 'long-headed;' Brachycephalic, *i.e.* 'round-headed.' [3] *Les Cavernes*, p. 75. [4] *La France Préhistorique*, p. 88.
[5] *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*, pp. 62, 63.
[6] See Nadaillac's *Prehistoric America*, pp. 485, 490.

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The relics of Canstadt men in France and England are insignificant, consisting chiefly of jaws and detached bones, and although M. Fraipont, in a special chapter, describes how they lived in the early part of the Palæolithic Period, and left their stone hatchets in thousands in the valley-gravels, we do not think it needful to dwell long on this topic. But the Cro-Magnon race was splendidly developed in France, particularly in the southern districts, and both M. Fraipont and M. Cartailhac describe at great length the antiquities belonging to this race. Its chief region was the valley of the Vézère, a tributary of the Dordogne, which contains a series of caves and rock-shelters extending for eight miles, and occurring at different heights above the river. The succession of these caves from north to south is as follows: the Moustier cavern, the Moustier shelter, the shelter of La Madeleine, the Cro-Magnon shelter and burial-place, the Laugerie Haute shelter, the Laugerie Basse shelter, the Gorge d'Enfer cavern, and the cave of Les Eyzies.[1] These caverns contain the bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, lion, aurochs, and reindeer, and in some of them have been found the bones of man and rough implements of stone and bone of human workmanship. Although these caves are all so near together, attempts have been made to divide them according to age by means of the different human weapons found in them—thus, the Moustier cave being considered the oldest, and the Madeleine cavern the most recent, whilst the others occupy an intermediate position.[2] The attempt, however, is a failure, for the fauna of all these caves is the same, and the variation of implements contained is very trifling. Of all these caves, that of Cro-Magnon is the most important, since it contains the remains of five individuals who lived in France with the lion, elephant, and rhinoceros. The skeleton of one of these—an old man—shows that its possessor must have been nearly six feet high and of great muscular power. The forehead is lofty, and the brain-case capacious, indicating a very high intellectual capacity. Many ornaments, such as plates of ivory and pierced shells, which were evidently used as necklaces, were also found around the remains of the skeletons. At Laugerie Basse, near by, a similar skeleton was discovered by

[1] A full account of these caves, illustrated by fine drawings, is given in *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*. See also Hamy's *Précis de Paléontologie Humaine*, chap. x.

[2] Fraipont, in *Les Cavernes*, and Mortillet, in *Le Préhistorique: Antiquité de l'Homme*; both classify these caves in this manner.

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M. Cartailhac, and has been described by him in detail.[1] It lay amidst a great *débris* of ashes, cinders, and cooking refuse, and its backbone had been crushed by a huge block which had fallen from the cliff. This skeleton had elaborate ornaments of shell in the place of the forehead, arms, legs, and feet, which were placed in such a way as to lead to the belief that they had been attached to the helmet, sleeves, and leggings of the deceased warrior. It is interesting also to note that some of these shells came from the Mediterranean, indicating that even in Palæolithic times the earliest inhabitants were acquainted with trade and commerce. In the cave at Sordes (Landes) another interesting human relic was found. This was a skull crushed by great blocks of stone, and cinders and ashes were strewn around, while over it was a thick deposit of rubbish, full of bones of a more recent date. All round the lowest skull lay the teeth of animals, most of which belonged to the bear, but three were teeth of the lion. All these teeth were pierced by a hole, and formed a necklace for the deceased, who was evidently a mighty hunter and a great chief. The teeth of the necklace also were carved with the representations of animals and hunting scenes, and on one of them appeared the outline of *a glove*, embroidered and made of skin, like those now worn by the Eskimo.[2] The numerous needles, bodkins, and pins of bone found in the caves of the Vézère show that primitive man was a tailor of no mean capacity, and now we also discover that he was ingenious enough to be a glover, as well as an admirer and possessor of numerous ornaments.

Of all the deposits in France which contain human remains of the Palæolithic Period, that of Solutré, near Mâcon, is the most interesting. In a piece of uncultivated land on a hillside, under a lofty overhanging rock, the soil was found to be full of the bones of animals, such as the elephant, lion, hyæna, reindeer and horse. The remains of the last animal were remarkably abundant, a compact deposit, hundreds of feet in length and of great depth, being formed solely of its bones, and it has been calculated that at this place the remains of at least *forty thousand* horses have been discovered. These bones were burnt and broken, showing that

[1] 'Un Squelette humain de l'Age du Renne à Laugerie-Basse' (*Bull. de la Soc. d Hist. Nat. de Toulouse*, 1872). Also in *La France Préhistorique* Cartailhac gives a drawing of this skeleton, p. 111, fig. 46.

[2] This curious gauntlet-glove is figured by Professor Boyd Dawkins in *Early Man in Britain*, p. 211. Cartailhac describes it in *La France Préhistorique*, p. 116.

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the animals had been eaten by man. Traces of ancient fires and beds of cinders were everywhere met with, and the *débris* of feasts were spread throughout the soil. Amidst the bones were numerous human skeletons, which had been carefully buried, as they were nearly all perfect. Some were enclosed in tombs formed of stone slabs, some lay on the fires, and others were in the earth some distance from them. These skeletons were associated with finely chipped flint implements of Palæolithic age and with shells for ornaments, while weapons had been placed near the hands of the deceased for use in another world. The skulls from Solutré were examined by Dr. Pruner-Bey, who pronounced many of them to be of Mongolian type and to resemble the skulls of the Lapps and Fins, a fact which shows the high intellectual character of these primæval hunters.[1] At Solutré there was clearly a permanent encampment or settlement of the Palæolithic men, which was probably surrounded by a stockade, and this discovery therefore contradicts the assertion that the earliest men were *solely* cave-dwellers. As there have been found at Solutré, near the surface, graves of a later date, it has been thought that the whole of the deposit at this place is of comparatively recent age and belongs to the Later Stone (or Neolithic) Period, or may be even more recent.[2] But these doubts are unreasonable. The fauna throughout belongs to the Palæolithic Era, nearly all the implements are of the same age, while it is universally admitted that the remains of the horse—which was eaten by man—date from the oldest Stone Age. The greater portion of the human remains at Solutré may therefore be considered to belong to men who lived in France side by side with the elephant, the lion, and the hyæna.[3]

The department of La Charente, in south-western France, is also full of prehistoric antiquities, many of which consist of rude stone monuments, such as dolmens and menhirs, while others belong to the ages of bronze and polished stone. Mingled with these, however, there are rude stone weapons which are the work of the men of the Palæolithic Period. These latter implements are found in the valley-gravels,

[1] In the *Report of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology* (held at Norwich), in 1868, there is a valuable paper by MM. Ferry and Arcelin, entitled *L'Age du Renne en Mâconnais*, which gives an interesting account of Solutré. Also see *Etudes sur la Station Préhistorique de Solutré*, par l'Abbé Ducrost et le Dr. Lortet.

[2] This is the opinion of Mortillet in *Le Préhistorique : Antiquité de l'Homme*, p. 390.

[3] An interesting summary of the discoveries at Solutré is given by Southall in *The Epoch of the Mammoth*, chap. vii.

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alongside of the bones of the mammoth, the rhinoceros, and the straight-tusked elephant. Many caves, also, have been investigated by M. Rochebrune,[1] who found in them flint weapons, pottery, and the bones of extinct animals. Polished flint tools were also found with the oldest animal remains, which show that even in the earliest times some prominent chiefs possessed hatchets of polished stone, while the ordinary warriors merely used weapons of chipped flint. The French archæologists are prosecuting their researches most energetically, and works containing most valuable discoveries will shortly be published. MM. Girod and Massenat are bringing out, in parts, a fine work on the Reindeer Period of south-western France,[2] which will, when completed, form the finest work in existence on this portion of the Palæolithic Age. M. Piette, also, who has made most interesting discoveries in the bone-caves of the Pyrenees, is preparing for publication a most elaborate work of a similar character,[3] which will give illustrations of the artistic ability of the earliest members of the human race in Western Europe.

Near Mentone, and just within the Italian frontier, there is a series of caverns, which are only a short distance from the Mediterranean. These caves are full of the remains of the lion, hyæna, elephant, glutton, and rhinoceros, as well as human skeletons. In one of these caverns a skeleton was found in 1873 by M. Rivière which was buried twenty-one feet below the floor of the cave. The skeleton, which belonged to a man of great height, lay on its side, and was perfect. It was surrounded by shells, which had adorned the head and thighs, and was stained red with oxide of iron. Hair was found beneath it, showing that the deceased had been wrapped in a robe—doubtless the skin of some animal—at the time of burial.[4] Other skeletons have since been found in the Mentone caverns, particularly in 1884 and in 1892, and, down to the present time, nine skeletons have been discovered in these caverns. Some of the later skeletons are even taller than the earliest discovered, one being from six to seven feet in height.[5] All were of magnificent form, and their skulls

[1] *Mémoires sur les Restes d'Industrie appartenant aux Temps Primordiaux de la Race humaine, recueillis dans le Département de la Charente*, par Alphonse Rochebrune.

[2] *Les Stations de l'Age du Renne dans les vallées de Vézère et de la Corrèze.*

[3] The title of M. Piette's work will be *L'Art pendant l'Age du Renne.*

[4] This skeleton may now be seen in the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes at Paris.

[5] Found in another cave from that which contained the first.

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indicated great mental power, whilst the number of shells, pierced for necklaces and other ornaments, which were lying with the skeletons was very considerable.[1] The antiquity of the human remains found at Mentone, like those at Solutré, has been disputed; and, in England, Sir John Evans, Professor Boyd Dawkins[2] and Sir Joseph Prestwich,[3] have maintained that these skeletons really belong to the Later Stone Age or Neolithic Period. M. Mortillet also rejects the idea of the great age of these relics, basing his conclusion on the presence of a polished hatchet in the upper portion of the cave-earth in one of the caverns.[4] But the great depth at which the skeletons were buried is a proof of their high antiquity. The first skeleton lay twenty-one feet below the *present* floor of the cave, and it must have been at least thirteen or fourteen feet below the level of the floor of the cavern in *Neolithic* times. It is impossible to suppose that the men in the Neolithic Period, with only rough stone implements, would have dug down fourteen feet below the level of the floor then existing, consequently the burial must have taken place in the Palæolithic Period. Besides this, the fauna of the Mentone caves is Palæolithic, and the stone implements buried with the skeletons are of genuine Palæolithic character, and belong to the Old Stone Period. The age, then, of the Mentone skeletons is undoubtedly Palæolithic, and this is the opinion of both M. Fraipont and M. Cartailhac.

These French and Italian discoveries enable us to draw a good picture of the social condition of the earliest men. They were essentially hunters and fishers and were ignorant of agriculture, no traces of cultivated grain being anywhere found amongst their relics. Their weapons were of stone and bone, and their harpoons of bone were finely cut, barbed, and polished. They seem to have domesticated the horse, as the vast numbers of bones of this animal at Solutré, and the fact that the horse is engraved by them with its mane artificially cut, can only be explained by domestication. M. Piette thinks that the reindeer also was tamed during this period, and declares that in a drawing of the time the reindeer is portrayed with a halter round its neck. The men of those days were fond of ornament; they hung necklaces of shells round their necks, and wore hair helmets adorned with

[1] These discoveries are all described at length by M. Rivière in his admirable work entitled *De l'Antiquité de l'Homme dans les Alpes Maritimes*, Paris, 1878–88.

[2] *Cave Hunting*, p. 258. [3] *Geology*, ii. 500.

[4] *Le Prehistorique: Antiquité de l'Homme* (deuxième édition), pp. 392, 393.

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ivory pendants, and they painted their faces red with oxide of iron. They were also great traders, and procured fossil shells for ornament from the Isle of Wight, so that they must have had a knowledge of navigation. Pottery also was known to them, although this has been denied. M. Fraipont has discovered the fragments of two earthen bowls, one in the cave of Engis and the other in the grotto of Modave, and he has figured both these specimens—which are undoubtedly Palæolithic—in his book.[1] Dupont has also found pottery of the same age in the caves of Frontal, Praule, and La Naulette, in Belgium,[2] and in France, pottery made by the men who lived with the elephant and the rhinoceros has been met with frequently. It is strange that some scientists should continue to deny that the earliest men were potters; these denials are valueless, and they seem only to be made in support of that theory which maintains that Primitive Man was in a state of utter barbarism. M. Cartailhac writes a most interesting chapter on what he terms the Funeral Ritual of the Palæolithic Age. He affirms that when the great chiefs of these days were buried in caverns their flesh was removed, and the bones were painted red with oxide of iron. The skeletons were also adorned with shells and wrapped in robes, while weapons were laid close by.[3] From this many archæologists have concluded, and apparently with reason, that these earliest men believed in a future life. That they were also possessed of a tribal organization seems to be certain, for the great staffs of reindeer horn, found in the Dordogne caves, which are pierced with circular holes and ornamented with carvings of animals, were evidently insignia of chieftains and were carried before them on solemn occasions, as is the custom now among the Indians of the Mackenzie River.[4]

Undoubtedly the strongest evidence of the high intellectual character of the Palæolithic men is found in the skill and beauty of their carvings and sculptures. Bone, horn, and ivory were by them carved into figures of animals in various postures, and even the human figure was represented in statuettes.[5] On slabs of slate, also, were engraved, not only representations of animals, but actual pictures, portray-

[1] *Les Cavernes*, pp. 102–4; also Fraipont, 'La Poterie en Belgique à l'Age du Mammouth' (*Revue d'Anthropologie*, 3me série, t. 11, Paris, 1887).

[2] *L'Ethnographie de l'Homme de l'Age du Renne*, pp. 64, 68.

[3] *La France Préhistorique*, chap. vi.

[4] *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, pp. 37, 50.

[5] A figure, representing a woman carved in ivory, was found in one of the caves of the Dordogne.

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ing hunting scenes. The best carvings are those which adorn the chiefs' bâtons, which are ornamented with representations of horses and reindeer, as well as with delineations of leaves and tufts of pines. The Bâton of Montgaudier, formed of reindeer-horn, seems to be a perfect masterpiece of prehistoric art. On one side two great serpents are carved, whose scales are depicted with wonderful fidelity; whilst on the other side are two fishes, apparently sharks, and branches of trees.[1] Only one specimen of similar prehistoric drawings has, as yet, been found in England, and this is the representation of a horse, engraved on a piece of bone, and discovered in the caves of Creswell Crags.[2] These carvings and sculptures in bone and horn are principally found in France, none having been as yet discovered in England and Belgium, or in Germany; but in the Kesslerloch Cave in Switzerland similar relics have been brought to light. The Chuckes, who inhabit the north-eastern peninsula of Siberia, carve statuettes of men and animals from bone and ivory, and the Eskimo of north-west Alaska are still more expert in artistic designs.[3] It must be said, however, that the Palæolithic hunters of Central France far surpassed any barbarous races now living in drawing and carving, and they were equally in advance of their Neolithic successors, who possessed not the slightest artistic ability. When we remember that these prehistoric statuettes and engravings have been executed in bone, ivory, and slate, with the rudest instruments, we are lost in admiration at the skill of the earliest men, and we feel how high must have been their mental capacity, and how they must have delighted in the contemplation of the sublime and the beautiful in Nature.

When we pass from France into Belgium we meet with numerous and interesting traces of Palæolithic Man, and we find the three earliest races—those of Canstadt, Cro-Magnon, and Furfooz—all occurring with their particular characteristics.

As long ago as 1833, Schmerling discovered in the cave of Engis, near Liège, the remains of a skeleton, the skull of which was remarkable for its fine physical development and high intellectual character. He carefully described the position of these bones,[4] and their immense antiquity is undoubted. They lay in one of the oldest deposits of the

[1] M. Cartailhac figures this wonderful bâton on p. 82 of his book.

[2] Professor Boyd Dawkins gives a picture of this horse in his *Early Man in Britain*, p. 185.

[3] *Voyage of the 'Vega,'* ii. 132, 138.

[4] *Recherches sur les Ossements Fossiles découverts dans les Cavernes de la Province de Liège*, Liège, 1833–1834.

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Palæolithic Age; they were associated with the remains of the mammoth, the rhinoceros, and the hyæna; the bones of man and of the animals were exactly in the same mineral surroundings; and there was not the slightest indication of any disturbance of the cave-earth, such as would have taken place had the body been buried in the cavern at a later period. The oldest men in Europe, therefore, must have possessed brains as large as any living in civilized countries at the present day. In the valley of the Neander, near Düsseldorf, in a grotto on the hillside, some remarkable remains of a skeleton were discovered. The skull was of a very low and brutal type, and was said to present ape-like features. But the antiquity of this famous Neanderthal skull is comparatively not great, as it was buried in the Loess, which is the most recent deposit of the Palæolithic Period. It is, however, a good specimen of the skulls of the Canstadt race.[1] Undoubtedly the most interesting of all Palæolithic skeletons are those discovered in 1886 in the Cave of Spy (Namur), by MM. Marcel de Puydt and Max Lohest, and fully described by M. Fraipont. Beneath three ossiferous beds, containing bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, and hyæna, were found the remains of two skeletons. According to M. Fraipont, these indicate the bodies of a middle-aged man and of an old woman. The individuals were small, square-shouldered, and powerfully built, and were rude and muscular. They belonged to the Canstadt race, and M. Fraipont gives a drawing of the head of the man of Spy, as it might appear during the life of its possessor,[2] which makes this primitive man appear to have been a most ferocious being, and a cross between a man and a baboon! M. Cartailhac considers that the skeletons had been buried in the cavern with funeral rites analogous to those of Central France and Mentone.[3]

The latter portions of the works of MM. Cartailhac and Fraipont are devoted to describing the men of the Neolithic (or Later Stone) Period, their monuments, weapons, and physical characteristics. These chapters are excellent, and are admirably illustrated, but they do not lie within the limits of the present article.

We must now notice M. Dupont's remarkable discoveries in the Belgian caverns, and his theories respecting the inhabitants

[1] Good descriptions of the Engis and Neanderthal skulls may be found in Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature.*

[2] *Les Cavernes*, p. 73.

[3] M. de Mortillet in his latest work, *Formation de la Nation Française* (1897), denies that these skeletons are of Palæolithic age.

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of the country during the Palæolithic Age. Dupont's conclusions concerning Palæolithic man in Belgium are based on his exploration of more than sixty caverns in the valleys of the Lesse and the Meuse, and they form the best foundation for estimating the antiquity of man in Northern Europe. The caves explored were at all elevations, from ten to two hundred feet above the rivers, so that great changes of level have occurred since the highest of the caves were filled with fluviatile sands and gravels. Dupont, also, has surveyed and described the Quaternary deposits of Belgium on the plateaux, and has shown their relation to the beds of gravel and sand, which are discovered in the caves and on the sides of the valleys. At the bottom of the caverns and valleys, he found a deposit of rolled pebbles of considerable size, most of which came from the region of the Ardennes. This bed—which occurred occasionally in the caverns—was clearly formed by great river-floods. Next, came layers of sandy clay, irregularly stratified and deposited by the rivers in gentle flow. These last beds were full of the bones of the mammoth, the hyæna, and the rhinoceros, and they occurred in the caves alone. Above these fluviatile strata came a vast deposit of yellow clay with angular blocks, which entered the caverns, mantled the hill-sides, and covered the table-lands, like a gigantic winding-sheet, and was evidently formed by a tremendous inundation which devastated the whole country. This deposit contained the bones of the reindeer, horse, brown-bear, and wild-ox, and above it lay the Loess, which is found on the plateaux alone, and is the latest of the Quaternary deposits. Palæontologically, Dupont divides these strata as follows. First: the Mammoth Age, which, in the valleys, is characterized by the rolled (Ardennaise) pebbles, and fluviatile sands and clays. Secondly: the Reindeer Period, which is the era of the yellow clay with angular blocks, and the lime which immediately preceded its deposition. Thus, the Belgian caves fall into two divisions. First (and oldest), those of the Mammoth Period, and, secondly (and latest), those of the Reindeer Period This arrangement of Dupont's is somewhat unfortunate, for the mammoth lived down to the close of the Quaternary Era, as its remains are found plentifully in the Loess in Germany, and the reindeer also lived all through the Quaternary Epoch. Dupont, however, admits that the mammoth lived beyond the limits of Belgium during the Reindeer Period, so that his arrangement applies to Belgium alone.[1]

[1] This classification has been further developed by Dupont in his

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Of the caves of the Mammoth Age explored by Dupont that of La Naulette is the most important. It is seventy-five feet above the Lesse, and its mouth was blocked up by a vast heap of rocks, which had fallen from the roof. The floor was occupied by beds of gravel and sand, divided by layers of stalagmite, and containing three distinct bone-beds. The lowest was formed of hyænas' remains, the second contained the bones of the mammoth, the rhinoceros, and the Irish elk, and also a human cubitus and lower jaw. Then came five beds of stalagmite, and the uppermost and latest bone-bed followed, which contained the remains of sheep. The human lower jaw was prognathous, and probably belonged to a man of the Canstadt race, like the men of Spy. The bones lying around this lower jaw were probably parts of animals, cut up outside the cave and then carried in by man. At Walsin, on the Lesse, there is a cavern which contains remains belonging to the epochs of the mammoth and the reindeer. At the bottom are sands and clays full of the bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, hyæna, horse, wild-bull, and reindeer. These bones are all gnawed by the hyænas, which must have made the cavern their den at that period. Then follows a thin bed of stalagmite, and above it lies the great deposit of yellow clay, with angular blocks containing the fauna of the Reindeer Period, and also two flint implements, showing that after the hyænas had ceased to frequent the cave it was inhabited by man.

The Cave of Chaleux, on the Lesse, was tenanted by man during three different periods. On the lowest beds lie two knives of flint, and above these are spread thin layers of sand. Then a great fall of stones from the roof of the cave took place, and on the *débris* there occur fires, ashes, and bones broken for the extraction of marrow. Shells pierced with holes for suspension lay around, with numerous flint-knives. Many of these shells had been brought from France, and much of the flint had been imported from the same country. After these relics occurred a vast stony deposit, showing that the roof had again fallen, and had buried the hearths and fireplaces. Another layer, with human relics, succeeded, which contained the usual fauna of the Reindeer Period. The yellow clay, with blocks—the great flood-deposit of Belgium—covered all these traces of human occupation.

In the cave of Frontal, Dupont discovered a burial-place belonging to the Reindeer Period. The end of the cavern

elaborate work, *L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre* (1873). But it is not at all satisfactory.

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had been closed by a large limestone slab, and in the chamber thus formed lay the remains of sixteen skeletons, as well as the fragments of an urn, which had been hung from the roof, and which doubtless contained food for the departed in another world. The skeletons were overlaid by a deposit of yellow clay with blocks, which also covered the slab at the entrance, and had forced it out of its original position. Some English geologists, such as Professor Boyd Dawkins[1] and Mr. James Geikie,[2] think that this burial-place is of Neolithic age, because the urn resembles those found among the Swiss lake-dwellings; but they have omitted to take notice of the position of the limestone door, and of the geological age of the yellow clay. The slab which closed the entrance exactly filled the space between the floor and the roof of the cave, and was clearly placed in its position after the bodies had been buried; and as this slab had been forced out of its place and buried beneath the yellow clay, it is certain that the flood which deposited this clay occurred after the burials. But the yellow clay is a Palæolithic deposit; for it is overlaid by the Loess, and in the Loess are the bones of the Palæolithic animals, such as the mammoth, the lion, and the rhinoceros. The Palæolithic age of the skeletons in the cave of Frontal is therefore clearly demonstrated.

The cave-men of the Lesse were short in stature, and had brachycephalic heads. They used knives of flint and polished darts of reindeer-horn, but they were not fishers; for the admirably formed bone harpoons found in the Dordogne caves have not been discovered in the Belgian caverns. Nor does it seem that they were artists, since no representations of animals occur among their remains, and they were certainly ignorant of agriculture. They were, however, acquainted with pottery, as fragments of coarse earthenware have been found in the caves of Nutons and Frontal, and in this knowledge they surpassed the Palæolithic men of the Dordogne, who had no acquaintance with the potter's art. The men of the Lesse dressed in skins, fastened by pins of polished bone. They hung round their necks strings of shells, and adorned their faces with paint. They traded to Champagne and Pressigny for shells and flint, and, by burying reverently with their dead food and weapons, they showed belief in a future life. Dupont also thinks that there is evidence to show that they had boats and rafts to navigate

[1] *Cave Hunting*, p. 238.

[2] *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 110.

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the rivers.[1] How long these Troglodytes of Belgium lived on the banks of the Lesse is uncertain, but their end was tragic. They were overwhelmed by the tremendous inundation which deposited the yellow clay with blocks and the Loess, and which devastated all Northern France and Belgium with its tumultuous waters. Dupont thus describes this terrible catastrophe, which closed the Reindeer Period in the valleys of the Meuse and the Lesse:

'The end of this ancient era [*i.e.* the Reindeer Period] arrives. Torrents of water overwhelm the country. The inhabitants, driven from their dwellings, seek in vain a refuge on the tops of the hills. Death awaits them, and a gloomy cavern will be the tomb of the unfortunates who were witnesses at Furfooz of this tremendous catastrophe. Nothing is respected by the terrible element. The burial-place, a most touching object of the care of these poor people, lies open to the deluge, and the bones of the corpses, torn asunder by the waters, are scattered in the midst of the earth and the stones. The dwelling-place in the Cave of Chaleux alone is preserved from this catastrophe, because it had been protected by a former convulsion.'[2]

Some of the valleys of Switzerland were, during the Palæolithic Period, tenanted by wild hunters, who dwelt in caverns. Near Schaffhausen is the cave of Kesslerloch, which contains several bone-beds, divided by a layer of stalagmite; and, as the bones of the reindeer are particularly abundant in these beds, the Kesslerloch Cave may be said to belong to the Reindeer Period. But alongside of the bones of the reindeer there are also found in this cavern the remains of the mammoth, the lion, and the rhinoceros, animals which have been thought to have been rare in Belgium at this time, as their bones do not occur in caverns of this era. The fact, however, of their having been found at Kesslerloch shows that these great beasts lived down to the end of the Palæolithic Period, and that the absence of their bones from different caverns is merely due to accident.

No human remains were found at Kesslerloch, save a collar-bone, but flint implements in abundance were discovered, and they were mingled with bone needles, javelins, and harpoons, the latter being barbed like those used by the cave-dwellers of the Dordogne. In this cavern, also, many figures of animals were found cut and engraved on horn and bone. The reindeer, the bear, and the horse[3] were skilfully

[1] *L'Ethnographie de l'Homme de l'Age du Renne*, p. 71.

[2] *L'Homme Antédiluvien*, iii. 12, 13. The former convulsion alluded to is the fall of blocks from the roof of the cave.

[3] The engraving of the reindeer found in this cave is the finest exhibition of prehistoric art as yet discovered.

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portrayed, and as the latter animal is represented as *hog-maned*, it is clear that it must have been domesticated. No pottery, however, or any traces of agriculture, were found at Kesslerloch, so that we may conclude that these Swiss Troglodytes supported themselves by hunting and fishing alone. They were also traders, for some of the shells which they used as ornaments must have come from the neighbourhood of Vienna, and others from the Mediterranean.[1]

The most eastern of the Palæolithic bone-caves[2] north of the Carpathians are those of Ojcow in Russian Poland. They lie just within the Russian frontier, a short distance north of Cracow, and the neighbourhood is so picturesquely diversified with wooded hills that it has been called the Polish Switzerland. The caves are ten in number, and contain relics of all ages. Roman coins, and bronze and iron articles occur, and in the oldest beds are numerous animals' bones, amongst which are the remains of the mammoth, the lion, the rhinoceros, and the hyæna. Rough pottery lay amidst these relics, and some modern skulls were also in the caverns. But the most curious of the human implements discovered was a perfectly round ivory rod sharpened at the ends and grooved in the middle, whilst it was also curiously ornamented; and, in addition to this, there was a long flat rod of ivory, of lancet shape. As these relics lay close to the teeth of the mammoth, they had evidently been fashioned from the tusks of this great elephant. Their use is unknown, but the skill shown in their manufacture is very great. Bone needles and barbed bone arrowheads occurred in these caverns, as well as great quantities of beads of bone and amber, showing that these Troglodytes were fond of ornament. A strange proof of the trading, or emigrant, characteristics of these people was found in the discovery of a shell—*Cypræa tigris*—among their relics, which lives now in the Indian Ocean. No representations of animals, or any drawings, occur in the Ojcow caverns, neither were any traces of agriculture or of the domestic horse anywhere discovered. The Polish cave-dwellers were hunters alone, and their numerous knives of flint and darts of bone were only used in the chase of the bear, the elephant, and the buffalo. Eastward of Poland, traces of Palæolithic man are rarely met with, but the remains of the mammoth, the

[1] *Excavations at Kesslerloch*, p. 57.

[2] In 1891 and 1893 Dr. Nüesch discovered at Schweizersbild, near Schaffhausen, a rock-shelter of Palæolithic age. He found at this place flint knives, bone pins and needles, and remains of fires. See *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, September 1897.

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rhinoceros, the buffalo, and wild horse are buried in masses on the banks of the rivers flowing into the Black and the Caspian Seas. Sometimes on the treeless steppes of Southern Russia enormous accumulations of the bones of these animals are discovered, showing that they must have crowded together in vast herds, and must then have been destroyed by some tremendous catastrophe.[1] The valleys of the Urals contain the same animals, and in the caverns of the Altai were found, in addition to them, the Irish elk, the tiger, and the hyæna.[2]

Northern Siberia is an immense graveyard of animal remains, and in its desolate plains the bones, tusks, and teeth of the mammoth, rhinoceros, and musk-ox are buried in countless myriads, and increase in numbers as the Polar Sea is approached. These remains are found in the greatest abundance in the New Siberian Islands, which lie in the Arctic Ocean about two hundred miles to the north of the mouth of the Lena, and from which an extensive trade in fossil ivory has been carried on for more than a century.[3] From the fact that the remains of the mammoth increase in number as Siberia is approached either from Europe or from America, Sir Joseph Prestwich considers that Northern Siberia was the head-quarters of the mammoth, from which it spread over the northern portions of Europe and of America.[4]

Palæolithic man does not seem to have lived in Siberia, for we find in this region none of his drawings, arrow-heads, and bone harpoons. Professor Milne saw some rough splinters of flint found near Irkutsk,[5] but there was no evidence that they had been made by man. He also saw some curious implements made of mammoth ivory, which had been dug up at the same place: but their age was uncertain. The great tumuli—called Kurgans, or Strangers' Graves — in Southern Siberia, contain articles of bronze, and the Megalithic monuments, or 'tombs of the genii,' are evidently later than the Palæolithic Period.[6]

At the close of the Palæolithic Age we are confronted with the problem of the Great Diluvial Catastrophe, the evidence for which has been so ably worked out by Sir Henry Howorth.[7] What caused the *sudden* and *complete* disappear-

[1] D'Archiac's *Faune Quaternaire*.
[2] The lists of animals in these caves are given by Brandt.
[3] Wrangell's *Siberia and the Polar Sea*, pp. 492–500.
[4] *Geology*, ii. 461.
[5] *Geological Magazine*, November 1877.
[6] A striking illustration of the latter monuments is given in Mr. T. W. Atkinson's *Travels in the Regions of the Amoor*, p. 120.
[7] In his work entitled *The Mammoth and the Flood.*

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ance of the mighty beasts of the Palæolithic fauna, such as the elephant, the lion, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus? The climate of Northern Europe did not change, and man was too feebly armed to have so quickly exterminated them, for not a trace of them appears in the earliest deposits of the Neolithic Period. Paleolithic man also disappears with the great beasts, for the supposition of Quatrefages that he was absorbed by the Neolithic invaders,[1] and the theory of Professor Boyd Dawkins,[2] that he retreated to the Arctic Regions, where his descendants form the present Eskimo, are both untenable.

Sir Joseph Prestwich describes certain 'Flood Deposits' which were formed at the close of the Palæolithic Period, and which were contemporaneous with the destruction of the great mammalia, and he calls these deposits 'The Rubble Drift.' In England, this 'drift' occurs in the form of 'the Head,' lying over the Raised Beaches, and as the ossiferous breccias, in the limestone rocks at Plymouth, and elsewhere. A particularly interesting specimen of this breccia was discovered at Cattedown, near Plymouth, in 1887, where a fissure in the limestone rock—forming a small cavern—was laid bare, and was found to be full of rubble, containing bones of the extinct mammalia and of man.[3] In France the 'Rubble Drift' shows itself in great deposits of rubbish, full of shattered bones, which fill the fissures on the hills, and contain enormous numbers of the bones of herbivorous and carnivorous animals, which, from the fear of some terrible danger (such as a flood), crowded together on the hills, and were there drowned by the rising waters, which swept their bones into the fissures. Similar chasms occur in the Rock of Gibraltar, also full of broken bones, and in Malta the remains of elephants and hippopotami have been washed in great numbers into the fissures in the limestone rocks. So enormous were the numbers of hippopotami destroyed at this time, that, near Palermo, in six months, no less than *twenty tons* of the bones of these animals alone were taken from the bone-breccia in front of the Cave of San Ciro. Sir Joseph Prestwich, also, considers that the *high-level* Loess, which covers so much of Northern Europe like a vast mantle, is another evidence of a great flood; he thinks, however, that the *valley* Loess was formed by river-action. But the yellow clay with angular

[1] *The Human Species*, chap. xxvii.
[2] *Early Man in Britain*, p. 233.
[3] This cavern is described in the *Transactions of the Devon Association*, 1887.

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blocks, in Belgium, is the lowest member of the Loess, and it clothes the plateaux and descends into the valleys in enormous sheets. Like the upland Loess (which occurs on the tablelands *alone*) it is a flood-deposit, and being full of large and angular blocks, it shows that the flood which deposited it must have been of tremendous power. Possibly some of the deposits described by Sir Joseph Prestwich may have been formed slowly, but the enormous zoological *break*, between the end of the Palæolithic Period and the beginning of the Neolithic Era, has to be explained. It cannot be better described than in the following words of Mr. James Geikie:

'The Old Stone Age did not graduate as it were into the New Stone Age. The records of the latter epoch are separated very markedly from those of the former. No sooner do we pass from the uppermost deposits of the Pleistocene (Palæolithic Age) to the more modern accumulations, than all at once we find ourselves in quite another world. The hyænas and lions, the rhinoceroses and mammoths, have disappeared, and we are now face to face with a group of animals that we recognize as being the common indigenous European forms of our own day. Palæolithic man has likewise vanished, and his place is supplied by races considerably farther advanced on the road to civilization.' [1]

The cause of this great gap has to be explained, and, when we find it occurring at the same time as the flood-deposits before described, it is difficult to deny the existence of a tremendous Diluvial Catastrophe at this era. By estimating the extent of the denudation of the Rubble Drift—where it occurs in the form of 'the Head,' Sir Joseph Prestwich considers, that this great inundation took place from six thousand to twelve thousand years ago, and he concludes that it represents the Deluge commemorated in ancient traditions, and recorded in the Book of Genesis. In a paper published shortly before,[2] Sir Joseph Prestwich elaborately described the 'Head,' which overlies the numerous 'Raised Beaches,' on the southern coast of England. He considered that this 'Head' represented the closing chapter of the Palæolithic Period, and that it was formed by a great inundation. In America, also, many of the leading geologists maintain that the final melting of the great ice-sheets occasioned tremendous floods,[3] forming, in fact, a Flood Period, when the land was overwhelmed by tumultuous waters.

[1] *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 118.
[2] *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xlviii. 1892.
[3] This is the opinion of Professors Dana, Wright and Claypole.

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It is striking to notice how the latest investigations are steadily reducing the antiquity of man. Tertiary man has been given up, and now Pre-glacial man is almost abandoned. The attempt to divide the Glacial Period into several Ice Ages, with warm periods intervening, and to give a long duration to each era, has utterly broken down; for the latest discoveries firmly establish the fact that the Glacial Period was one undivided and continuous Ice Age. We are left therefore face to face with the truth, that man appeared after the Glacial Period, and it is also strongly affirmed by many leading geologists in England and in America, that the Glacial Period closed less than ten thousand years ago. Man's antiquity, therefore, has probably been vastly exaggerated.

Equally futile is the attempt to establish a mental and moral progression of man, during the Post-glacial Period. To select from the Post-glacial deposits all the rudest flint weapons, and to declare in an arbitrary manner that they are the oldest relics, is ridiculous, and is contradicted by experience, which frequently finds that rudeness in form is no proof of antiquity. To maintain, also, that the rudest weapons are associated with the oldest animals is useless, as it is refuted by the well-known fact, that the animals at the close of the Post-glacial Period are substantially the same as those which lived at the beginning of that era. Moreover, the notion that the most brutal skulls are the oldest, and that the most finely developed skulls are the latest, is without any foundation, since, in the Post-glacial Period, skulls of high type are found at the very earliest times and positions, and no progression whatever can be established. The idea seems only to be brought forward in support of a preconceived theory of development and evolution, which affirms that the lowest races *must necessarily* be the oldest, but which has not the slightest foundation in fact.

A striking discovery with reference to the distribution of primitive man in Europe in the earliest Stone Age deserves the closest attention. In Palæolithic days the greatest population in Europe seems to have been in the western portion of the Continent. The shores of the Atlantic appear to have sustained the greatest population, and as we proceed towards the east traces of man become fewer and fewer. Remains of the Palæolithic hunters and nomads are more numerous in France than in any other country in Europe, and in Belgium, also, we meet with them in considerable numbers. But in Germany traces of the men of the Post-glacial (or Palæo-

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lithic) Period become fewer, and in Austria and Hungary they are very rarely discovered, while in Poland they cease altogether.[1] A similar decline in art and social life is met with in the relics of this remote era, in proceeding from west to east. The finest carvings, sculpturings, and commercial indications have been discovered in France, Belgium, and Switzerland, but in Eastern Europe they are wanting. These facts seem to indicate that in the earliest days of the human race in Europe, the greatest population lay far to the west, and perhaps inhabited land which is now beneath the sea. It may be that where the Atlantic now rolls its waves, there existed, during the Palæolithic Period, cultured communities and civilized populations. The ruder tribes, journeying eastwards, would leave their relics in the caves of France and Belgium, while still further to the east, in Germany and Poland, a few tribes of wandering barbarians would occupy the last human outposts on the verge of the vast solitudes of Russia. There may, therefore, be, after all, a solid kernel of truth in the story of the submerged Atlantis; for it may have formed for Europe the seat of civilization during the Antediluvian Era. Be this as it may, sufficient is now known of the earliest men to enable us to conclude that their antiquity has been exaggerated; that their social state was higher than had formerly been imagined, and that their mental capacity was in every way equal to that of the highest races of uncivilized men existing at the present day.

ART. X.—THE POSTHUMOUS POPULARITY OF DANTE.

1. *Studi Letterari.* By G. CARDUCCI. (Bologna, 1893.)
2. *La Lirica Toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai Tempi del Magnifico.* By F. FLAMINI. (Pisa, 1891.)
3. *Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri raccolte.* By C. DEL BALZO. (Rome, 1890-97.)
4. *Gli Studi Danteschi in Sicilia.* By L. NATOLI. (Palermo, 1893.)

IT has often been said that the *Divina Commedia* is the epitome of an age which predeceased its author; that the ideals of religion and politics, of love and morality, were

[1] In 1894 some skeletons were found by M. Maschka at Premöst in Moravia associated with bones of the mammoth. Their exact character is not yet fully known.

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mere memories; that the scientific systems, the scheme of education, the conception of the ancient world, were bygones. Were this wholly true it would result that, the generation of Dante's friends and enemies once extinct, the influence of his personality and his poetry would wane, until the history of literature and thought explained, or antiquarian affectation distorted, his importance. That such was Dante's fate is frequently stated in such phrases as the following: 'Il cinquecento fu per Dante un secolo di gloria, crescendo e diffondendosi; fu come una ammenda, o meglio, una naturale conseguenza del disprezzo o della noncuranza che il quattrocento, dedicatosi intero agli studi della filologia classica, ebbe per l' opera volgare dantesca.'[1]

Isolated incidental notices in the fifteenth century history led the writer to believe that this alleged neglect was much exaggerated, and this belief has been confirmed by recent labours of Italian scholars on the vernacular poetry of the age. In some respects, indeed, the fifteenth century is of peculiar interest in the story of Dante's fame, for the very reason that his predominance was then most questioned, and therefore most discussed. Centuries, moreover, are misleading milestones. It is scarcely possible to distinguish the *trecento* from the *quattrocento* when three of our principal witnesses—Cino Rinnuccini, Giovanni da Prato, and Coluccio Salutati—belong to both. The division between the *quattrocento* and the *cinquecento* is even less intelligible; for if any date can be fixed for the revival of interest in Dante, it must precede 1500 by some forty years.[2]

Dante's popularity or disfavour is seldom without a reason, and Dante, therefore, shadowy though his figure may sometimes seem, is the surest guide through some three centuries of Italian song. To one looking from outside at this intricate thicket of literature certain obvious hypotheses seem to stand out as landmarks. Dante's popularity would clearly be affected by political causes. Would he remain a Ghibelline poet? How soon would Florentine pride and patriotism overcome party prejudices? How would his reputation in Italy be affected by the relations of Florence to her neighbours, to Venice, Milan, and Naples? Would he always be

[1] Quoted by G. L. Passerini from M. Barbi, 'Della Fortuna di Dante nel secolo xvi,' *Alighieri*, 1893, p. 43; a journal which is now continued under the title of *Il Giornale Dantesco*.

[2] We propose to fix the limits of this study at the conscious revival of Dante's popularity which is associated with the name of Lorenzo de' Medici.

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regarded as an enemy to the Church and her religious teaching? The popularity of any poet must depend upon the appearance of a successor who can reasonably be regarded as equal. It was quite certain that Petrarch would sooner or later be brought into rivalry; the only question would be when or why. Prose, as offering the line of least resistance, may easily supplant poetry as the medium of expression. How, then, would the epicene charms of Boccaccio's style unintentionally outshine the more virile beauty of his master? In Italy the well of poetry is always found by sinking; Brunetto and Dante had themselves drawn from the lower strata. The older fountains might any day be closed in favour of a fresher flow. New forms of poetry, urban or rural, might displace a style which had become aristocratic, scientific, literary; they might attract, not only the lower, but the cultivated classes, until they too became stale and flat. Such forms might be the love songs which Giustiniani adapted from the street, and which spread from Venice throughout Italy, or the *rispetti* in which the Tuscan rustic chanted his amours or disappointments, or the jargon barber-songs of Burchiello's shop. In close connexion with this is rhythm. Rhythm is so nearly a mode of thought that any general change in its fashion must affect the popular estimate of previous writers. The greatest masters of the *octava* have declined in favour since more flexible metres adapted themselves better to modern moods. Would not, then, Dante's fortunes wane as the *octava* supplanted the *terzina*? Dante's strength lay in his versatility. Writers of epic, of the *canzone*, the sonnet, the *ballata*, the laud, could revere Dante as a fellow-craftsman; but what if Italy should be once more flooded from France or Spain with the romance of chivalry, or if the long pent up stream of the drama should burst bounds?

The slightest knowledge of Italian literature would prove that Dante was more endangered by the old world than the new. It was certain that the first great struggle would be between Latin and Italian, and for long everything pointed to the victory of the older combatant. If Italian fought its way from its position as a popular *patois* to that of a literary language, what was Italian? Dante's fate must in some measure depend upon the victory of the so-called Tuscan over other dialects. Again, on literary circles in Italy in the fifteenth century Greek exercised an attraction probably unparalleled in the case of any foreign language. Men were absorbed by new subjects, new metres, new philosophy, almost a new

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religion. Would not the younger generation turn its back upon Ravenna as its eyes were strained across the Adriatic for the sail which announced yet another cargo of Greek codices and Greek professors?

The Latinists and Hellenists were, after all, an aristocracy, or rather a bureaucracy, of intellect. Their favour or disfavour would not affect the feelings of the middle and lower classes, and even in the upper there was a strong conservative element which resented newfangled modes of thought and literature. In Italian history, moreover, municipal particularism is always a factor of importance, and local sympathies and traditions might keep green the reputation of one who had had many homes. It is noticeable, indeed, how often the later literature of Dante connects itself with the group of Ghibelline towns round Florence: with Arezzo, Pisa, Siena and its near neighbour Colle, with Pistoia, the last refuge of the exiled Whites. From the territories of the Conti Guidi in the Casentino came two occupants of the Dante chair at Florence. The Veronese might naturally be a centre of abiding influence; for, whatever be the facts, the tradition of Dante's connexion with the Scala was early and continuous. Finally Ravenna, regarded from the first as the triumphant rival of Florence for Dante's fame, was long a school for the study of the poet, stimulating, as is said, Boccaccio to his biography of Dante, and sending to Florence Giovanni Malpaghini, one of the most scholarly of the long line of Readers. Hard by were the literary hotbeds of small highly cultivated Courts, and above all Bologna, the very nursery of learning. It is, indeed, in these Romagnol cities that we first enter on our theme.

Dante's death at once tested his reputation. There was a fluttering of sonnets, of epitaphs and *canzoni* as on the death of a great poet of to-day. Praise and blame were still to some extent political. A stalwart Ghibelline was Bosone of Gubbio, who interchanged with the Jew Emmanuel laments on the curse which had fallen on the guilty world; on the worst year that the sun had ever seen; of the tears of Christian and Jew alike; of the blow that God had struck from envy of men's good.[1] Ghibelline also was the beautiful reproach to Florence attributed to Cino da Pistoia:

> 'Canzone mia, alla nuda Firenze
> Oggimai di speranza, li tu andrai.'[2]

[1] C. del Balzo, *Mille poesie*, i. 299.
[2] G. Carducci, *Rime di Cino di Pistoia e d' altri* (1862), p. 136.

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Tuscan Guelfic hostility was shown in the poem which placed Dante with his friend Emmanuel in Hell, addressed, indeed, not to Dante, but Emmanuel:

> 'Non è con tutta la comune gregge,
> Ma con Dante si sta sotto al cappello
> Del qual, come nel libro suo si legge,
> Vide coperto Alesso Interminello.'[1]

There is more than one accusation against Dante and his Pisan admirer, Fazio degl' Uberti, on the score of their being parasites on the Lombard lords.

Nevertheless, it was in Guelfic cities that Dante had at first his strongest hold. A Guelfic lord gave him honourable burial; at Ravenna there were professed Dante students, such as Menghino Mezzani, who, in thanking Bernardo da Canaccio for his epitaph on Dante's tomb, modestly dubs himself as 'minimo Dantista.'[2] Quite free from political sympathies was the tribute of admiration from the great Guelfic centre, Bologna, the city which 'abhorred the *pars Imperii* as the plague,' within whose walls Dante himself is said to have feared to receive the poet's wreath. Of Bologna was the Humanist del Virgilio, who had tempted Dante into Latin eclogues, and who wrote the epitaph for his grave. Bologna may claim in Bambagiuoli the first lecturer on Dante. Bologna later vied with Florence in the foundation of a poetic readership. But for the invasion of the Emperor Louis IV., which revived old quarrels, the political element might early have been eliminated from controversy on Dante's fame. On political grounds, of course, Bertrand de Poyet burnt the *De Monarchia*, and would have burnt the author's bones. Two Guelfs, indeed—one Tuscan, one Romagnol—averted this latter outrage. Yet Pietro di Dante complained not only that his father's heresy was visited on the son, but that the poet's works, from political antagonism, did not receive due recognition.[3]

Although one of Dante's earliest students, Guido da Pisa, was a Carmelite, and though the Dominicans soon treated the *Commedia* as a religious text-book, yet the Church at large long regarded Dante's writings with suspicion. As late as 1380 we read a strange lament from an Olivetan, Matteo Ronto of Pistoia. He had translated the *Commedia* into Latin hexameters, and for his pains was condemned to handle

[1] Sonnet of uncertain authorship, quoted by G. Carducci, *Studi Letterari*, p. 174.

[2] C. del Balzo, ii. 72.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 380.

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the broom, to scour the plates, to draw water from the well, to lay litter beneath the dangerous hoofs of the brethren's horses. The climax is that he breaks the pitcher, floods the kitchen floor, wets the prior's feet, and is condemned to drink water without wine, and all for love of Dante.[1]

The strangest accusation of unorthodoxy proceeds from Cecco d' Ascoli. 'Quis tulerit Gracchos'—for Cecco himself suffered the fate which was intended for Dante's bones. Cecco's onslaught upon Dante in the *Acerba* is to be attributed to personal rather than to political or religious reasons. This poem is perhaps the first example of elaborate criticism upon Dante. Cecco was no mean enemy, although he had been outstripped in the race for fame. He was, as Dante, a man of universal knowledge, interested, as he, in the science of the heavens, taking a serious view of the responsibilities of the poet's craft.

'Quì non si canta al modo delle rane,
Quì non si canta al modo del Poeta
Che finge imaginando cose vane;
Ma quì risplende e luce ogni natura,
Che chi intende fa se e la mente lieta;
Quì non si sogna per la selva oscura.'[2]

Cecco differs with Dante on every point: on his theory of human generation, of love, of the part to be attributed to free will and fortune. Dante, he affirms, had never returned to earth from Hell by way of Purgatory and Paradise; he remained there 'nel basso centro.'

'Là lo condusse la sua fede poca;
E so che a noi non fece mai ritorno,
Che il suo disio lo tenne sempre dentro;
Di lui mi duol pel suo parlare adorno.'[3]

Is it possible that Cecco's hostility and his death as a heretic at Florence created a reaction in Dante's favour in his own city? A curious poem of the Venetian Giovanni Querini hints at this. He had asked his friend Matteo Mezzovillani for a copy of the *Acerba* of the 'malvagio Ciecho' who in his profane work had written against the 'alta comedia perfetta e sana.'

'Del pedaghogo e del maestro mio
Che fa isprendor et lume, fonte et rio
Del bel parlar de la lingua nostrana.'

The punishment of Cecco, he continues, was due to the

[1] C. del Balzo, ii. 462. [2] *Acerba*, iv. 13. [3] *Ibid.* i. 2.

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abhorrence of Florence for the sophist who abused the son whom she had herself estranged.

'Benchè talvolta alghun disdengno corra
Tra madre e figlio, pur al streto punto
Non puote esser l' amor tanto consunto,
Che l' un l' altro al bisogno non soccora.[1]

It is noticeable that Dante's poetic merits are recognized even by his enemies. Cecco, after leaving him in the *Inferno*, regrets him: 'Di lui mi duol pel suo parlare adorno.' The sonnet attributed to Cino, which, for the grave deficiencies of his book, gives to his soul 'luogo men bello,' yet styles him 'Signor d' ogni rima.'[2] But the criticism here is probably playful. More serious is an anonymous critic who blames Dante in that he subordinates right and wrong to his sympathies and antipathies.

'Rovescia il diritto, il torto mette avanti,
Alcuni esser fa grami alcuni lieti,
Com' amor fa di questo e quello amante.'

This favouritism, this perversion of justice, is all the more dangerous from the poet's charm.

'In verità questo libel di Dante
E una bella scisma di poete
Che con leggiadro e vago consonante
Tira le cose altrui ne le sue rete.'[3]

Dante's genius was so universal that praise and criticism may be found, not only among the poets and theologians, but among the lawyers. That the high legal authority Bartolo di Sassoferrato should quote the *De Monarchia* and with disapproval is not surprising. But it proves the consideration in which Dante was held when one of his *canzoni* becomes the text for a legal disquisition. In his commentary on the *Corpus Juris*, under the title 'De Dignitatibus,' he quotes the *canzone* 'Le dolci rime d'amor': 'Fuit quidam nomine Dantes Alligerii de Florentia, poeta vulgaris laudabilis et recolendæ memoriæ, qui circa hoc [the nature of nobility] fecit unam cantilenam in vulgari.' Yet he confessed, 'salva reverentia tanti poetæ,' that Dante was always wrong, whether in stating his own views or confuting those of others.[4] The lawyer's captious criticism may be pardoned for his generous compliments.

[1] C. del Balzo, i. 355. [2] G. Carducci, *Studi Letterari*, p. 174.
[3] C. del Balzo, ii. 58.
[4] C. Negroni, 'Dante Alighieri e Bartolo da Sassoferrato,' *Alighieri*, 1889–90.

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Hitherto little has been heard of Dante's popularity in Florence. Putting aside for a moment Villani and Compagni, his admirers and imitators for a generation after his death were Romagnols, Venetians, Pisans, Pistoians, and Aretines. All of a sudden we are led into full light, and that characteristically by the most luminous of writers. How Boccaccio was inspired by his enthusiasm for Dante is a mystery. Born abroad, of a Florentine father but a French mother, he was only as a youth a sojourner in Florence, and passed on early to Naples and to trade. He was apparently in Florence when Cecco d' Ascoli was burnt; he may thus have shared in some flush of patriotic zeal for Cecco's Florentine opponent. His knowledge of Dante was from early days phenomenal, but whether it differed in quality or only in quantity from that of his Florentine compeers it is difficult to decide. Of Dante's influence on his work we shall not here speak. Our concern is now his versified letter to Petrarch (1359), which accompanied a copy of the *Commedia* transcribed by his own hand. In this Petrarch is delicately rebuked for his neglect of a work which was 'gratum doctis, mirabile vulgo.' Such neglect of the favourite of Florence was ascribed by the people to the younger poet's jealousy, and was injurious to his reputation.[1] The poet in reply spurned the charge of jealousy. That he had never read the *Commedia* was indeed remarkable, but this he attributes to two main causes: first, originality as an Italian poet had been the ambition of his youth, and youth, impressionable as it is, must needs have imitated so great a model; secondly, he had later cast aside vernacular poetry as a youthful trifle, and intended his fame to rest upon his Latin epics. The immediate cause assigned for the rejection of the vernacular is this: 'Timui enim in meis quod in aliorum scriptis, præcipueque hujus de quo loquimur, videbam, neque volubiliores vulgi linguas aut spiritus molliores meis in rebus speravi quam in illorum essent, quos vetustas et præscriptus favor theatris ac compitis urbium celebrassent.'[2] In 1359, then, the *Commedia* had become, not only the pleasure of the learned, but by long prescription the favourite of the commons, who resented an affront to it; portico and piazza resounded with its verses recited by rough aspirated Tuscan tongues. Dante had become the poet o the people.

[1] G. Carducci, *Studi Letterari*, p. 287. This admirable study unfortunately concludes with the above correspondence between Petrarch and Boccaccio.

[2] *Ep. de Reb. fam.* III. xxi. 15, ed. Fracassetti.

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Boccaccio's and Petrarch's letters are sufficiently conclusive, but other illustrations may be sought elsewhere. Yet it is difficult before the days of print to test general popularity. The number of existing manuscripts (in Dante's case some 500) is no satisfactory criterion. We have no idea of what proportion this represents to actual copies, and little idea as to the normal reproduction of a popular work. Important catalogues are extant in which no work of Dante is included. There is evidence, on the other hand, that the *Commedia* was widely spread. Very significant is the anecdote that one scribe made 100 copies and dowered his daughters on the profits: significant because, whatever be its truth, it is meant to illustrate the popularity of the original. The early corruption of the text of the *Commedia* is well known, but this was also the common fate of Petrarch and Boccaccio. A letter of Coluccio Salutati is a curious commentary on this corruption and on the value of a correct manuscript: 'Est mihi cura,' he writes, 'quod possim habere correctum opus divinissimum Dantis nostri, quo, crede michi, nullum hactenus poema vel altius stilo vel elegantius inventione vel majoris ponderis, cum ad res aut ad verba veneris vel tractatum.'[1] But even of Petrarch and Boccaccio it is already impossible to find a correct codex; the copies are less like the originals than the statues to the persons whom they represent: the latter, although they have mouths, at least say nothing; the former say the exact contrary of the author's words; he has heard, however, that the books of Menghino Mezzani, the friend and worshipper of Dante, have passed to one of the Polenta, and that among them is a manuscript of the *Commedia* with careful comments by the late owner—'quo te per superos et inferos et per si quid in amicicia dulce potest esse venerandumque reperiri rogatum velim quatenus michi perficias, ut illius viri Dantem et quicquid in ipso scripserit videre valeam et habere.'

A selection of passages and anecdotes relating to various manuscripts will throw some light on the kind of readers among whom they were distributed, and the regard in which they were held. Among such may be mentioned the sonnet sent to Landino with a copy of Dante, only too well-worn:

> 'Non guardate al mio rotto mantello,
> Chè spesso quel di fuor fa che ci inganni,'[2]

[1] To Niccolò da Tuderano, 1399, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. by F. Novati (1896), iii. 373.
[2] C. del Balzo, iv. 148.

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or the doggrel at the end of a treasured volume—

'Ho! tu che chun questo ti trastuli,
Vardalo de la luzerna e de fanzuli.'[1]

Giovanni da Prato's enthusiasm for the *Commedia* lost him the lady of his love. The long desired hour had come at length. He was alone with the fair Baldina, and the doors were closed. Upon her table, by ill fortune, lay a Dante. Giovanni took it up and began to read. He finished three cantos and began the fourth: 'quasi come di Baldina non curasse, e che più di legger Dante che di lei appetisse; ella di ciò prese sdegno ed essendo apresta alle mille disse fra se: "Forse che costui attende che io ne no lo inviti. A me pare che lui sia venuto quì per tenere scola di Dante; se così è e lui con Dante si stia,' whereon Baldina left the room, and Giovanni learnt that 'chi non piglia a tempo perde 'l piato.'[2] 'Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse' was the reverse of the situation.

If ladies kept the *Commedia* in their boudoirs, soldiers desired it in the field. In 1404 Dante's truest disciple, the luckless exile, Saviozzo of Siena, sent a transcript of his own to the great Captain Giovanni Colonna at his express request.[3] The manuscript was prefaced by a short biography of the poet. In the library of the Milanese despots in 1459 were to be found five manuscripts of Dante in addition to the *De Monarchia* and the *Letters*; and in the library of Galeazzo Maria Sforza at Pavia was yet another copy of the *Commedia*.[4] Frederick of Sicily, notwithstanding his *avarizia* and *viltade*, could appreciate the poet who abused him. Among the property stolen from him by a chamberlain we find 'unum librum dictum lu Dante quod dicitur de Inferno.'[5] Also in Sicily, among a rich man's bequests to a monastery in 1421–2, are 'due quaderni descripto Dantes.'[6] But the book was also in more common use. The customs tariff at Perugia for heavy articles comprised in 1379 this miscellaneous collection: 'Lanaccie da zuvare e da pianelle, Livere de leggie, glose ecclesiastese, Messale, breviarie, bibbia, squartabelglie e scripture, livero ecclesiastecho, de gramaticha picholo, livero de Dante, de Medicina, liuti, guitarre e rubeche.'[7] Equally

[1] C. del Balzo, iii. 476.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 305. Quoted from the Novella of Sarmini.
[3] G. Volpi, 'La vita e le rime di Simone Serdini' (Saviozzo), *Giornale Storico della letteratura Italiana*, xv.
[4] Anstice on the Visconti-Sforza library, *Giornale Storico*, i. 54.
[5] L. Natoli, *Gli Studi Danteschi in Sicilia*, p. 16. [6] *Ibid.* p. 17.
[7] A. Rossi, 'Saggi del volgare Perugino nel trecento,' *Giornale Storico*, ii.

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homely is the notice of a purchase from the store of Or San Michele in 1367: among presents for a bride and articles of household use occurs 'il libro di Dante compiuto con coverte d' asse rosse.'[1] These instances, drawn at random from very different sources, prove how widely the net of the *Commedia* was cast.

It is possible to lay too much stress upon the number of commentaries. Dante had himself set this fashion. Moreover, while the lucidity of Petrarch and Boccaccio made comment superfluous, Dante's obscurity was recognized from the first, and has indeed not a little contributed to his fortunes. Many scholars there are who prefer a puzzle to a poem. Did not Boccaccio or another write:

> 'Dante Alighieri son, Minerva oscura
> d' intelligenza e d' arte'?[2]

Again the commentary was in many cases the corollary of the lecture, and therefore should not be counted twice. A stronger proof of general popularity consists perhaps in the number of summaries, of which early examples are those of an anonymous writer and of Mino d' Arezzo, about 1332, and of Guido da Pisa, 1330, of Meo Mellone, about 1350, of Jacopo Gradonizo, 1389; and also in the selections, either standing by themselves or incorporated in larger works, as in the *Fiore d' Italia* of the said Guido. In connexion with this subject may be mentioned the early date at which the *Commedia* became known in England, in France, in Catalonia, and Castille.[3]

Of the lectures upon Dante it is impossible to overrate the importance. The poet's relation to the education of the following century has two aspects. His works themselves become the instruments of the teacher, while the system of which he was the last great exponent and populariser became a battlefield in which Dante's own reputation was at stake. How far the *Commedia* was definitely taught apart from the public lectures is not easily ascertained. The readerships are more likely to have been the public recognition of a branch of study than its origin. As early as 1360—that is, before the foundation of the readerships—Maestro Nofrio of Siena advertised in Colle that he would read Dante with anyone

[1] F. Carabellese, 'La Compagnia di Orsanmichele e il mercato dei libri nel secolo xiv.,' *Archivio Storico Italiano*, No. 200.

[2] The opening lines of a sonnet sometimes printed among Boccaccio's works.

[3] This subject finds ample illustration in the references to or the translations from Dante printed by C. del Balzo, *op. cit.*

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who wished—'anche lo Dante a chi volesse udirlo.'[1] Yet no trace of Dante is to be found in the scheme of the two greatest educators of Italy, Guarino of Verona and Vittorino of Feltre, although they were pupils of the Dante scholar Giovanni Malpaghini. It seems certain, then, that although no pedants, they confined intellectual training to the classics and the new methods. This probably affected their pupils, of whom Loschi and Decembrio became professed enemies of the Dante school. On the other hand, the master of these latter, Filippo Maria Visconti, was trained in Dante and Petrarch, and that not by a Tuscan, but by a teacher of Tortona. He lapsed, indeed, for a time into a passion for French romances, but returned to his first love; a Petrarch lay ever on his table until his death. He made the Humanist Barzizza lecture and comment upon Dante, and induced Filelfo himself to compose the Life of St. John the Baptist in *terza rima*. But Filippo, the Latinist would say, was the one crowned ass in Italy; alone of his contemporaries he knew neither Greek nor Latin.

The lectures at Bologna and Florence, at Pisa and Piacenza, Milan and Ferrara, Venice and perhaps Padua, must have spread the knowledge of the *Commedia* far and wide. At Bologna one of Benvenuto's pupils was the young enthusiast, Fra Giovanni da Serravalle, who at the Council of Constance inspired the Cardinal of Saluzzo and the Bishops of Bath and Salisbury with such desire to understand the poet that at their instance he wrote his Commentary. And this was translated into Italian for native use by a brother friar, Bartolommeo of Colle.[2] Thus here the sub-Alpine gorges of the extreme north-east and the uplands of southern Tuscany are united in common love for the poet who had no abiding city.

How far were the readerships really educational? That Benvenuto's lectures were not mere rhetorical exercises for the intelligent idlers of Bologna is proved by their untimely end. In commenting on Canto xv. of the *Inferno* he was led into imprudent personalities on the morals of his audience. He was attacked, not by the young bloods of the fiery town, but by his scholars and his colleagues, and was forced to abandon his readership and his home. At Ferrara in 1458 an unknown lecturer had borrowed through the agency of Borso d' Este's personal physician a copy of Benvenuto, and

[1] O. Bacci, 'Maestri di gramatica in Valdelsa,' *Misc. Storica della Valdelsa*, 1895.

[2] G. L. Passerini, *op. cit.*, *Alighieri*, 1893.

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hence 'a tutto il popolo si è divulgato il divino ingegno e suttilissima invenzione' of the poet. His success encouraged him to beg for the personal presence of the prince at his lectures, although he was unworthy that so great a lord should come to hear him. 'Quest' opera, eccelso principe, potrà facilmente adempiere e quietare ogni tuo desiderio e voluntà di sapere, perchè è tanto e si universale, che qualunque scienza è venuta a cognizione delle umane menti in essa si comprende.'[1] And this in the flood-tide of Humanism, and in one of the chosen centres of the 'higher culture'! Can we connect with this lecture the fact that Leonello d' Este, Borso's brother, applauded Leo Battista Alberti's desertion of Latin for Italian? Another trifling anecdote from Ferrara may be of interest. In 1459 the boy Galeazzo Sforza and his Humanist tutor were accompanying Pius II.—himself an admirer of Dante—from Ferrara to Mantua. As they sat on the Bucentaur, ready for the voyage, after the Latin valedictory addresses, 'uno scolaro fiorentino il qual studiava medicina in Ferrara lesse una lectione de Dante che non fu altro che bella cosa.'[2]

The educational character of the Florentine readership is clear from the first, although its character may have changed in the sixteenth century. It is unnecessary to discuss the disputed question whether it was originally connected with the University or was 'a chair in the air.' If the latter, an institution so abnormal is the strongest proof of the popularity of the *Commedia.* It is certain that before long the readership was included in the Faculty of Arts. The act under which the readership was founded emphasizes its educational character. The petitioners prayed on behalf of themselves, of other citizens, and of their descendants, that public instruction should be given in the book 'qui vulgariter appellatur el Dante . . . ex quo tam in fuga vitiorum quam in acquisitione virtutum quam in ornate eloquentie possunt etiam non gramatici informari.' It was proposed that the appointment should be for one year, at a salary not exceeding 100 florins, to be paid half yearly 'absque ulla retentione gabelle,' and that the reader should be required to lecture 'omnibus audire volentibus continuatis diebus non feriatis et per continuatas lecturas' (1373). The division list proves how popular the measure was. Approved by the Signoria

[1] Ferrazzi, *Manuale Dantesco*, ii. 423.

[2] A. Cappelli, 'Guiniforte Barzizza,' *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, June 1894, p. 425.

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and the Colleges, it was carried by 186 to 19 in the Council of the People, and by 114 to 7 in the Council of the Commune.[1]

That the education was intended for the people is proved by the phrase 'etiam non gramatici,' while the extreme simplicity of many of his explanations shows that Boccaccio, the first reader, honestly performed his somewhat tedious duty. He complains, indeed, of the character of his audience; his painful disease is the punishment for prostituting the Muses to the *vulgo dolente*; his hearers are *ingrati meccanici, vulgo indegno, feccia plebeia.* He apologizes for so degrading Dante by the excuse that he put the vulgar aboard a galley without a pilot and with but little biscuit.[2] But no writer of sonnets must be taken seriously. Boccaccio's grumbles have been too generally supposed to indicate that his lectures were a failure; he was, after all, a Humanist, and must respect the scruples of his own clique, the intellectual oligarchy, which would exclude the populace. Filelfo's lectures are a sure test of Dante's popularity. They were delivered in the midsummer of the classic revival. The reader was the most uncompromising of Hellenists. Wishing, he declared, to win the friendship of the Florentines, he thought that he could not attain his object better than by speaking of that which was dearest to them, of the divine poet Alighieri, whom he found deservedly beloved and held in reverence and devotion. His eloquent panegyric is a proof, if not of his own sincerity, at least of the esteem in which his audience held his subject. Filelfo lectured at private request and without reward. This, his own assertion, has been doubted, but the public documents confirm it: the University is required to provide schools for his professorial lectures, but only to place a chair in the cathedral for his Dante readings. These, if fashionable, were also educational, for he set his pupils themes on Dante, and some of these youthful exercises still exist.[3]

The chair was not always a bed of roses, nor an unqualified success. If Boccaccio complained of the quality of his audience, Giovanni da Prato was twitted by Brunel-

[1] A. Gherardi, *Statuti dell' Università e Studio di Firenze*, p. 161 *sq.*

[2] Six of Boccaccio's sonnets refer to this subject. Sonnets 7, 8, and 10 are the more important.

[3] Klette, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur der Italienischen Gelehrtenrenaissance*, vol. i. 'Die öffentliche Dante-Lektüre.' The facts relating to the Readership are, where other references are not given, derived from this study, from Gherardi's *Statuti*, and from Rosmini's *Vita di Filelfo.*

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leschi with being a professor without a school.[1] Yet more plaintive is the plea of Domenico di Giovanni, who had lectured quite regularly and given much pleasure, and yet received no stipend: the Secretary of the Chest explaining that he was forced to satisfy other claims to the non-payment of which grave penalities were attached (1472). Giovanni da Prato's stipend was withheld for the good of the public debt. Even Giovanni da Ravenna has to represent that in consequence of the suspension of his lectures the young men wasted their time, while he could not support his growing family. Filelfo's chair in the cathedral was threatened with a riot, and the Government must needs issue a proclamation against intending disturbers of the peace. Filelfo had probably brought this upon himself, for one of his panegyrics upon Dante was a scarcely veiled invective against Niccolò Niccoli. His readership throughout was perhaps a mere incident in the fray between Filelfo and the jealous Humanist, whose professed scorn for Dante may have been the cause of the Hellenist's interest in the Italian poet.

None could doubt the honesty of purpose in Filippo Villani's lectures. It may be wondered whether there is any ratio between the decrease and increase of his stipend and the ebb and flow of Dante's popularity. He was appointed 'ad Cathedram lecture Dantis Alighieri, vatium modernorum eximii,' for one year from October 18, 1391, at a salary of 150 florins. From 1397 his two years' readership was at the rate of eighty florins per annum; for the two following years it rose to one hundred; in 1401 it sank to eighty. In 1414 he was appointed for five years at a salary of fifty, but the university was closed from the end of 1405 until 1412.[2] The stipend of Lorenzo da Pisa in 1431 was as low as twenty-five. The war with Milan doubtless accounted chiefly for the changes, but in some cases the duties were heavier than in others. Giovanni da Ravenna and the Dominican Fra Girolamo lectured only on feast days. Giovanni da Prato read not only the *Commedia*, but the *Cantilenæ Morales*. It may be noticed also that the lectures, originally continuous on working days, were now frequently confined to high days and holidays.

History and fable alike testify to the deep impression made by Dante's personality. Dino Compagni's spirited

[1] Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ii. 101.

[2] U. Marchesini, 'Filippo Villani pubblico lettore della Divina Commedia,' *Archivio Storico Italiano*, No. 200, p. 273.

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description is well known.[1] Giovanni Villani must needs break the thread of his history by his eloquent chapter on his compatriot: chapter upon chapter of his narrative have been described as a running commentary upon the *Commedia*.[2] In the following century Sercambi of Lucca, grocer, novelist and chronicler, some ten times interrupts his story to quote long passages of the *Commedia* with yet longer moralisings thereon.[3] But more conclusive for our purpose is the *Centiloquio* of Antonio Pucci (1373). He was a writer from the people and for the people—one of those who brought a new element into Italian literature, who might well be Dante's rival for the favour of the street. His poem, itself in *terza rima*, is a doggrel summary of Villani's history, which it necessarily much contracts: the story of Dante alone is an expansion of the original chapter, and popular as is the verse, its spirit shows the author's feeling; he is certain of the people's sympathy.[4]

Noteworthy also is the fact that Dante early becomes the subject of myth; he begins to occupy the place in popular imagination which his less learned contemporaries had assigned to Virgil. That many of the legends were shifted to his shoulders from Provençal or classical originals, decreases, indeed, the biographical interest, but adds to our idea of his importance with posterity. Legend began to form itself even during Dante's life: witness the story, professedly from his own lips, how he overheard a Veronese woman telling her crony that he was the man who went to hell and returned at pleasure with news of all the people there. 'Oh yes!' replied the neighbour; 'just look at how his beard is crimped and his face browned by the heat and smoke down there.'[5] Then follow the tales of his mother's dream, how she bore a son under a laurel tree, how it was fed upon its berries, and was transformed from a shepherd into a peacock; of Dante's recovery of the first seven cantos of the poem, and of Jacopo Alighieri's miraculous dream which revealed to him the hiding-place of the last thirteen. Many anecdotes relate his absorption in study, his phenomenal memory, his universal knowledge, his disagreeable pride, his power of repartee. When Can Grande entertained him at dinner, he had all the bones of the birds and beasts consumed secretly piled under Dante's place, and then the cloth was lifted. 'It shows,' cried Dante, 'that I

[1] Muratori, ix. 524. [2] G. Villani, book ix.
[3] *Le Chroniche di G. Sercambi*, ed. by S. Bongi, 3 vols., 1892.
[4] Antonio Pucc. *Il Centiloquio*, cap. 55. [5] C. del Balzo, iii. 476.

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am no *Cane*, for I have not eaten my bones like you.' Many stories are like the above, short *beffe*; others aspire to the dignity of novelettes.[1] Among the longer are two by Sercambi, both relating to Dante's visit to Robert, king of Naples, one of them an old classical 'Joe Miller.'[2] Of high interest, if its origin could be traced, would be the tale in Matteo Palmieri's *Vita Civile*: how after the battle of Campaldino, as Dante leant over the dead body of his friend, he suddenly returned to life, and told the future poet of his vision of the other world, and its interpretation by the Emperor Carlo Magno.

Very important for the present purpose is the fact that Sacchetti not only quotes Dante more than once, but makes him the hero of five novels. Sacchetti must be classed with his contemporary, Pucci; entirely deserting the classical romantic style of Boccaccio, he was a writer for the people, telling them tales of familiar Florentine characters, or rather collecting and editing the current anecdotes of the piazza. Moreover, four of the tales have some character. The other is of the *beffe* order, though more pointed than most; it tells of the ugly little bat of a Genoese man of science who went to Ravenna to consult the poet on the means of making a lady fall in love with him. Dante's reply, if coarse to modern ears, convinced the inquirer that though he might be a man of science he was no philosopher.[3] Of the remaining four, one attributes Dante's exile to a practical joke played on a haughty young Adimari, who in riding turned his toes so proudly outwards that honest citizens had no room to pass;[4] another is the well-known tale of the gambler Antonio da Ferrara, who, entering the Minorite church at Ravenna, took the candles from the crucifix and placed them on the tomb of Dante, as being more worshipful than the Deity, who had neither aided him at the table, nor explained, as human Dante had, the mysteries of the other world.[5] Finally we read of Dante's wrath with the smith who sang his songs at his forge with unauthoritative additions and excisions, and with the donkey boy who at the end of each *terzina* beat his beasts with the cry 'Arri!'—a corrupt gloss which undoubtedly crept in from the margin.[6] The first of these tales is old, but both go far to illustrate the familiarity of the lower classes with Dante's

[1] Cf. among other collections of stories the *Facezie* of Poggio Bracciolini.

[2] G. Sercambi, *Novelle inedite*, R. Renier (1889), Nos. 119 and 120.

[3] F. Sacchetti, *Le Novelle*, No. 8. [4] *Ibid.* No. 114.

[5] *Ibid.* No. 121. [6] *Ibid.* No. 115.

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poems in Sacchetti's age; they confirm the tradition that the artisans in Florence knew the *Commedia* by heart. This no doubt is an exaggeration, but it had become the inalienable possession of the Florentine people. Many perhaps sang and quoted without knowing the *provenance* of their words—had they heard the *Commedia* in full, they might have complained as the spectator at the play of *Hamlet*, that it was all quotations. Nor was the *Commedia* alone on the lips of the people. The numerous imitations of *Io mi son pargoletta* prove it to have been a popular favourite, and the *Ghirlandetta* descended, with slight change, as a popular street song from generation to generation.[1]

If Dante's fame had dwindled in the fifteenth century the *Commedia* and its author would have disappeared from contemporary art. Being in this age essentially narrative, art bore far more than at a later age the immediate impress of current interest and feeling. The artist's imagination absorbed the fresh topic of the day, even as the walls of church or civic halls or private villa absorbed his rapid fresco work. In the fifteenth century, side by side with classical influence, is to be found the ever-recurring inspiration of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Dante. It would be well worth while to trace the two streams of art—the one secular and romantic, springing from the neighbouring sources of the two former writers, the other religious and civic, flowing strong and deep from Dante. It would be of course absurd to attribute to his influence every picture of *Inferno* or *Paradiso*. Such subjects were common before his day, and without his existence would always have been favourite themes. But he doubtless gave to the material its definite form, and the greatest representations, those of Orcagna, of Fra Angelico, of Luca Signorelli, and Michel Angelo, are directly due to the *Commedia*. Yet closer, if possible, to the poetic original is the artistic reproduction of Giovanni di Paolo of Siena (about 1428). Dante's early influence upon civic art is shown in the frescoes of Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Sala della Pace at Siena; the text to the figure of Justice is the line 'Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram.' Of Giotto and his pupil Guariento we have not spoken, because even the younger painter was Dante's own contemporary. Dante was himself, as is well known, a not uncommon subject. In addition to the portrait attributed to Giotto, Dante appeared in company with Petrarch and Boccaccio on the walls of the great hall in the Palazzo Pubblico, with an inscription by Salutati, and

[1] G. Carducci, *Cantilene e Ballate* (1871) p. 82.

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again in the Hall of the Judges and Notaries. In the Duomo the pious love of the Dante Reader Antonio was ill rewarded, for the picture on the left aisle, painted by his order, was replaced in 1465 by that of Domenico di Michelino, with the verses by Bartolommeo Scala, which still exists. At Montefalco, Benozzo Gozzoli painted medallions of Dante, Petrarch and Giotto; while Andrea del Castagno executed portraits of the *tre corone* for the private villa of Pandolfo Pandolfini. The portrait by Lorenzo Monaco or Giovanni Toscani in Santa Trinità enjoyed in Vasari's days a high reputation. In addition to this may be reckoned illuminations of Dante's portrait or of subjects from the *Commedia* which illustrated manuscripts; even the rough watercolours which give life to the *Chronicles* of Sercambi. With all this evidence in Dante's favour, can we believe in the alleged neglect of the fifteenth century, in the monopoly of interest by humanistic literature? Do legend and art pay such liberal tribute to Chrysoloras or Filelfo, to Poggio Bracciolini, or even to the well-beloved Coluccio Salutati?

A natural result of Dante's versatility is that his popularity takes different directions: if we follow one we find the *Commedia* becoming a classic; if the other, it appears as a distinctively religious poem. This parting of the ways is very early. The passages where Dante is placed among the writers of antiquity are probably numerous. Tedaldi, indeed, one of his earliest panegyrists, masses his associates, 'Catone, Donato e Gualtieri.'[1] But before long Dante, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with Petrarch, is definitely associated with the classics. Cino Rinuccini could not adequately sing the beauty of his mistress even if he were 'Omer, Virgilio e Dante.'[2] Again, he cites

> 'Virgilio et Lucano,
> Ovidio, Stazio e tu, fiorentino Dante,
> Insieme col Petrarca e Claudiano.'[3]

Benedetto Accolti in his dialogue 'De Præstantia Virorum sui Ævi,' regards Dante and Petrarch as comparable with Homer and Virgil, the only pity being that they did not write in Latin. The Neapolitan Yonata, in 1465, sings:

> 'Quintiliano, Tullio e Juvenale,
> El poeta Dante con Francesco Petrarca.'[4]

[1] *Le Rime di Pieraccio Tedaldi*, ed. by Morpurgo (1885), p. 5. Also printed by C. del Balzo, i. 274.
[2] F. Flamini, *La Lirica Toscana*, p. 325. [3] *Ibid.* p. 336.
[4] C. del Balzo, iv. 73.

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In Spain, again, the classical comparisons are not uncommon. In 1414 Francesco Imperial wrote:

'En muchos poetas ley
Homero, Virgilio, Dante,
Boeçio, Lucain de sy,
En Ovidio de Amante;'[1]

and later in the century Gomez Manrique assures the object of his verses that he is more worthy of veneration than Virgilio or Dante.[2]

But the illustration most interesting, as being at once very early and of an uncommon character, is the description of the seven crowns offered to Rienzi. The fourth crown is of laurel, 'Suscipe laurum, quoniam officia et scientiam observasti et avaritiam odisti,' and then is quoted the stanza from *Paradiso*, i. 22. The other emblems are drawn exclusively from classical authors—the oak from Lucan, the ivy from Persius, the myrtle from Virgil, the olive from Prudentius.[3] The Florentine Dante stands alone among the Latins.

Of the development of the idea of the *Commedia* as a religious poem instances could be given without number. Pietro di Dante strikes the note: 'La fede . . . se fusse spenta rifariela Dante.'[4] The tale told of Petrarch in his later years, whether true or false, illustrates the general feeling. A very old Pisan, an eager student of Dante, had visited Petrarch in earlier years.

'Being one day with him in his study, I asked him if he had the book of Dante. He answered Yes, and searching among his books, he took the little volume called *Monarchia*, and threw it down before me. I said that it was not this that I had asked for, but rather his *Commedia*. Then Messer Francesco seemed to marvel that I should call the *Commedia* a work of Dante. And he asked me if I maintained that Dante had composed that book; and when I answered Yes, he gently chid me, saying that he did not see how that work could have been composed by human intellect without a special gift of the Holy Spirit; concluding that it seemed to him that the book on Monarchy could and ought to be attributed to Dante, but the *Commedia* rather to the Holy Spirit than to Dante.'[5]

Filippo Villani, when weary with years and toil, when he prepared to turn with more vigour to his God, when he needed a religious occupation, could find no fitter study than Dante's *opera angelica*.[6] Another Reader, Filelfo himself, lays especial

[1] C. del Balzo, iii. 273. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 115.
[3] *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzi*, ed. by A. Gabrielli (1890), p. 245.
[4] C. del Balzo, i. 379.
[5] F. Palermo, *I manoscritti palatini di Firenze*, ii. 619.
[6] Preface to F. Villani's Works, ed. 1849.

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stress upon this aspect of the *Commedia*, which is indeed prominent in the act under which the original chair was founded.

Poor melancholy, wandering Saviozzo found in Dante, not only his political and poetic model, but his guide towards salvation. He compares himself to the little wide-eyed, trembling boy who stands before the kindly master, who at length helps him through his theme in the unknown tongue, 'tanto che del latino il fa contento.' So Dante is the master to one struggling towards the unknown world.

'Così nel nostro debole intelletto
A parte a parte mostra e ci soccorre
E poi ci acquista un regno alto e perfetto.

'Per questa intera via si saglie e corre
Al sommo ben felice ed a quel fine
Che nè resia nè morte il può disporre.

'O vita sua perpetua e felice
Vaso d' elezione, esemplo nostro
Che così morto vivo anche si dice.' [1]

In the process of literary evolution this differentiation of the religious side of Dante's work becomes more marked. Instances may be given of sermons in which are incorporated long passages of the *Commedia*. But we will conclude with two examples drawn from secular life just beyond the limits of our subject. One Michel Angelo, town trumpeter of Pisa, wrote in 1488 a catalogue of his favourite books; the *Commedia* finds its place among 'i libri dell' anima da leggere di quaresima.' [2] The Congrega dei Rozzi was an artisans' literary club in Siena, meeting weekly to read authors usually more gay than grave. But among the statutes of 1531 occurs this clause: 'Per esser noi del Cristiano gregge professori, ne pare che almeno nel tempo quadragesimale in fra di noi si lega la elegante e dotta *Commedia* di Dante.' [3]

The evidence for Dante's popularity is far from being exhausted by these general proofs. Space and the technicality of the subject have prevented the application of the most conclusive test—that is, the direct influence of the poet upon the material and form of the poetry of his successors. A natural consequence of this influence was the prominence given to Dante in the controversy between the champions of Latin and the vernacular which raged for at least a century;

[1] *Capitolo per la morte di Dante* (1404), C. del Balzo, iii. 224.
[2] G. L. Passerini, *op. cit. Alighieri*, 1893.
[3] C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo xvi.* (1883), i. 352.

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and in this controversy Florentine patriotism was deeply engaged. Nevertheless sufficient witness has probably been given to acquit the *quattrocento* of contempt or indifference. Not only were Dante's works a text-book for the lecture-room, a classic for the student of the vernacular, an instrument of political warfare, an inspiration for art and legend, but they had become the stock-in-trade of the Florentine street-singer and the manual of Tuscan piety. When a poet finds an entry into the song and the prayer of his people, his immortality is assured.

ART. XI.—LANDSCAPE IN POETRY.

Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson. By F. T. PALGRAVE, late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. (London, 1897.)

THE death of Francis Turner Palgrave removed a critic second to none of his time in taste or judgment, a critic who was also an original poet, but whose justly deserved reputation rested in great degree upon a book to which his own contribution in writing hardly amounted to half a dozen pages. Yet *The Golden Treasury of English Songs and Lyrics* is an anthology so marked by wise critical discernment—so choicely were the poems contained in it chosen, so nobly were they ordered—that the book takes rank as a monument of critical sagacity. If not perfect, it approaches perfection so nearly, that all serious criticism must give way to praise. Perhaps, indeed, only those who have essayed the task of improving it can measure by the difficulty of the task the true worth of a book which has, we believe, done more to teach its readers wherein high excellence in poetry consists than any other published during the century. It had been fortunate for Mr. Palgrave's name and fame had he shunned the insidious peril of supplementing that unique book by a second volume attempting to apply the same principles of selection to more recent poetry. Its failure is rendered conspicuous and unequivocal by the extraordinary success of the first, and is probably the best demonstration we possess of the impossibility of framing any final judgment upon contemporary poets and their work. Upon that failure, however, it would be ungracious at the present time to dwell, and it is a more pleasant task to recognise in this book,

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Landscape in Poetry, the critical qualities which belonged to the editor of the first volume of the *Golden Treasury*.

Of England Mr. Palgrave speaks as 'long the favourite home' of landscape art, and perhaps it might justly be said that in England poetry, too, has long had its favourite home, since there exists in English a larger body of poetry of the highest order than in any other living language. If this be true, it is true no less of the poetry dealing with Nature than of that more nearly or altogether concerned with human action, man doing and suffering. Whatever be its subject, English poetry exhibits a more absolute harmony of imagination and reality than that of any other language. The imagination of a practical people has been at work in the sphere of real feeling, and busied itself with their near and intimate interests. Poetry like the poetry of Shelley, where the imagination is at work in a sphere aloof from the actual world, is foreign to the English genius. What vitality and power our poetry possesses are due to this, that it makes appeal at once to the intelligence as well as to the imagination, is bound up with the thoughts and feelings of our ordinary life, and is not therefore a mere art product, to appreciate which one must cultivate a particular kind of sensibility, a special sense. The poetry of Chaucer or of Shakespere, of Wordsworth or of Tennyson, appeals to no special sense, but to the wayfaring man, who finds in it his own mental attitude, his own interests. Nothing can compensate for the absence of this intimate association between poetry and life, and to this association the worth of English poetry is, in our judgment, mainly due. If this thesis can be maintained with regard to the poetry which is in any degree concerned with Nature, it may, we think, be regarded as fully established for poetry in general, since the association of the life of external Nature with the life of man is an artistic achievement only possible when imagination serves the practical life, with Wordsworth, rather than escapes it, with Mr. Swinburne. In the main, it must be admitted, the history of poetry shows that the poet has usually introduced landscape into his work merely to serve as background; he has selected a scene expressive of an appropriate sentiment to enhance by emphasis or by contrast the force of the truth, or the situation, with which he was concerned; the poetry occupied exclusively or even largely with Nature is by comparison slight in bulk, and in the main belongs to the modern world.

There is in the earlier classic poetry little landscape of any kind, and of that wider, more comprehensive view of

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Nature, such as latter-day poetry exhibits, there is no trace. What little there is to be found resembles rather a piece of delicate brush-work, a vignette, sketched for the sake of the effect itself, than a picture painted with intention to interpret through it an aspect of human life or passion. A passage like the following, for example, from Sophocles, might be compared to the far-seen portico of a Doric temple shining in its simple sculptured outline against the sky, to which from some busy scene immediately before us we may for a moment lift our eyes. 'Gleaming Kolonus rock, where the thrilling nightingale most loves to sing under the green coverts, remaining constant to the dark-brown ivy and the inviolable foliage of the god; the wood with its thousand fruits and leaves sun-proof, untouchable of any gale.'[1]

Similarly in Aristophanes we have a passage like this descriptive of the clouds:

'Coming softly through the hollows in the thickets, trailing about in multitudes.'[2]

But of man and Nature as parts of an indivisible single unity it was left for modern poetry, such poetry as Wordsworth's or George Meredith's, to conceive. In a poem like that of Wordsworth's:

> 'Two voices are there; one is of the sea,
> One of the mountains; each a mighty voice.'

or in a poem like Mr. Meredith's *Earth and Man*, in such stanzas as these:

> 'For he is in the lists
> Contentious with the elements, whose dower
> First sprang him; for swift vultures to devour
> If he desists. . . .
> He builds the soaring spires
> That sing his soul in stone; of her he draws,
> Though blind to her, by spelling at her laws
> Her purest fires.'

In such poetry the sense of a close intimacy with Nature as proper to man, as strength-giving takes the place of the far more familiar conception of man as separate from Nature, a thing apart, a conception which has inspired the favourite theme of the poet, the contrast between the eternal calm, the harmony, the orderliness, the immortal youth of Nature, and the ephemeral, fever-worn, harassed life of mortal men.

As Mr. Palgrave points out, many aspects of Nature

[1] *Œd. Col.* 670. [2] *Clouds*, 275.

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taken by the mind of the poet might be enumerated, but he confines himself to a detailed examination in illustration of a few of these as exhibited in classical and English poetry.

These can, says Mr. Palgrave, 'be ranged broadly from simple to complex, forming a development which at the same time answers more or less to the order of date. But,' he continues,' 'it should always be remembered that art is free, that the poets especially do not always confine themselves to a single mode of treatment; that human nature itself remains, as Thucydides long ago said, much the same throughout. The new is latent in the old, the old breathes forth through the new. Hence the various aspects of landscape in which Nature offers herself never wholly disappear from poetry; they revive or they melt into one another, defeating the effort to range them under definite classes or in sharply separated periods.'[1]

As we follow the treatment of Nature in poetry as exhibited in this volume, it almost seems as if the poets awoke to her charm in proportion as advancing civilisation threw men more and more into groups and the life of cities, and that it was reserved for late centuries and the poets of an industrial and manufacturing country to celebrate the worship of Nature in its fulness. While he was a dweller with her, familiar with her moods, man could hardly be indifferent to her smiles and frowns, her changing seasons affecting as they did his physical life; but it was the significance of natural sights and sounds rather than their beauty that first impressed him. In the life of cities artificially protected from excessive heat or cold, almost indifferent to thunderbolt or tempest, men ceased to view Nature as friend or enemy, as complacent or as angry deity, and learnt to think of her as beautifully various, offering to the observer a new field of enjoyment. Thus the æsthetic instinct found another object; a shifting of the human centre of interest in regard to Nature took place, and she passed into the field of vision of the conscious artist.

In sketching the history of Landscape in Poetry, Mr. Palgrave names first 'the simple, almost physical delight in the scenes of the home landscape which seized specially on the early poets of Greece and the Middle Ages. Objects were painted singly and with a few clear touches; the meadow in spring, the living stream, the cool sheltering wood, the flower at their feet, as we see with children, appear to limit their horizon.'[2] He passes then to the landscape, which, taking a wider range, appears as the background to human life, and, as the range still further widens, to the

[1] Palgrave, p. 6. [2] *Ibid.* p. 7.

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poetry which exhibits a deep interest, a certain passion and sympathy with Nature, such as is to be found in Roman song. With the Renaissance, Nature begins in the work of some poets to usurp the place hitherto held by human interests, and 'Landscape now appears as a matter of pure description.' In the latest stage Mr. Palgrave finds the 'attempt to penetrate the inner soul of the landscape itself,' and a 'greater accuracy in detail,' the main characteristics of the modern mode of the treatment of Nature in poetry.

In all Greek poetry, whether epic, lyrical, or idyllic, human interests are supreme, but we can trace an advance from the poetry of Homer, where Nature affords little more than a contrast, to that of Æschylus, Sophocles, or Theocritus, where for its own sake some exquisite scene is sketched, as here—at the rustic feast the guests reclined

'On low couches of the odorous rush, rejoicing, or on fresh-cut vine leaves; and above their heads waved elm and poplar, and the holy stream close by went murmuring as it ran down from the cave of the Nymphs.'[1]

Or here, in a lyric snatch, where the delight seems to be in the natural colour and fragrance of the fresh-plucked flowers:

'Where are my roses, where are my violets, where are my beautiful parsley leaves?
Here are your roses, here are your violets, here are your beautiful parsley leaves.'[2]

Or, here again, where a graver strain associates human life and the mysterious world in which it has been placed, environed—one might almost say, imprisoned—by terrestrial and celestial splendours:

'That man I hold happiest, who having without sense of pain beheld these holy wonders, the common sun, stars, sea, clouds, fire, has gone quickly thither whence he came. Should he live a hundred years these sights will never fail him; or should he live but few days, never will he see things more wonderful.'[3]

It is interesting to compare with this from Menander a fine passage from a modern poet, Mr. Watson, in which a somewhat similar thought is set forth with far greater power and significance:

'Man, whom Fate, his victor, magnanimous, clement in triumph,
Holds as a captive King, mewed in a palace divine;
Wide its leagues of pleasance and ample of purview its windows;
Airily falls in its courts, laughter of fountains at play;

[1] Theocritus, *Id.* vii. 132; Palgrave, p. 27. [2] Palgrave, p. 33.
[3] Menander, quoted by Palgrave, p. 32.

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Nought when the harpers are harping untimely reminds him of durance;
None as he sits at the feast, whispers Captivity's name;
But would he parley with Silence, withdraw for awhile unattended,
Forth to the beckoning world 'scape for an hour and be free,
Lo, his adventurous fancy coercing at once and provoking,
Rise the unscalable walls, built with a word at the prime;
Lo, immobile as statues, with pitiless faces of iron,
Armed at each obstinate gate, stand the impassable guards.'[1]

By a comparison of such passages as these here quoted with those written by poets of races and countries other than the Greek, we may see the justice of Mr. Palgrave's remark that in a sense the Greek is nearer to us than any literature earlier than the sixteenth century; and this, even though a world that was never 'sick nor sorry,' which found in beauty and beauty alone its religion, is separated by impassable gulfs of time and temper from the Christian world, more deeply conscious of sin and of sorrow than of the charm or glory of human life. But while in art we are, like the Romans, the intellectual children of the Greeks, and are conscious of their mastery, unquestionably our own is nearer akin to the Roman race in all the broader racial characteristics. Less purely intellectual than the Greek, less subtle, finding less in the sphere of art than of action its natural sphere, the moral temperament, the instant grave response to the summons of duty, that Muse of the iron string, the Roman subdued the practical world as the Greek the intellectual. Deep in the Roman, as in the English heart, lay a love of home and an intenser moral enthusiasm; the Roman was cast in simpler, more heroic mould than the quick-witted, artistic Greek; if he felt less subtly, he felt more deeply, and if his sympathies were narrower and less easily evoked, he was the more constant to those he possessed. There is heard, therefore, a grander and more human note in Latin poetry, and in its poetical landscape Mr. Palgrave calls our attention to a homelier strain, to which our hearts respond more immediately, 'a certain accent as of Romanticism before its time.' In the landscape of Lucretius the sweet and bitter, the beautiful and the terrible, appear together; like Dante, he is at once 'mild and stern.' Take this of the early religion of mankind:—'They placed the mansions and temples of the gods in the heavens, because through the heavens night and the morn seem to revolve, morn and day and night and the stern constellations of night, and the night-

[1] Watson, *Hymn to the Sea.*

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roving torches of heaven and flying flames; cloud, sun, rain, snow, winds, lightning, hail and the rapid rattle, the huge murmurs of threatening thunder.' But *O genus infelix humanum*, he continues, 'O unhappy race of men, when they ascribed such things to the gods, and coupled them with bitter wrath! What groanings for themselves did they then beget, what wounds for us, what tears for our children's children.' [1]

With Virgil, 'the chastest poet and the royalest that to the memory of man is known,' with Virgil, love of the country appears for the first time as the inspiring theme of poetry:

'Molle atque facetum
Vergilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenæ.' [2]

It is difficult at any time to speak of Virgil without enthusiasm, but when the exquisite cadence, the mingled music and tender sentiment of verses like these fall upon the ear, admiration is lost in wonder and affection:

'Huc ades, O Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis?
Hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum
Fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro
Imminet et lentæ texunt umbracula vites;
Huc ades.' [3]

There is, as Mr. Palgrave remarks, no poet who has with such consummate art so completely absorbed and then created afresh his material as Virgil, and there is no poet to whom the country and country life meant more—

'Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
Flumina amem silvasque inglorius.' [4]

So real is the sentiment here expressed, so sincere is it, that we cannot but think of Virgil as less an epic than a lyric poet, less at home following Homer through the rude noises of the armed camp and the fierce turmoil of battle, than amid the sights and sounds of country life in his own beautiful Italy.

'And his gods wore less majesty
Than his brown bees hummed deathlessly.' [5]

Mr. Palgrave passes from the Augustan poets to their successors, thence to the treatment of landscape in Hebrew and Italian poetry, until he sets foot in England in the days

[1] Lucretius, v. 1188; Palgrave, 39.
[2] Horace, *Sat.* I. x. 45.
[3] *Ecl.* ix. 39.
[4] *Georg.* ii. 485.
[5] *Vision of Poets*, E. B. Browning.

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of the Celt and the Gael. His book gains in interest as it progresses, and as the author's method becomes familiar. He has produced something vastly more interesting than a history of the treatment of landscape in poetry: he has here brought together the choicest passages of poetry, ancient and modern, in which Nature is treated, and the book is thus an anthology as well as a history, which one may dip into with pleasure at any point, and take up with profit at any chance moment of leisure. It is, indeed, so various and comprehensive, so closely packed, that no serious attempt can be made to extract its essence in the present paper. It is a hive of sweetness; for Mr. Palgrave has gathered here the fragrant distillations of the poets, who, like the honey-bees, have found in the field, the garden, or on the mountain-side the precious spoils with which they fill their cells. The book is, too, an anthology in another sense—an anthology of fine phrases, for which Mr. Palgrave has a poet's affection. 'With him [Dante] "words cut deeper than is their wont;"'[1] *singula . . . capti circumvectamur amore*, 'charmed with the love of it, we linger around every detail;'[2] 'with many a proof of recollected love;'[3] Scott 'the whole world's darling;'[4] Byron who loves 'Earth only for its earthly sake;'[5] *Pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes*; Keats whose descriptions seem almost 'rather things than words;'[6] Wordsworth's power of 'widening Nature without going beyond it,' or his 'truths pluck'd as they are growing and delivered to us with the dew on them;'[7] 'a joy in the world's loveliness;' 'the near and flashing plainness' of a pictured landscape; 'the single-hearted sonnet;' 'that great artist, Memory;'—in recalling by his use of these and phrases like these the pleasure one feels in 'words that fit the thing' Mr. Palgrave adds to the debt we owe him.

'After Dante,' as Mr. Palgrave says, 'the modern world frankly begins,'[8] a world of wider horizons, more numerous, intellectual, social, and æsthetic interests, in which poetic material cannot fail, though views of life other than those conducive to poetry may from time to time predominate and prove unfriendly to inspiration. The Nature poetry of the modern world is broadly distinguished from that of the ancient by its association with human feeling. The remoteness of Nature from the life of man as seen in the poetry of Greece and Rome, save in the work of occasional poets, a remoteness which gives to the classic landscape a purity of outline, a

[1] Palgrave, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.* p. 49. [3] *Ibid.* p. 190.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 197. [5] *Ibid.* p. 211. [6] *Ibid.* p. 237.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 238. [8] *Ibid.* p. 87.

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cool severity of colour, is exchanged for an affectionate regard, even a passionate affection, and we learn 'to look on Nature with a lover's eye.' It is remarkable that during the period of our own literary history whose writers followed the classical traditions—the period of Pope and Johnson—love of Nature was regarded as an affectation, and its presence in poetry, save in the false and artificial pastoral manner, most unwelcome to the critical readers of the time. In a letter to a friend, written in 1722, Pope remarked, 'It is time enough to like, or affect to like, the country when one is out of love with all but one's self,' and Dr. Johnson, as one of his friends observed, preferred to be ill in London to being well anywhere else. It is to the poets who were the pioneers of the romantic period that we must look for the revival of landscape in poetry and of the love of Nature which characterised the poetry of Chaucer and his immediate successors. Chaucer, indeed, was but carrying on the traditions of the race to which he belonged when his verse celebrated the life of the woods and fields; for not only Anglo-Saxon, but the earliest Celtic and Gaelic, poetry, exhibits a passionate delight in Nature, the former in its richer and lowland aspects, the latter in sea and mountain, the broad spaces under the open heaven. In a poem ascribed to Columba so modern is the sentiment that it is difficult to believe that it is about fifteen hundred years old:

'Delightful to be on Benn-Edar,
Before going o'er the white sea;
The dashing of the wave against its face,
The bareness of its shore and its border.

Delightful to be on Benn-Edar,
After coming o'er the white-bosomed sea,
To row one's little coracle
Ochone! on the swift-waved shore. . .

Beloved to my heart also in the West
Drumcliff, at Calcinne's strand;
To behold the fair Loch Feval,
The form of its shores, is delightful.

Delightful is that, and delightful
The salt main on which the sea-gulls cry,
On my coming from Derry afar
It is quiet, and it is delightful.
Delightful.'[1]

The Celtic poetry—as this specimen proves—exhibits a

[1] Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, p. 73.

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love of Nature in its wilder and sterner aspects, and no greater contrast can be imagined than that which is offered by a comparison, for example, between the verses just quoted and these from Chaucer, who represents the poetry which celebrates softer or cultivated landscape:

> '. . May hadde peynted with his softé shoures
> This gardyn full of levés and of floures,
> And craft of mannés hand so curiously
> Arrayéd hadde this gardyn, trewély,
> That never was ther gardyn of swich prys
> But if it were the verray Paradys.' [1]

Chaucer's delight is all in the song of birds, the gush of streams, the blossom and leafage of the trees, the exquisite colours of the flowers that enamel the meadows, especially 'the flowres, white and rede,' the flower of all flowers for Chaucer, 'the däisy or elles the eye of day.'

'The touches of Nature here'—in the poetry of Chaucer and his school—'like the song, are sweet and fresh and melodious,' says Mr. Palgrave, 'like missal illuminations, as the poetry of that age so constantly is, in their gay tints and foreground character.' [2] The purely foreground character of almost all the descriptions of Nature to be found in English poetry before the era of Shelley and of Wordsworth results in what may be called a kind of intellectual sterility. Such descriptions are usually barren of any real power or influence upon thought or feeling. They are in the main decorative, and may of course be rendered with exquisite art, but, while beautiful, they are rarely inspiring. The landscape of Keats is probably the most entrancing of any foreground landscape in our poetry; there is nothing, indeed, in our judgment, in all literature which can justly be said to surpass in beauty these lines from his famous ode:

> 'I cannot see what flowers are at my feet,
> Nor what soft incense hangs upon these boughs,
> But in embalmed darkness, guess each sweet
> Wherewith the seasonable month endows
> The grass, the thicket, and the fruit-tree wild;
> White hawthorn, and the pastoral eglantine;
> Fast fading violets cover'd up in leaves;
> And mid-May's eldest child,
> The coming musk-rose, full of dewy wine,
> The murmurous haunt of flies on summer eves.' [3]

This is indeed exquisite, but its value is, to employ

[1] Chaucer, *Franklin's Tale.*
[2] Palgrave, p. 123.
[3] Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale.*

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Mr. Matthew Arnold's phrase, resident in its natural magic of expression; the beauty of the passage lies in its verbal felicity in rendering a lovely scene; it possesses beyond that no mind-compelling power; there is not to be found in this landscape any presence that disturbs the poet with the joy of elevated thoughts. It is no doubt true that foreground landscape less sublime is less suggestive than that which takes in sea and sky and mountain, but to Wordsworth even the daisy at his feet can minister in spiritual things, and the meanest flower that breathes brings thoughts that lie too deep for tears. The future will challenge many poetic reputations, the inexorable wheels of time grind to powder many names and famous. Of the work of a poet even like Tennyson it is safe to say that much is doomed, but for Wordsworth the future can only bring additional triumphs—indisputably the most original poet since Shakespeare; and, as Mr. Palgrave truly says, 'the more than Claude—the absolute Master of Landscape in Poetry.'[1]

But before touching upon the Wordsworthian treatment of Nature in poetry, a word or two must be said of his predecessors who have any claim to rank with him as interpreters of the spiritual or emotional significance of natural scenery. It ought always to be remembered to the honour of Gray that in an age careless or contemptuous of beauty in landscape other than that produced by the art of the gardener, he not only felt, but in defiance of popular taste dared to express, the delight he experienced during his mountain travels. Take this from his journal:—

'Behind you are the magnificent heights of Walla-Crag; opposite lie the thick hanging woods of Lord Egremont, and Newland valley, with green and smiling fields embosomed in the dark cliffs; to the left the jaws of Borrodale, with that turbulent chaos of mountain beyond mountain rolled in confusion; beneath you, and stretching far away to the right, the shining purity of the Lake, just ruffled by the breeze.'

Or take this:

'In the evening walked alone down to the Lake by the side of Crow Park after sunset, and saw the solemn colouring of night draw on, the last gleam of sunshine fading away on the hill-tops, the deep serene of the waters, and the long shadows of the mountains thrown across them, till they nearly touched the hithermost shore. At distance heard the murmur of many waterfalls not audible in the day time. Wished for the Moon, but she was dark to me and silent, *hid in her vacant interlunar cave.*'[2]

It may be said that there is nothing very remarkable in

[1] Palgrave, p. 243. [2] Gray's *Works*, i. 258.

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these passages, and indeed there is only one thing remarkable about them, that nothing of the kind had ever been written before, as far as the records of the literature of Europe can inform us. Gray discovered, and discovered apparently without any hint from without, the picturesque in what had for centuries been looked upon as repulsive wildness, the sublime in what had been regarded as only terrible or appalling, and the suggestive in what had seemed mere elemental chaos. The feelings of Addison in the Alps were of an entirely different order. 'My head,' he wrote in one of his letters home, 'is still giddy with mountains and precipices; and you cannot imagine how much I am pleased with the sight of a plain!'

With the triumph of Romanticism in English poetry Nature not only re-entered, but she took a larger share than she had ever before occupied of the poet's attention. If Scott and Byron be taken as representatives of the early Romantic revolt against the poetry of the Augustan age, it ought to be noticed that they express in their descriptions two different sides of the new movement; belong, it may be said, to different wings of the victorious army. With Scott mediæval and chivalric subjects were treated in a frank objective fashion, and his method in landscape is that of the artist whose desire is merely to present the scene in its broad and general features. To Byron Nature was more of an arousing power; he could paint her as Scott painted her, in splendid bold strokes, but he mingled with his descriptions something of the feeling which they inspired. Byron came nearer the Wordsworthian attitude, and we have often felt that there are some of his passages which Wordsworth might well have written, and be glad to have written. Here, for example, are lines which have the accent with which we are familiar:

'The world is all before me; but I ask
Of Nature that with which she will comply—
It is but in her summer sun to bask,
To mingle with the quiet of her sky,
To see her gentle face without a mask,
And never gaze on it with apathy.'[1]

But it is in the *Prisoner of Chillon* that the most Wordsworthian passages ever penned by Byron are to be found. Take these:

'But I was curious to ascend
To my barr'd windows, and *to bend*
Once more upon the mountains high
The quiet of a loving eye.'

[1] Byron, *Lines to a Sister.*

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Or take again these :

'I saw the white-wall'd distant town,
And whiter sails go skimming down ;
And then there was a little isle,
Which in my very face did smile,
The only one in view ;
A small green isle, it seem'd no more,
Scarce broader than my dungeon floor,
But in it there were three tall trees,
And o'er it blew the mountain breeze,
And by it there were waters flowing,
And on it there were young flowers growing
Of gentle breath and hue.'[1]

These are verses not in Byron's usual manner, and must be taken as indicating the influence of Wordsworth, an influence exercised over minds of very different cast and temper from his own.

The scope of this paper renders it impossible to trace the history of landscape in poetry through the works of our later writers ; but a word or two more must be said of Wordsworth, and a word or two of Tennyson. Quite apart from the extraordinary power possessed by the former of setting forth in his verse the mingled currents of his emotion and reflection as they flowed through regions hitherto untravelled by the poet, Wordsworth's 'spiritualizing vision' transformed the objects familiar to the senses of all of us into centres of power ; sights and sounds were no longer merely sights and sounds, but revelations and whispers from an encircling spiritual universe. The Divine spoke through every phase of the great living world, it was peopled with the ministering angels of God. This conception of Nature, had it been merely set forth as an intellectual dogma, might have been challenged as unreal ; Wordsworth's power lies here, that it was so real to him that he makes us *feel* its truth. It is not an intellectual assent we render him, we feel that he has reached the heart of things, that beside this there is no other interpretation of Nature that can stand. 'Like his great contemporary in painting, Turner, what he gives is never the *copy*, always the *idea* of his object,'[2] and thus it is not merely the form and colour of external things that he notes, but beyond this reveals

'The presences of Nature in the sky
And on the earth ; the visions of the hills
And souls of lonely places.'[3]

[1] Byron, *Prisoner of Chillon*, lines 339-350.
[2] Palgrave, p. 235.
[3] Wordsworth, *Excursion*.

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But if Wordsworth is the prophet of the inner spirit and significance of Nature 'general and operative,' Tennyson is the devoted student of the details of English landscape. He never attained, indeed, the spiritual elevation, the penetrating power of Wordsworth, nor did his imagination ever soar to the dramatic presentation of such a scene as this from Browning, where the guilty lovers seek shelter in the forest :—

> 'Buried in woods we lay . . .
> Swift ran the searching tempest overhead ;
> And ever and anon some bright white shaft
> Burned thro' the pine-tree roof, here burned and there,
> As if God's messenger thro' the close wood screen
> Plunged and replunged his weapon at a venture,
> Feeling for guilty thee and me ; then broke
> The thunder like a whole sea overhead.'[1]

But Tennyson has endeared himself to his readers by the loving accuracy, the delicate exactness of his rendering of so many English scenes. His skill is the skill of the artist who is a trained scientific observer. Without doubt, the gracious beauty of many a vignette, the subtle sweetness of many of his Nature-rendering phrases, coupled with the truthfulness born of his unwearied attention to the *minutiæ* of natural facts, ensure for Tennyson a high place among the poets who have found inspiration in Nature. Single lines like the following best perhaps display his power :

> 'The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls.'
>
> 'The long, low dune, and lazy-plunging sea.'
>
> 'Little breezes dusk and shiver.'
>
> —'the daisy close
> Her crimson fringes to the shower.'
>
> —'the silvery gossamers
> That twinkle into green and gold.'
>
> —the yew 'answering now my random stroke
> With fruitful cloud and living smoke.'

Such lines display the intimacy with natural facts which renders Tennyson's descriptions of Nature more trustworthy than those of almost any other poet. In conclusion, it may be said that Mr. Palgrave's book is a brilliant and successful attempt to deal with a subject at once difficult and fascinating. It is not too much to say that it ranks easily first among works of the kind : indeed we do not know that there exists anything at all comparable to it. We are inclined

[1] Browning, *Pippa Passes.*

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to believe that it is one of the few books of interpretative criticism which will stand the test of time, affording as it does delight as a garden of pleasance no less than interest as an admirable piece of appreciative literary criticism.

ART. XII.—THE ATTEMPTED VINDICATION OF THE BULL 'APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.'

A Vindication of the Bull Apostolicæ Curæ. A Letter on Anglican Orders by the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Wesminster in Reply to the Letter addressed to them by the Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and York. (London, 1898.)

To the above Letter the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have briefly replied in the columns of the *Times* (March 13). The reply was perfectly courteous, but not of such a nature as to invite a rejoinder. The world will therefore be deprived of the amusing spectacle of a pitched battle of bishops. But though the controversy is at an end, the *Vindication* of the Roman Catholic prelates remains for our study, as showing us what manner of leaders the invading army which promises to expel us from our churches possesses, and what are the watchwords under which they fight.

The first thing we discover is that, whether from a general depression of the spiritual position of Rome, or from something peculiarly disquieting about the reception of the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, the time has actually arrived when Rome has to argue in defence of a decision. Time was when *Roma locuta est* was the end of a cause. There were two powers which were above noticing objectors—Rome and the *Times*. But the heads of the Roman community in England, with a Cardinal to lead them, have been so much mixed up from the first with the trial of our Anglican Orders, they are so near the throne, and utter their *Vindication* with so oracular an authority, that we must ascribe to their reply an official, or at the very least a semi-official, character. Even if their work had been convincing, there would have been something beneath the old Roman dignity in the issue of it. When did such a document issue in the Jansenist disputes?

Next, we are astounded at the want of dignity—official and even personal—displayed by the authors in saying upon their title-page that the letter of the two Archbishops was

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addressed to them. That letter was addressed to the whole body of bishops of the Catholic Church. Of course they are bishops; but they know quite well that the Archbishops believe them to be in schism, and whether a bishop in schism can be called a bishop of the Catholic Church is extremely doubtful. They, it is true, believe themselves to be the only true bishops of the Catholic Church in England. But ought not the addresses of letters to be taken in the intention of the people who address them? What if a gentleman who knows himself to be very unwelcome at a house were to avail himself of some public invitation, and address the host on his arrival with the words 'Well, you invited every one, so here I am'? It is not fair in a Cardinal to suggest to us the profane thought of Mr. Toots inditing a letter to himself from the Duke of Wellington.

We accept, as matter of course, from the Vindicators and from his Holiness the assurance that one chief cause of his action was the representation of certain Englishmen who voluntarily approached him with a request for a new inquiry into the validity of the Orders of their Church. But a quotation is given from a letter of the Pope to the Archbishop of Paris which contains an imputation so deeply touching the honour of these countrymen of ours that the Cardinal and his brethren, who are themselves Englishmen, ought never to have placed it in their pages without an explanation that the Pope must have been mistaken in the meaning which he gave to the request. Our countrymen, loyal and true as we all know, requested the new inquiry—if they did request it—in the hope of justifying to the Roman Catholic world Orders of which they themselves had no doubt, and so promoting peace. But the Pope says that they 'appeared to be inquiring of us in the spirit of sincerity what was the truth about their Ordinations, but received this same truth, when we had declared it to them before God, in a very different spirit.' If, as we doubt not is the case, his Holiness was so used to be consulted as an absolute judge that he could not conceive anyone asking him a question without a pledge to bow to his decision, the Vindicators ought to have known how the case really stood, and abstained from propagating an absolute charge of insincerity against gentlemen like themselves.

But while we willingly accept his Holiness's assurance of the effect which this request produced on him, we are astonished that an authority which ought to know if any can know, how to conduct business should have accepted

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individuals without any credentials as his authority for setting on foot an inquiry which touched a very large body. However little he might think of the English episcopate, he must have known that it existed, and claimed the place which bishops have always claimed in the Church. No general would negotiate with the privates of an army opposed to him, even if it were a revolutionary one. Or if in some moment of forgetfulness he did so, he could certainly not mention their proceedings as sufficient excuse to the enemy's generals when they came to hear of his decision on the negotiation. And if the Pope did not of himself perceive the insufficiency of these Anglican representations as a ground for his action, his advisers in England ought to have warned him how small a way they would go towards presenting his interference to the body of the English Church and people in any other light than that of an unsought and unauthorized attack.

But the most wonderful thing is that, while a few strangers from England succeeded so easily in drawing an authority whose dignity has sometimes seemed to require almost interminable delays, the decision which they obtained should never have been asked for by English Roman Catholics, or given by a chief pastor careful of the necessary guidance of his flock. There was, as everybody knew, something considerable to be said for the validity of Anglican Orders; and it is admitted that the infallible decisions against them which, it seems, had been long since given had faded from the general memory. Newman, Manning, and many other Anglicans who went to Rome died without infallible certainty that they and the prelates who re-ordained them were not guilty of the sore offence to God of denying a grace truly given. So well informed a writer as Canon Estcourt, whose work is recommended for perusal in this *Vindication*, did not believe that the matter had been infallibly decided. Yet the infallible judge was not moved to decide it. We perceive by this how little the necessity for infallible guidance, which Roman Catholics so constantly urge, is felt in fact, and any way how little they themselves can be said to possess it. Here has been infallible guidance upon a matter in which the salvation of souls may well be involved, stored up in the pigeon-holes of the Roman archives, but unknown to those whom it most concerns; while all the time these persons are quite comfortable, and never would have known of the guidance provided for them if it had not been asked for by certain who did not want it for themselves.

When we come to the argument of the *Vindication*, we

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are met at once by an enormous assumption. The Pope we are told never dreamt of opening an inquiry into such doctrines as those of the Sacrifice and the Priesthood. Nobody asked him to do so. But it is quite a different thing to inquire how far these doctrines furnish the principles for deciding the validity of an Ordinal. And this question he was bound to face in order to give his judgment any value. Who would ever have taken the slightest interest in his decision if it had been known that all Roman doctrine upon the Holy Eucharist, the Sacrifice, and the Priesthood was to be assumed not only as true but as needful to be implied in an Ordinal? It was known that in the case of baptism no corresponding demand was made; also that many forms of ordination had been acknowledged as valid which contained no mention or implication of these doctrines; also that they were wholly absent from the earlier forms of the Roman Ordinal itself, which could not be condemned as insufficient without cutting off the succession. It was supposed that the English Ordinal would be treated on the same large terms. On the contrary, we find it laid down as something perfectly reasonable to expect that in trying an Ordinal strict regard must be had to the opinions of its authors upon the four connected doctrines of the Real Presence, the Sacrifice, the Priesthood, and the Ordinal. It is assumed as a matter of course not only that the Roman Church has a perfect right to introduce her own doctrine upon these points into her Ordinal, but that it is unreasonable to expect her to justify any Ordinal which does not contain them.

On the contrary the statement of these extraneous doctrines is irrelevant. But at least we might have expected that what is said about them would be reasonable and true. But we have not proceeded far until we find cause to discount very largely the pædagogic air of semi-infallibility with which our poor prelates are instructed. For instance:

'Our theologians also speak of this Presence at times as a "spiritual" presence, not using the term "spiritual" in the sense in which the "spirit" is opposed to the "letter," or the thing "signified" to its sign, but meaning to denote by it that the Body of Christ, although in itself a body not a spirit, enjoys nevertheless a mode of existence natural not to a body but to a spirit—that mode of existence in fact which, according to St. Paul, is granted to a risen body (1 Cor. xv. 44), and delivers it from many of the limitations to which a material body is naturally subject' (p. 24).

We pray the thoughtful reader to consider whether the explanation of a spiritual body as meaning a body which,

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though not a spirit, enjoys a mode of existence natural not to a body but to a spirit, can be made to agree with our Lord's description of His own risen body; 'Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have' (St. Luke xxiv. 39); or with His invitation to St. Thomas to thrust his hand into His sacred side (St. John xx. 27); or with St. Paul's illustrations of the difference between the natural and spiritual as corresponding to that between the seed sown and the seed grown, or between star and star (1 Cor. xv. 37–42). We shall also request him carefully to consider whether the deliverance from certain limitations which Holy Scripture ascribes to the spiritual body promised to us in our risen state, and exemplified in the risen Body of the Lord, does anything whatever in the minutest degree to help us towards the conception of a body existing without its accidents, or the substance of one body existing with accidents of another. Lastly and chiefly, we request him to consider whether those who imagine they help themselves to a belief in transubstantiation by remembering the spiritual nature of the Lord's glorified body do not cut themselves off from using for the doctrine of the Sacrament any of the words or any of the actions which are recorded in the history of its Institution; seeing that the whole of this history occurred while the Lord was in the body which belonged to Him before death, and not in His risen body at all. And when these things have been duly considered, we next ask the reader to decide what sort of theologians these are who penned the sentences above quoted.

Cardinal Newman, we are aware, suggested the use in Eucharistic discussion of the freedom of the spiritual body.[1] We think he was wrong in doing so. But he was an Anglican at the time, and the use which he made of the argument was not at all that of the *Vindication.* Again:

'The words' (of Institution) 'declare, not that the Body and Blood of Christ are present within or beneath or by the side of the bread and wine, but that the things present before the consecrator are *themselves* the Body and Blood of Christ under the appearance of bread and wine. Now, as before the words were spoken the things present were unquestionably mere bread and wine, and as they cannot be at one and the same time both bread and wine and also the Body and Blood of Christ, they can become the latter only by a change of the former into the latter, which change, since it is a change of one substance into another, the accidents or sensible qualities remaining unaffected, is appropriately designated "transubstantiation"' (p. 28).

[1] The *Via Media*, ii. 228.

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We perfectly agree that the words of Institution do not declare the Body of Christ present within or beneath or by the side of the bread and wine. But just as little do they declare them present under the appearance of bread and wine. The authors say that before the words were spoken the things present were unquestionably mere bread and wine. We do not know how they come to be so sure. In many liturgies there is an Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements before the words of Institution are spoken, as in our own ever to be lamented First Prayer Book of Edward VI. In many others there would seem to be a consecration presumed as effected, or at least begun, by the mere bringing of the elements to the altar, since adoration is paid to them at that early stage. And we can perfectly understand that this should be felt needful, because the form of the sentence, 'This is my Body' is not that which by any usage of language effects a change. A revelation can be made to us in language only on the supposition that language is used according to its recognized meaning, and this sentence means that 'This' is the same to the end of the sentence as it was in the beginning. We do not say that that disproves transubstantiation, which might as conceivably take place before the words of Institution as during their utterance. And in the history of the first Eucharist we should most naturally suppose the change, whatever it was, to have occurred through the Lord's previously blessing the elements, so that 'This is my Body' and 'This is my Blood' should be true, according to the plain use of language, from beginning to end. But the words which we have quoted from the Vindicators exclude this interpretation of what happened; and in our opinion they are very rash in doing so.

But when they proceed to require us, as if it was an obvious matter of course, to believe that because there is a change and it is not a change in the accidents, it is therefore a change of one substance into another, they make a demand which by the very constitution of our minds we are unable to render. How can we argue about substance when we are cut off by the essential conditions of human nature from getting at substance or knowing what it is?

Cardinal Newman somewhere declares that as substance is unknowable to us, he cannot refuse to accept the teaching of the Church on a subject of which he can himself know nothing. Such a method of regarding the question renders the treatment of it which the authors offer us wholly out of place. If we have not knowledge enough of substance to

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question the teaching of the Church, how can we argue that bread and wine become the Body and Blood by the change of the substance of the former to that of the latter; especially when we confess the latter to be existing, not after the mode natural to a body, but to a spirit? Our ignorance of substance would deprive even our acceptance of transubstantiation of any practical effect. We do not sufficiently know what is meant by a change of substance, or what the effect of it would be, to be sure that it would fulfil the Lord's declaration or convey to us the blessing of the sacrament. But it has always seemed to us that Cardinal Newman's argument was subject to a still more obvious objection. If substance is unknown to him, how did it become known to the Church authority which defined transubstantiation? Whatever be the gift of teaching which God has given to the Church, it is limited by the conditions of humanity, and is such as can be exercised by men without ceasing to be men. To know substance we must cease to be limited by human powers. And this was as true of the Fourth Vatican Council as it is of us. Whence, then, came the knowledge?

Our belief in the Real Presence is most fervent. We do not find it possible to think that our Lord so solemnly commanded, or that His Apostles, and His Church after them, so solemnly recorded and practised a thing merely parabolic and unreal. Our faith in the words 'This is my Body' stands parallel to the faith with which we accept the belief that St. Mary was the Mother of God (meaning thereby that He was as truly God at His birth as when St. Thomas called Him so after His resurrection) or the belief which St. Peter expressed for us by the words 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.' In the ascription of the name of God to a little child, or to one standing before us in a body which is presently to suffer and die, we must acknowledge that if we were to allow ourselves to analyse in idea His Incarnate Person, we should find a frame so material and mortal, that we should be obliged to say that it was unquestionably not God, just as some say that the accidents are unquestionably not His body. But the Church refuses—and blessed be she for doing so—to allow us to enter into any such distinctions: to say, for instance, that Mary was the Mother of Him who was God. The whole subject is a mystery connected with the supernatural world as well as the natural, and we may not submit it to tests taken from the natural alone. To our minds the process of reasoning which leads to transubstantiation is so rationalistic that if it had been

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allowed in regard to our Lord's Person it would have led to heresy.

Nobody ever imagined that transubstantiation, in the words of the *Vindication* (p. 28), was 'founded on a philosophical theory.' But it cannot be denied that it was founded on an exposition of the words of the Institution couched in the terms of a philosophical theory now exploded, which used the terms 'substance' and 'accidents' which are now unused. The primitive and early mediæval Church had ever held the doctrine of the Real Presence without a physical explanation, and had repeated in faith 'This is my Body' just as she had repeated to the Incarnate Saviour the words 'Thou art my God.'

The authors proceed: 'So then, whilst not denying that the Lord might, had He so wished, have instituted the Sacrament in such manner that the bread and wine and the Body and Blood should be present concomitantly, we deny emphatically that the character of the words of Institution permits us to believe that He did' (p. 28). Now they allow in a passage previously quoted, that the Presence of the Lord's Body and Blood is spiritual. We have then two possible interpretations of the words of Institution from which to select. Both involve concomitance. In the one case it is concomitance of the substance of our Lord's Body and Blood with the accidents of bread and wine; the other is the spiritual concomitance of the Lord's Body and Blood with the bread and wine in their natural completeness. Both, we must allow, involve a certain explanation put upon the words of Institution which would not be necessary if we were dealing with simple natural objects. For the one says 'This is my Body and Blood' when part of what is included in the word 'this' consists of accidents which are not naturally capable of being his Body and Blood; while in the other case, the same word 'this' includes the bread and wine with the holy things which are in some ineffable way united with them. We prefer the latter exposition; we believe it to have the longer and more primitive Church authority for it; and it does not oblige us to enter upon the question of the composition of matter, far less to give an interpretation of it, which it is beyond the range of human faculties to comprehend. The stress laid upon the material aspect of the Presence leads the minds of Roman Catholics to a painfully human and physical view of it and of Him. So that the presence of His soul and Divinity comes in, according to them, only through their connexion with His Body and Blood, 'since in the living Christ soul and body are inseparable.' With us the Divinity of the

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Saviour is the commanding power which rules all. It is not reached through His Body and Blood, but immediately and from the first. So that in considering the mystery of Holy Communion we have the help to faith which is afforded by the remembrance that to the Divine nature of Him with whom we have to do, all things are possible.

The authors observe that most Protestants in employing the word 'transubstantiation' 'have usually in mind the doctrine of a Real Presence wrought by the words of the priest, not the doctrine that it is wrought through a conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ (p. 29).' We hardly think that to be the case. But if they had put it the other way, and said that many Protestants have used the term 'Real Presence' when they meant transubstantiation, we should have regretfully allowed that to be true. When a bold and unmeasured theory, couched in terms which express it with unflinching force, gains possession of the field, it rules like a tyranny in the State: the mass, including many good quiet people, submit, and moderate men who are less complying, but would be friends to a true government, are driven to associate themselves with revolutionaries. Thus Calvinism has taken such strong possession of the terms 'predestination' and 'election' that few can use these Scriptural words with any earnest approval, unless they be of those who go with Calvin. In like manner many of our writers of the sixteenth century renounce the term 'Real Presence,' when in truth what they mean to refuse is but transubstantiation.

Perhaps it would also be true to say that Roman Catholic theologians do not overmuch desire to thrust forward the word 'transubstantiation.' If this be not allowed, we shall not argue the point. But of this we are clear, that they ought to be chary of using the term. It is one which even at the time when it was imposed was liable to materialistic meanings of an appalling kind.[1] We hold it to be impossible for the ordinary mind to attach any other meaning to the terms 'accident' and 'substance' than this: that the accidents are the outside of matter, and substance the inside. And this becomes more and more the case as the words 'substance' and 'substantial' come to be used more and more as the most emphatic words which can be applied to denote what is solid and material. How can an ordinary person understand 'a man of substance' to mean a man of much worldly wealth, or 'a substantial figure' to mean one which is fat, and then use the terms in theology to denote something which has neither

[1] See Canon Gore's *Three Dissertations*, 1895, No. 3.

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weight nor solidity? Accordingly, the supposed miracles which have been taken to prove transubstantiation—such as that of Bolsena pictured by Raffaelle in the very Vatican, or that which the Curé d'Ars records, when the Host leaped from his hands to the mouth of a recipient—are really no proofs of transubstantiation in the genuine sense, but only of circumstances affecting the accidents.

Meanwhile the doctrine loses to the Church of Rome multitudes of the ablest minds in Europe. The late M. Taine—no scoffer, but a writer perfectly acquainted with the admirable merits of the French Church, and most generous in owning them—declares that she has lost her hold on the nation because of her internecine war with science, of which the two doctrines of Papal Infallibility and Transubstantiation are the patent instances.[1] If indeed it could be urged that these dogmas concerned things belonging to the supernatural world, we should behold the loss of such men with sorrow, but with no blame to the Church. But it is not so. These dogmas concern the natural world; a change in the substance of the material things bread and wine comes within the domain of physical science. The arguments above quoted from this pamphlet are physical arguments, though alas! very weak and unscientific. 'They can become the latter only by a change of the former into the latter, which change, since it is a change of one substance into another, the accidents or sensible qualities remaining unaffected, is appropriately designated "transubstantiation"' (p. 28). This is an entirely physical statement, and the principles which it assumes are fairly and justly liable to examination at the bar of physical science.

It is this doctrine of transubstantiation which the authors bind in such close union with the doctrine of the priesthood that no Church which questions it can expect an acknowledgment of its Orders by the Pope. We naturally rejoin that no such acknowledgment appears in the New Testament, and we press the authority of the New Testament upon writers who declare that

'a bishop in transmitting his gift to others must use a rite instituted by Our Lord Himself. He must do this because none but Our Lord Himself could annex to a sacramental rite the power of communicating gifts so stupendous, and it was His good pleasure to institute each one of the Sacraments Himself, during His earthly life, by assigning to each the rite which, as a condition of valid administration, must always be observed' (p. 30).

Now, we are instructed by the Council of Trent that the

[1] *Origines de la France contemporaine*, ii. 142.

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words *Do this in remembrance of me*, formed the rite by which the priesthood was conferred on the Apostles. Strange to say, if the Church wished to follow Christ, these words of His are not used in conferring the priesthood according to the Roman form! To Roman Catholics, it seems, this is not of consequence. It is not from the New Testament that we are to learn what He did and what He prescribed: 'Our knowledge of what our Lord instituted and prescribed in regard to the Sacraments is derived from the unfailing tradition of the Catholic Church' (*ib.*)

The few sayings of our Lord which remain on record from sources external to the Gospels have been frequently gathered together, but they contain nothing applicable to this occasion. What the *Vindication*, then, requires us to believe is that the Roman Church has authentic information of the Lord's words and acts in the Institution of the Priest which have come down unwritten for near two thousand years, not indeed to be used in the Roman Ordinal itself, but to be applied as tests to any other methods of ordination which may demand recognition.

The Roman Catholic writers in the late controversy upon Anglican Orders habitually misquote the Council of Trent as placing the whole essence of the priesthood in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; whereas the Council names the power of remitting sins as a co-ordinate power of that office.[1] But the authors of the present *Vindication* exceed the rest in confidence.

'The priest may have other powers annexed to his office, as the power of forgiving sins. . . . But these other powers and duties are superadded and consequent. They are very suitably annexed to the priesthood, but they are not of its essence. The priest would not have been less a priest if they had been withheld from him, nor is he more a priest because our Lord has thought fit to communicate them to him. He is a priest solely because he has the office and power of effecting the Real Objective Presence on the altar of the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and thereby offering Him up in sacrifice' (p. 27).

We know not how the authors of these words are to defend themselves against the anathema which the Council pronounces on those who maintain that the bishop says in vain the words 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,' or that by them a character is not imposed.[2] These words, it is true, are not used in the Roman Ordinal until long after the delivery of the instruments and the admission of the ordained to join in cele-

[1] Sess. xxiii. cap. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* Sess. xxiii. can. 3.

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brating the Eucharist. But if words by which the sacerdotal character is imposed are words which in the Lord's mouth and in the bishop's accompany the conferring a power which is not of the essence of the priesthood, a strange confusion appears to envelop the whole subject.

When they contradict their own authorities, we cannot complain that they contradict the undoubted history of our Ordinal. 'The Anglican rite for Holy Orders was . . . set up in opposition to the Catholic rite, with the express object of rejecting that kind of priesthood for the conveyance of which the Catholic rite was instituted' (p. 35). 'How can any of these prayers be thought to designate the priesthood and the episcopate in the Catholic sense when it is notorious that this is just the meaning which the compilers were studious to exclude from the entire service?' (p. 39). An eminent scholar of our acquaintance declares that when he reads that anything is notorious and undeniable, he knows that it cannot be proved. It is known to all who take any trouble to investigate—which is a better sign of truth than being notorious—that a Lutheran draft was presented by Bucer for the Anglican Ordinal, and was altered by the committee in charge of the business so as distinctly to name the three orders, and make the intention to continue them in the Church as clear as words could make it, and to express the gift of the grace of Order in each case far more distinctly than the Pontifical expresses it. Whether this was done from principle on the part of Cranmer and his fellows, or from the desire to make the new Ordinal acceptable, or render it sufficient to satisfy, as in fact it did satisfy, the convictions of the conservative bishops; or whether, as is probable, both causes operated, does not matter. In any case the supposition that the intention was to exclude the kind of priesthood which the Catholic Church intends is false. The 'notorious fact' is running the usual course, which the Nag's Head story and its various successors have taken each in its day, from being a notorious fact to being a notorious fiction.

The authors proclaim a strict partnership between the four doctrines of Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice, the Priesthood, and the Ordinal: a powerful syndicate for the purpose of keeping church work in its own hands. But with the extension of power to exclude us comes also the extension of liabilities to objection on so many sides. And do they really feel that their own formularies and those of the other Churches whose orders they recognize, can endure examination upon all these points and fail in none? What of the liturgies which

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in offering the Sacrifice pray for such grace upon it in token of acceptance as may make it the Body and Blood of the Lord? What of the liturgies which, like the Roman Mass itself, speak of the elements after they have become the Body and Blood of Christ as 'hæc semper bona'? The Ordinals which they quote in their Appendix specify the Orders to which intention is to be directed in less distinct terms, and in more carefully moderated language, than our Ordinal; only that the definite statement is, forsooth, in our Ordinal too far separated from the ordination to be morally united. The prayer that God would behold his servants called to the office of priesthood (or episcopate) is not sufficient to indicate what the subsequent imposition of hands with its accompanying words is expected to do, because a pretty long examination of the fitness of the candidate is interposed! (p. 40). If 'Catholic principles of judgment' lead to such a contention as that, they are not the principles of judgment which common sense or common faith in God's willingness to keep in mind a plain prayer for a brief period would exercise. And unless students are freed from all necessity to examine records by the belief that the 'unfailing tradition' of the Church tells us all that is in them without any search at all, the Fathers and the formularies of various Churches and ages will make the building of this quadrilateral of necessary doctrines both difficult and insecure.

Some of the doctrinal statements which the authors have picked out from Anglican writers are, we acknowledge, extremely defective in expressing the inward part of the Blessed Sacrament. But when they are used to throw doubt upon the validity of our Ordination, we remember only one patristic authority which argues such a question in such a way. In the appendix to the works of St. Cyprian [1] will be found the sentence of the eighty-seven bishops assembled in council by that saint to discuss the question of rebaptizing heretics. They were unanimous in pronouncing against the baptism administered by such persons. They speak with the most absolute certainty, and the universal reason given in one form or another by every one is that heretics have not the faith of the Church, and their baptism must therefore be wrong. The sentence of Cæcilius of Biltha is the first recorded, and may well stand for the whole: 'I know that there is one baptism in the Church alone, and outside the Church none. This is the only one in which there is true faith and sure hope; for thus it is written, one faith, one hope, one baptism; not among

[1] Ed. Hartel, Vindob. 1868, p. 436.

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the heretics, where there is no hope, and where the faith is false,' &c.; and so to the end, when Cyprian wound up the judgment in the same sense as the rest. The reasons given are, we must say, more plausible by far than those which have been used to condemn our Orders. Yet we know that the judgment has been reversed by the general agreement of the Church, the Pope of the time leading the way.

The Church at that time was not confident enough to confine the action of the Holy Ghost within the limits of her communion, or apply to it the tests which pleased her. She had an awful sense that the work of God might be larger than her dominion. Moreover she believed that God's way was rather to be generous of His gifts and call men to account for the use they made of them than to refuse them to those who desired to receive them, because they may be wrong in other points, or even because they make a wrong use of the very gifts which He gives them. We, to be sure, are heretics in the view of Rome, but she treats us, not as Pope Stephen treated the heretics of his time, but after the erroneous example of St. Cyprian.

Foreign Roman Catholics entertain, we believe, a most exaggerated notion of the progress which the Roman faith has made among us. The Lenten Pastoral, for the present year, of the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims,[1] dwelt for the comfort of his people on the contrast between the success of the Roman propaganda in (so-called) Protestant lands, and the atheism which rules in France and Italy. If his Eminence were an Englishman he might perhaps know how little idea there is among us of going to Canossa. But, waiving this, it takes away one's breath to hear that the religion which, at the Reformation, sacrificed the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon races to retain the Latin, is, after all, to fail among the latter and regain the former. One would think at least that if this wonder is to happen there would be some concessions to the Northern races, such as were refused in the sixteenth century. No such thing. The Roman religion, in order to regain the English, is to become more Roman.

For our part, however, looking to our work in England, we should be sorry that the recognition of our Orders by Rome were purchased by our recognition of the principles which appear in this *Vindication*. The prelates who propound them are the leaders in the difficult task of recalling to the Roman obedience the English nation: a nation, God knows, which has many defects, yet a noble one, if nobly

[1] See *The Tablet* of March 26.

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approached. It uses its reason ruthlessly, and applies very practical tests to spiritual pretensions; but it has a deep sense of religion, and loves established order in the Church as in the State, and it has never shown itself sceptical of the sacred calling of its clergy if supported by devoted work. And what is the one absolutely necessary idea which Roman priests are to have of their commission for work among such people? The idea that they have the power to make the Body and Blood of the Lord present on the altar and to sacrifice Him to God, for benefits most difficult to make intelligible to those who believe that they already possess a sacrifice, one perfect and sufficient. The duty and commission of quieting consciences and instructing intellects are, it seems, very fitting supplementary powers and employments; but the great thought with which the Church sends out the priest is that of the greatness of his own office and its miracle-working power. It was not the commission which the Lord gave His first Apostles, nor yet that in which St. Paul glories so confidently, yet so humbly. We know that there are some whom lofty assumption and positive self-confidence attract. But let them go. They are no representatives of the mind of England. It is not for us to say whether the authors of this *Vindication* are the men to effect their mighty task; it will be less invidious for us to declare that the ultra-sacerdotal gospel which they bring is not that which will ever attract more than a small proportion of our race. And we prefer the commission couched in the words of our Lord Himself, which sends us forth to remit sins in His name, and to be faithful dispensers of His Word and Sacraments.

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SHORT NOTICES.

The Polychrome Bible. The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments. A new English Translation with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations. Prepared by Eminent Biblical Scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, by PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Part VII. *The Book of Judges.* A new English Translation printed in Colors, exhibiting the Composite Structure of the Book, with Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. G. F. MOORE, D.D., Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. Part X. *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah.* A new English Translation, printed in Colors, exhibiting the Composite Structure of the Book. With Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester. Part XIV. *The Book of Psalms.* A new English Translation, with Explanatory Notes and an Appendix on the Music of the Ancient Hebrews. By J. WELLHAUSEN, D.D., Professor in the University of Göttingen. English Translation of the Psalms by HORACE HOWARD FURNESS. English Translation of the Notes by JOHN TAYLOR. English Translation of the Appendix by J. A. PATERSON. (London: James Clarke and Co.; New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1898.)

GOOD paper, excellent printing, and interesting illustrations combine, in spite of somewhat ugly covers, to make the three parts already published of the *Polychrome Bible* attractive to the eye. And the names of the general editor and of the editors of the different parts show that much painstaking and laborious study has preceded the present publication.

The design of the work is to show by means of different colours the results of the most advanced 'higher criticism,' and to illustrate the text by very brief notes. It is parallel to the critical edition of the Hebrew text which is being published in Leipzig, Baltimore, and London, under the general editorship of Professor Haupt, entitled *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.* Thus, in the Book of Isaiah

'light blue . . . is used to indicate passages written (at any rate in the main) as well as inserted by the redactor or editor . . . of the Book of Isaiah (without distinction of first or second editors). . . . Light red . . . is used for prophetic or poetic passages written neither by Isaiah nor by the second Isaiah . . . nor by the editors. Dark purple indicates the poems in which the "Servant of JHVH" . . . is referred to, while light purple . . . is used for certain passages . . . written in imitation of those original poems. . . . The original prophecies of the second Isaiah (cc. 40–48) have been printed in dark red. In cc. 36–39 . . . on the other hand, dark red is used to distinguish the second narrative . . . from the first narrative . . . the latter being printed in dark blue. Dark

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blue is also used for the links connecting the songs on the Servant with the prophetic framework . . . as well as for the Oracle on Tyre in c. 23, where some later prophetic writer (of course not the author of the first narrative . . . or the inserter of the Songs on the Servant) seems to have made use of some slight fragments of Isaiah. It is hardly necessary to add that the author of the second narrative . . . is not identical with the second Isaiah' (Part X. pp. 131–32).

The part containing the Psalms is not 'polychrome.' The reason may be gathered from a statement of the editor, Professor Wellhausen:

'The Psalter is a part of the Hagiographa. It is the Hymn Book of the Second Temple. The titles of the Psalms presuppose the musical service described in the Book of Chronicles, and the *David* of these titles is the David of the Chronicler. With these facts before us, it is not a question whether there be any post-Exilic Psalms, but rather, whether the Psalms contain any poems written before the Exile. The strong family likeness which runs through the Psalms forbids our distributing them among periods of Israelitish history widely separated in time and fundamentally unlike in character. The so-called *Psalms of Solomon* (63–48 B.C.) do not differ from the canonical ones in any essential characteristic, and the fact that there are such is a proof of the late date at which Jewish poets continued to write Psalms. The determination of date, therefore, so far as it is possible at all, depends entirely on the interpretation; it is now commonly recognized that the historical notices given in the titles do not contain genuine traditions' (Part XIV. p. 163).

In the Book of Judges colours are plentifully used:

'Parts derived from J are printed black, without any colored background. . . . Dark blue . . . is employed for E. . . . Light blue . . . represents later additions to E (E^2). Dark purple . . . is used for JE. . . . Light purple . . . for additions of the redactor or editor of J and E (R^{JE}), who interwove the two documents with one another. Green . . . for D, which in many cases overlies R^{JE}. Yellow . . . for the additions of the post-Exilic author or editors. Italics indicate the latest strata of the respective documents . . . especially redactional changes or additions made in the process of uniting and harmonizing different sources . . . or in adjusting the narrative to the point of view of the editor . . . or glossator . . . or under the influence of a parallel passage' (Part VII. pp. 46–47).

The Hebrew text to which we have referred has its use. It is sometimes convenient to a student to be able to see at a glance the view of a particular school of critics, and presumably anyone who reads Hebrew can weigh for himself the arguments which underlie the treatment of the text. We can see no justification for the publication of this strangely treated English text. The work simply lays down that certain results, which those who have studied the literature of the subject know to be open to the gravest critical objections, have been securely obtained, and presents a text marked to show them. It is a book intended for general perusal, and we cannot see what useful knowledge a reader who has not studied the 'higher criticism' can obtain from it, while the probable effect on many minds will be the thought that, if this is the history of the text of the Old Testament,

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the Old Testament can hardly continue to be treated with respect. And, for popular reading, we think the printing JHVH and such translations as 'Father of Spoil' (Isa. ix. 6) a little puzzling.

But perhaps we are wrong. The publication may have its use. The mind of the popular reader possesses common-sense, and is sometimes alive to the ridiculous. Those who have heard vaguely of the general results of the 'higher criticism,' as based upon great intellectual powers, and as now definitely secured, may perhaps feel a shade of suspicion as to their value when they are told that the story of Gideon is a jumble from the writings of seven different people; and that Dr. Cheyne has found out that 'the stock thereof is holy seed,' in Isaiah vi. 13, was written by a different writer from the author of the rest of the verse! Is it unnatural that the words 'Quem deus vult perdere dementat prius' have been in our minds as we have read the *Polychrome Bible*?

The Early History of the Hebrews. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford; Author of *Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotos.* (Rivingtons: London, 1897.)

In the Bampton Lectures for 1897 Mr. Ottley accepts 'many verdicts of the Higher Criticism.' He regards them as 'conclusive' and welcomes them 'with cordiality.'[1] The verdicts in question are not the conclusions, but the starting-point of his lectures. His position is 'These things being so, what is to be the attitude of the Churchman towards the Old Testament in the future?' We must not be surprised, therefore, if we find that many are ready to start where Mr. Ottley leaves off, to accept all that has satisfied Mr. Ottley as really established, although they have not read what may be said on the other side—as Mr. Ottley of course has read—by Professor Robertson in his *Early Religion of Israel*, or Mr. Baxter in his *Sanctuary and Sacrifice.* But before such eager spirits take these verdicts for granted, before they ask, as they are now doing, 'What are you going to put in place of the Higher Critical results?' it would be well for them to give a patient and attentive hearing to such a serious impeachment of the literary critics as Professor Sayce delivers against them in this volume, which he calls 'the first attempt to write' a history of Israel 'from a purely archæological point of view' (Pref. p. v). What a distinguished Oriental archæologist has to say may surely claim to be heard with due consideration, and the Professor does not mince matters in stating what he believes to be the drift of the vast stream which the labours of the excavators and decipherers have caused to flow.

'Over against the facts of archæology stand the subjective assumptions of a certain school, which, now that they have ceased to be predominant in the higher latitudes of scholarship [mark that assertion], are finding their way into the popular literature of the country. Between the results of Oriental archæology and those which are the logical end of the so-called "higher criticism," *no reconciliation is possible* [italics ours], and

[1] *Aspects of the Old Testament*, Preface, p. ix.

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the latter must therefore be cleared out of the way before the archæologist can begin his work' (Pref. p. vi).

For example, how can the 'literary analysis' of the Pentateuch be any longer maintained in the face of a newly discovered text of the story of the Flood inscribed in the Abrahamic age, and even then already old, and agreeing not with the Elohist or Yahvist separately, but with the supposed combination of the two documents in the Book of Genesis (see Pref. p. vii)? This is merely a fact which came to light while Professor Sayce's book was passing through the press, but it is a sample of many stubborn pieces of evidence which are produced in the chapters on the Hebrew patriarchs, the composition of the Pentateuch, the exodus out of Egypt, the conquest of Canaan, the age of the Judges, and the establishment of the monarchy. The history of the Israelites is brought down to the disruption of Solomon's kingdom, and is shown to have formed an integral part of what we have learned from recent archæological discovery to have been the history of the ancient East. There are hundreds of Churchmen who are now interested in the Old Testament question, and who are obliged to accept 'results' at secondhand, whether from literary critics or from archæologists, because they are not linguists or explorers themselves, and our point is that the conflict between the critics and the explorers is still briskly going on, and that Professor Sayce supplies numerous instances which the average man can understand to show that critical assertion is not critical proof. In fact, the antiquity and historical character of the Hebrew records are in the main vindicated, more especially as regards the Levitical legislation.

We must still depend upon the Old Testament, in the absence of archæological help, for an answer to the question, Who were the Hebrews? (p. 5). But the sacred narrative is illustrated and confirmed by archæological discoveries in many matters connected with the lives of the patriarchs, such as the battle of the kings (p. 24), the sacrifice of Isaac (p. 46), the circumstances of the age of Abraham or a still earlier period (p. 57), the name of Jacob (pp. 67–68), and the marvellously exact details of the history of Joseph (p. 87). The chapter on the composition of the Pentateuch (p. 100) contains a very compact little account of the hypothetical scheme which 'at present' is most in favour with the literary critics (pp. 100–5), and a very vigorous exposure of the theory of literary analysis and the assumption that a knowledge of writing in Israel was of comparatively late date, on which the 'huge edifice of modern Pentateuchal criticism' is based (p. 105). Professor Sayce declares that the evidence by which the literary critics support their views is 'wofully defective' and 'baseless,' on the grounds both of science and of common-sense (pp. 107–8). He claims that he has something better than the flimsy attempts of a peculiarly German pastime for the student of Holy Scripture, attempts which no one would dream of applying in the case of the novels of Besant and Rice, or the confused accounts of some of the battles in Livy (pp. 109, 308). Recent

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discoveries in the East have made it possible to compare the Bible records with contemporary monuments,

'and the result of the test has, on the whole, been in favour of tradition, and against the doctrine of the new critical school. It has vindicated the antiquity and credibility of the narratives of the Pentateuch; it has proved that the Mosaic age was a highly literary one, and that consequently the marvel would be, not that Moses should have written, but that he should not have done so; and it has undermined the foundation on which the documentary hypothesis of the origin of the Hexateuch has been built. We are still, indeed, only at the beginning of discoveries—those made during the past year or two have for the student of Genesis been exceptionally important—but enough has now been gained to assure us that the historian may safely disregard the philological theory of Hexateuchal criticism, and treat the books of the Pentateuch from a wholly different point of view' (pp. 110-11).

And the Professor goes on to give an interesting account of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, to show that 'the new-fangled theory of the composition of the Hexateuch has been decisively ruled out of court' (p. 113). The tablets show that the Mosaic age was not illiterate, and it is not so easy to set them aside as it was to declare that 'the stylus of the scribe' in Judg. v. 14 meant 'the bâton of the marshal' (p. 121). We may pass over the references to the story of the Deluge (p. 123), the recognition of an element of truth in the work of literary analysis (p. 135), and the evidence about Hebrew chronology (p. 147), in what we must regard as the most important chapter of the book. And it will not be necessary to quote further details from the later chapters, though they contain much on which we should like to comment, such as the history of Balaam (p. 231), the Book of Deuteronomy (p. 238), the history of Jerubbaal (p. 307), and the rise of the prophetic office (p. 341). It will be sufficient to say that Professor Sayce not only gives abundant reasons for patience and caution before accepting 'critical results:' he also supplies a valuable collection of the results of archæological investigation which illustrate innumerable passages of Holy Scripture. We leave his book with the hope that he may have done something to check the spirit of too hasty acceptance of the new critical assertions which seems to be abroad, and with the expectation that he will do yet more in the same direction in his forthcoming work on *Israel and the Surrounding Nations.*[1]

The Expositor's Greek Testament. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A. LL.D. Volume I. (1) 'The Synoptic Gospels,' by the Rev. Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D. (2) 'The Gospel of St. John,' by the Rev. Professor Marcus Dods, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897.)

We are sorry to confess that we are greatly disappointed with the results of our examination of this attempt to gather up the materials of New Testament study which have been accumulating during the last thirty years. Its own merits and the industrious care of the two

[1] An indicating figure is omitted in the footnote on p. 46.

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authors are not lost upon us, but it can never fill the place in the present generation which Dean Alford's commentary filled in the past, as the general editor hopes that it may succeed in filling (Pref. p. v). We hardly expected that it could so succeed when we observed that the commentators had 'been selected from various Churches,' with 'full liberty to express their own views' (*ibid.* p. vi); and our impression was not only confirmed when we examined a very large number of crucial passages, but we also experienced a growing sensation of surprise when we found how exceedingly thin the comments were upon many rich and pregnant passages of the sacred narrative. Before we give instances of some of the chief passages which forced us to our conclusion we will give some general account of the work.

Dr. Bruce, who presents to the public in this volume the fruit of long study of the Synoptical Gospels, has endeavoured 'to unite some measure of critical freedom and candour with the reverence of faith' (Pref. p. viii). It is a pity that he has been obliged to preface his part of the work with a list of about fifty errata. His introduction to the commentary consists of sections on the connexion between the first three Gospels, their 'historicity,' and the contents, characteristics, authorship, destination, and date of each. A chapter follows on the text, critical landmarks, and critical tests of readings, and a list of works consulted is useful as a bibliography. Professor Dods prefaces his commentary on St. John by an introduction upon the external and internal evidence of Johannine authorship, the object, method, and plan of the Gospel, and a brief survey of the vast literature that has grown up around it.

We will now mention a small number of typical passages with which we are dissatisfied on various grounds. They are, we regret to observe, only a sample of many other illustrations which might be given of unsatisfactory features of the work. On St. Luke i. 43; where ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου, the Scriptural equivalent of *Theotokos*, occurs, the only comment is on the use of the subjunctive mood instead of the infinitive with an article (p. 466). We are told that 'Emmanuel="with us God," implying that God's help will come through the child Jesus. It does not necessarily imply the idea of incarnation' (p. 68). There is a vague, hazy character about this comment, which appears in a more extended form in the comments on the discourses with Nicodemus (p. 711) and in the synagogue at Capernaum (p. 746). With regard to the perpetual virginity of the Mother of our Lord, 'the presumption is all the other way in the case before us (in St. Matt. i. 25). Subsequent intercourse was the natural, if not the necessary, course of things. If the Evangelist had felt as the Catholics do, he would have taken pains to prevent misunderstanding' (p. 69). And at Cana Dr. Dods says that our Lord's Mother naturally turns to 'her oldest son' (p. 703). This frank Helvidianism is, the writers would have done well to remember, confined to a very small section of Christendom, and is repugnant to very deep instincts in the minds of multitudes of Christian people, besides being, as we believe, most unscriptural. We are by no means

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satisfied with the inferences drawn from the events at our Lord's baptism as to His 'consciousness' (p. 87), or with the assertion that in the wilderness His 'fasting was spontaneous, not ascetic, due to mental preoccupation' (p. 89). The comments on the temptation as a whole do not at all reassure us. 'Under powerful spiritual constraints Jesus had taken a great leap in the dark, if one may dare say so.' 'In the fight of faith and unbelief over the supernatural element in the story all sense of the inward psychological reality may be lost,' and more to the same effect (p. 88). No opportunity seems to have been lost of exposing theology and ecclesiasticism as attempts to obscure or twist the meaning of the Scriptural narrative. The function of theology, as the means of teaching Bible truth in an unmistakable way, and the function of the Church, as the witness and keeper of Holy Writ, which are familiar to all who breathe a patristic and Church of England atmosphere, are smothered in this undenominational commentary by repeated depreciatory comments. The sense of our Lord's words to St. Peter in St. Matt. xvi. 18, 'if Christ really spoke the word, must be simple, elementary, suitable to the initial stage; withal religious and ethical rather than ecclesiastical' (p. 224). Again, on the word ἐκκλησία, 'When the Christ spirit is weak the Church will be weak, and neither creeds, nor governments, nor keys, nor ecclesiastical dignities will be of much help to her' (p. 225). On St. Matt. xviii. 17 this bias is marked a little more strongly. 'The chief interest of historic exegesis is to divest it of an ecclesiastical aspect as much as possible, for only so can it suit the initial period, and be with any probability regarded as an utterance of Jesus' (p. 240). The comment on the Baptismal formula may be quoted, because it is an instance in which the commentary signally fails to make the text any clearer to us. 'It is the name not of one, but of three, forming a baptismal Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. It is not said into the names of, etc., nor into the name of the Father, and the name of the Son, and the name of the Holy Ghost, whence might be deduced the idea of a Trinity constituting at the same time a Divine Unity. But this would probably be reading more into the words than was intended' (p. 340). What tossing to and fro may be expected when the Bible is removed from its divinely appointed interpreter is suggested by the opening comments on St. Mark, where we read, 'How much (the phrase "the Son of God") was meant to convey cannot be certainly determined' (p. 341). The great passage on the Day of Judgment, in which our Lord said that He did not know of that hour, except in so far as the Father, Who shows the Son all things that Himself doeth, knew it, is most inadequately expounded. 'All statements as to the time of the παρουσία must be taken in a qualified sense, as referring to a subject on which certain knowledge is not attainable or even desirable. It looks like Jesus correcting Himself, or using two ways of speaking, one for comfort (it will be soon), and one for caution (it may not be so soon as even I think or you expect)' (pp. 296–7; cp. pp. 432, 739). Even more meagre in comparison are the comments on the scene in the

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garden of Gethsemane, which 'is not the creation of theology, though theology has made its own use of it' (p. 316). St. Luke's account, it is said, 'falls far short of the vivid realism of the parallels' (p. 629), for the verses which record the appearance of the angel and the sweat of blood are not regarded as part of the genuine text, one of the strongest arguments against them being a 'want of keeping with the otherwise colourless picture of the scene, which is in accord with' St. Luke's 'uniform mode of handling the emphatic words, acts, and experiences of Jesus' (*ibid.*) The commentary is not happier in its view of the Atonement. We are told in the introduction that St. Luke 'gives a very defective report of those words of our Lord concerning His death which may be said to contain the germs of a theory as to its significance' (p. 46), and this is supposed to show that this Evangelist is not 'Paulinist in a theological sense' (p. 49). This is emphasized in the notes. 'No other or higher view than' that it was necessary in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled 'of the rationale of Christ's sufferings is found in Luke's Gospel,' and 'he shows no acquaintance with St. Paul's theology of the Atonement, unless it be' in xxii. 20 (p. 629). Equally surprised are we to find so little said upon the character of our Lord's death in the comments on the chapter upon the Good Shepherd (pp. 788–92). The last verses of St. Mark's Gospel are dismissed without a thorough discussion of the evidence, and with reflections upon the 'ecclesiastical spirit' and the 'twilight of apocryphal story' which appear in some of the verses (pp. 454–7). We note, in conclusion, that the omission of the Lord's fourth utterance upon the Cross in St. Luke's narrative of the Passion is most unwarrantably asserted to be a proof that 'in some Christian circles the cry of desertion was an offence' (p. 332).

St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew. By F. P. BADHAM, M.A. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897.)

THE scholar who is on his guard against the hasty acceptance of popular and fascinating theories has many opportunities of exercising his self-control both in Old and New Testament fields of study. The problem of the chronological order of the first three Gospels is an important case in point. The priority of St. Mark's Gospel is in the fashion among the learned at present; but Mr. Badham reminds us of St. Augustine's 'Marcus pedisequus et breviator Matthæi' (p. vi), quotes a recent observation of Professor Hilgenfeld that 'the preference at present shown for St. Mark is opposed to the most certain conclusions of science' (Pref. p. x), and notices with some force that Dr. Sanday,[1] while declaring that the priority of St. Mark is, 'if not an assured result of criticism, yet rapidly becoming so,' recognizes that this claim 'cannot be made without reserve,' and offers the well-known unsatisfactory dual basis of ur-Marcus the earlier and deutero-Marcus the later layer, with St. Matthew's Gospel between. Mr. Badham has endeavoured to prove that St. Mark's posteriority to St. Matthew is the rule, that there are certain signs of duality in St. Mark which do not at all correspond with the variation

[1] Article 'Gospels,' in *Dictionary of the Bible*, second edition.

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of aspect towards St. Matthew, and that consequently there is no room left for ur-Marcus. Whatever view may be taken of the problem which Mr. Badham discusses, there will be no difference of opinion as to the care which he has bestowed upon the study of it, and upon the expression of his conclusions.

A necessary preliminary step to the inquiry is an examination of those parts of St. Mark's Gospel which appear in St. Luke. Mr. Badham says that, 'considering that so much of the second Gospel is involved by what St. Luke repeats, and considering that adequate reason for omission is never far to seek, and, in addition, considering that no distinction of diction or tendency has ever been detected between the sections repeated and those omitted . . . . it may be fairly concluded that no proof of the existence of an ur-Marcus is afforded by the third Gospel' (pp. xxvii–xxviii). The priority of St. Matthew's Gospel is inferred from an examination of such matters as the un-Judaic character of St. Mark's Gospel, its eschatology; its lists of glosses, inflations, and picturesque details; the alleged fact that St. Matthew is twice corrected by St. Mark (p. 51); the injunction of secrecy in St. Mark v. 43; the abruptness of St. Mark's style; the omission of incidents which refer to St. Peter; the peculiar phenomena of St. Mark iii. 7–20; the Apostolic mission and charge; some repetitions and incongruities; the omission of parables; the details about the guards at the sepulchre; general considerations of St. Mark's design and style, and the evidence of Papias—usually quoted on the other side. In conclusion, some instances of St. Mark's priority are admitted as exceptional. Mr. Badham will interest many whom he does not convince.

Footprints of the Apostles as traced by Saint Luke in the Acts. Being Sixty Portions for Private Study and Instruction in Church. A Sequel to *Footprints of the Son of Man as traced by Saint Mark.* By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. In two volumes. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.)

A CHARACTERISTIC of the Dean of Lichfield's books is the clearness and simplicity with which they express Catholic truth. This feature has made them very widely useful, and we are not surprised to learn from the preface of the work now before us that the author has 'received many requests from the clergy' that he 'would deal with the other Gospels in the same way as' he 'dealt with that of St. Mark' in his *Footprints of the Son of Man* (p. vii). These requests are stated to have come from those who had, as advised by the late Bishop Woodford, read to their congregations the addresses of which that excellent book is composed; but there can be little doubt that similar wishes have been felt by many others. The Dean has thought that a course of readings on the Acts of the Apostles is likely to be more helpful than a set upon another Gospel, and he has accordingly published the present work. In so doing he has taken into consideration the 'great value' of the

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Acts of the Apostles as setting forth the 'polity of the Church' and connecting it 'throughout its development with the agency of the Holy Ghost' (Preface, p. ix).

The plan of this series of *Footprints* is the same as that of the work to which it is a sequel. It will be found useful by those who wish to gain a clear idea of the history contained in the Acts, for devotional reading, and as supplying matter for meditation. Any detailed treatment of controversy falls outside its scope, but it may be noticed that the Dean, while to a certain extent inclining to Professor Ramsay's opinion about Galatia, regards the opposite view of Bishop Lightfoot as still holding the field (i. preface, xiv, xv, ii. 121), and on the connected question of the relation of the events mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians to those in the Acts has no hesitation in identifying the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Galatians ii. 2 with the journey to attend the Council of Jerusalem (ii. 92).

Two specially valuable chapters are those on the speech of St. Stephen, which is skilfully treated in a manner which makes it easy to follow the general line of the argument (i. 178–94). There is a very useful statement about the Old Testament teaching on the subject of the future life (i. 83–5). And, to give one more illustration where it would be pleasant to mention many, we may quote what the Dean says on the need of patience with regard to supposed errors in Holy Scripture:

'Be not hasty in accepting conclusions where the authority of Holy Scripture is at stake. Again and again prophets and evangelists have been charged with error, in consequence of apparent discrepancies, and men's faith has been shaken; and then, quite unexpectedly, an accidental discovery in history, archæology, or topography, has cleared it all up. We shall not, of course, have all difficulties removed in this way, but they will not greatly perplex if we are careful to recognize the true province of the sacred writer. It is not to teach the mysteries of science; it is not, of necessity, to write with historic accuracy;[1] provided no argument or conclusion depends upon it, he may accept what is commonly believed. In the case, however, of St. Luke we have a right to expect nothing but what is absolutely correct, because he is the chosen historian of Christ's Church at a most critical period, when every detail is of momentous interest; and it is a cause of no little joy and satisfaction to receive year by year renewed proofs that he was guided by the Holy Spirit "into all truth." With confidence, then, may every faithful student of this Book say, in the language of the Psalmist, "O Lord, Thy Word is tried to the uttermost, and Thy servant loveth it"' (ii. 190–1).

The book is well calculated to fulfil the purposes for which it is intended, and we hope it may have a wide circulation.

[1] We think the wording of this sentence somewhat open to misapprehension. It is obvious from other places that the Dean is referring to unimportant details: see i. 176, note [1], 234–6, ii. 69, note [2].

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St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. A Practical Exposition. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D., of the Community of the Resurrection, Canon of Westminster. (London: John Murray, 1898.)

THIS volume may do a good deal to help readers to use and understand the Bible, and to see the practical value of theology in its bearing on life. To say so much is to assert its usefulness at the present time. There can be little doubt that Canon Gore is right in thinking that 'the ordinary Christian "reading of the Bible" is . . . at best at a standstill' (Preface, p. vii); and one of the great obstacles to the work of the Church in England is the failure on the part of many to realize that the truths of theology are of practical moral value. The fact that such a failure rests upon a grievous mistake receives forcible illustration in this book, and in one passage in particular (pp. 173–7) the connexion between doctrine and morals is powerfully shown. The 'method pursued' is described as having been 'in the main'

'to let each section of the Epistle be preceded by an analysis or paraphrase of the teaching it contains, in which it is hoped that no element in the teaching is left unnoticed, and followed by such further explanations of particular phrases, or practical reflections, as seem to be needed.

'I have avoided as far as possible all discussion of rival views, and given simply what are, in my judgment, the best explanations' (Preface, p. viii).

It is possible for those who cordially sympathize with and welcome the book as a whole to regret a few passages in it, as when Canon Gore speaks of 'such books of the New Testament as the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians' as representing to us 'in different forms the highest level of that action of the Divine Spirit upon the mind of man which we call inspiration' (pp. 3–4), or asserts that 'it is apparently a simple mistake to suppose that even the Apostles were miraculously dispensed from the difficulties of acquiring new languages' (p. 27), or describes the 'general commission' which 'belonged' 'to the Apostles' as belonging 'also to the prophets' 'who in the subapostolic age are found in some districts exercising functions like those of the Apostles in the first age' (p. 169).[1]

It would be easy to give many illustrations of valuable teaching. To select those we have specially noticed, it is well that attention should be directed to the facts that if 'the time is past' 'when there is any necessity to contend that a vote should be given to all responsible men,' 'the time is by no means past when the newly enfranchised citizens need to be stimulated to realize what their enfranchisement carries with it of privilege and responsibility' (pp. 17–8); and that the 'weapons' which 'reformers of Christian social relations'

[1] We do not think this sentence, taken simply as it stands in the book before us, would give the same impression as Canon Gore's statement in *The Minstry of the Christian Church*, p. 397, 'There is not . . ., as has been pointed out elsewhere (p. 259), any reason to think that the' 'episcopal prophets' 'ever held their quasi-apostolic position in the Church on the mere ground of their prophetic gifts, without ordination.'

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need to use are 'industry, patience, and prayer' (p. 191). On the quickening power exerted in the Church by the Humanity of our Lord (pp. 55–7), and on the relation of what Christ does for us to what He does in us (pp. 59–62), there are admirable passages. Predestination (pp. 64–9; cf. pp. 87–8), election (pp. 69–72), free will (p. 75), receive helpful treatment, though it may be doubted whether a paragraph on the 'divine fore-knowledge' (pp. 66–7) is quite without trace of the objectionable speculation which in a former work intended for more learned and critical readers Canon Gore abstained from rejecting.[1] The existence and power of evil spirits are emphatically asserted (pp. 93–4, 239–41). There is much that is valuable on the priestly character of the laity (pp. 111–4) and the unity of the Church (pp. 151–71).

It is significant to find a writer so strongly committed as we suppose Canon Gore to be to the lawfulness and spiritual efficacy of Confession and Absolution, and to the value of the ordered system of the Church, writing:

'Government is to be a constant element in the Christian life. But the character of authority and of obedience is to be changed. The authority is to be reasonable authority, and the obedience intelligent obedience. Passive obedience to an authority which does not explain itself, whether in a spiritual director or in the Church as a whole, St. Paul would have thought of meanly as a Christian virtue. And the multiplication of authoritative observances he would have dreaded as a bondage' (pp. 116–7).

Perhaps the most characteristic thought in the whole book may be shown by two quotations:

'How are we to receive this great and manifold ideal of what the Church means? It is by meditating upon it till St. Paul's conceptions—and not any lower or narrower ones, Roman or Anglican or Nonconformist—become vivid to our minds. Then, knowing what we aim at restoring, we shall seek, in each parish and ecclesiastical centre, to concentrate almost more than to extend the Church, to give it spiritual, moral, and social reality, rather than to multiply a membership which means little. For if men can understand the meaning of the Church, as the city of God, the family of God, the sanctuary of God, in the world, there is little fear that whatever is good in humanity will fail of allegiance to her. The kings of the earth will bring their glory and honour into her, and the nations of the earth shall walk in her light' (p. 120).

'What we want is not more Christians, but, much rather, better Christians—that is to say, Christians who have more perception of what the moral effort required for membership in the catholic brotherhood really is' (p. 190).

There are a number of appended notes of considerable interest on various subjects. One of these is headed 'The Conception of the Church (Catholic) in St. Paul in its relation to local Churches.' The latter part of this note, while describing the recently published work by Dr. Hort, entitled *The Christian Ecclesia*, as being 'in many respects' 'most admirable,' criticized some parts of it with great

[1] Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, pp. 223–4.

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severity. This criticism elicited a protest from Professor Armitage Robinson in the *Guardian* for March 9, in which the soundness of Canon Gore's judgment upon Dr. Hort's book was seriously questioned, and the characteristic features of the latter's teaching on the subject of the Church were described as follows :

'What Dr. Hort appears to me to have specially taught us, or, in so far as it was not new, to have specially emphasized for us, is that Church order is from the beginning a sacred growth, directed by the constant presence within of the Holy Spirit, so as to meet the needs of a living and multiplying society ; that it is not a scheme delivered by the Lord to the Apostles and by the Apostles to the Church ; that the Body of the Christ is an organism rather than an organization ; that here, as elsewhere, life has its inherent law of orderly evolution ; and that the most fruitful lesson of modern Biblical criticism is this—that, in the consideration of all these topics, we connect more closely than ever before our belief in the Holy Ghost and our belief in the Holy Catholic Church.'[1]

In the following number of the *Guardian*[2] Canon Gore defended, with, as it seems to us, much success, the substance of his criticisms, while candidly acknowledging that he 'was not thoughtful enough' in the choice of the words in which they were expressed. Certainly, the language used had, in Professor Robinson's protest, come to wear a look of undue severity and some disrespect by the collection of several condemnatory expressions into a sentence.

In our last number, in reviewing Dr. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*,[3] we gave our reasons for dissenting strongly on grounds of criticism and interpretation from some of the opinions there expressed, and at the same time stated our conviction that the Catholic doctrine of the Church and the Ministry does not depend on the decision of certain critical questions. If we regard 'Church order as a sacred growth, directed by the constant presence within of the Holy Spirit, so as to meet the needs of a living and multiplying society,' such a position viewed in the light of the history of Christianity necessitates belief in the visible character of the Church, and the need of Episcopacy possessing a true Apostolic descent no less than if 'Church order' is 'a scheme delivered by the Lord to the Apostles and by the Apostles to the Church.' Whether the gifts were in the first instance the possession of the Apostles or the possession of the Christian community, it is only from the decisions and practice of the Christian Body that it can be known how they may be exercised.

[1] *Guardian*, March 9, 1898, p. 371. [2] *Ib.* March 16, 1898, p. 411.
[3] *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1898, 'Hort's "Christian Ecclesia."'

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1. *History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries.* By Dr. G. Krüger, Professor of Theology at Giessen. Translated by the Rev. C. R. Gillett, A.M., Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary in New York. With Corrections and Additions by the Author. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.)
2. *Selections from Early Writers.* Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine. By H. M. Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge., Hon. D.D. Edinburgh. Second Edition. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)

The justification of Professor Gwatkin's 'fairly representative selection of original documents for the use of students' is that it is better to read extracts from early authors than not to read them at all, and that many students who have neither the time nor the ability to read much Latin and Greek will be glad to read the English translations which the Professor provides side by side with the original text. Selections doubtless do not belong to an ideal state of things, but things being as they are, we rejoice to see that the little volume has reached a second edition. In his choice Professor Gwatkin has directed his attention to the general course of events, to the history of the New Testament canon, and to the personal opinions of conspicuous writers. In the new edition, reprinted with additions and corrections, a few useful introductory notes have been added, and in some points the criticisms which we offered on the appearance of the first edition are now disarmed by slight corrections.[1] We heartily commend these seventy-four selections to busy young clergymen who desire to read important parts of patristic literature, and to fulfil the obligations of the Ordinal as to such studies as help to the knowledge of the meaning of Holy Scripture.

Dr. Krüger's work, of which Mr. Gillett's translation is practically a second and revised edition (Pref. p. x), furnishes an account of the history of early Christian literature for lecturers and students as condensed and brief as possible, yet readable withal. The author's aim in the citation of literature has been to enumerate all that is necessary for the study of the subject, and he has accomplished his task both with a large measure of success and in a surprisingly small space. It must be borne in mind that Dr. Krüger treats his subject from a purely literary point of view, without reference to the ecclesiastical or theological importance of the literature which he describes. In his introduction he gives a summary of the attempts which have been hitherto made, from Eusebius and Jerome onwards, to hand down an account of the literature to which they and later compilers had access. The broad divisions of the subject are: I. Primitive Christian Literature. II. Gnostic Literature. III. Literature of the Church. The subdivisions of the first group are Epistles, Apocalypses, Historical Books, and Doctrinal Writings. Thus it will be seen that an organic method of treatment has been

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1894, pp. 236–37.

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attempted. The words which open the general introduction to the section on the Epistles are 'as Christendom became consolidated in a Catholic Church' (p. 11). This does not seem to us to describe the process at all correctly by which the Church was established in the world, as foretold in the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew, and recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and we refer to this passage because it is a sample of many others which occur. Of the Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Krüger thinks that 'the situation presupposed in them cannot be explained by the Apostle's life as known to us; the language and the whole sphere of thought render their Pauline authorship highly improbable, and their relation to Gnosticism apparently excludes them from the first century' (p. 16). The paragraph on the seven Catholic Epistles in the canon and the section on the Ignatian Epistles (pp. 18, 28–34) both fail to recognize the force of the positive grounds for their early dates. But it would be difficult to improve upon the succinct account which is given of the Ignatian literature. Dr. Krüger will not definitely say that the Gospel of St. John, or the three Epistles, or the Revelation, were the work of St. John the Apostle (pp. 18, 35, 49). As for the Synoptists, 'all three Gospels were written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and their text can hardly have received its present shape before the second half of the second century, (p. 49). It does not fall in with the scope of Dr. Krüger's convenient plan to give detailed reasons for his conclusions in these matters, and underneath §§ 14 and 15 (pp. 48–50), which refer to the Gospels, not a single reference to any literature on the subject is given.

The Gnostic literature in the second division of the book is considered under the sub-divisions of theological literature and romances, with a brief supplementary paragraph on the Ebionite Symmachus. There is, no doubt, a considerable amount of information in this division, but we should prefer to direct a young student to Dean Mansel's work on the Gnostic heresies, and to the fourth chapter of Robertson's first volume of *The History of the Christian Church*, after all.

The third division, on the literature of the Church, fills up about three-quarters of the whole book, and is divided into five sections. The first two are long, and deal with patristic literature in the age of the Apologists, and during the conflict with Gnosticism, and in the age of the rise of theological science. This arrangement leads to chapters on apologetic literature, anti-heretical literature, episcopal and synodal writings, in the first section, and to chapters on the eastern writers of Alexandria, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, and the western writers of Africa and Rome, with a supplement on Victorinus of Pettau and Reticius of Autun, and a further collection of episcopal and synodal writings, in the second section. The remaining sections are comparatively short. They include the ecclesiastical literature of symbols and creeds and canons, legendary literature, and martyrologies. There is a fair index, and a useful chronological conspectus, which 'portrays the gradual progress of literary productivity in the several provinces of the Empire' (Pref.

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p. viii). On the whole, we presume to think that Dr. Krüger is much more serviceable when he points to other sources of information than when he gives us his own conclusions upon the literature which he has studied.

Sacramentarium Leonianum. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Three Photographs, by the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, B.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1896.)

By the issue of this volume the Cambridge University Press has established one more claim on the gratitude of all liturgical students, and to Mr. Feltoe belong the honour and credit of being the first English editor of the earliest, and in that respect the most important, of Roman Service Books, hitherto only accessible to students in the bulky and costly volumes of continental liturgiologists. The value of this new edition is not substantially decreased by the criticisms which we proceed to offer upon Mr. Feltoe's presentation of the text, and upon the Introduction which he has prefixed to it.

Firstly, as to the text itself. The editor has adopted the unusual but not altogether unprecedented plan of printing a large number of abbreviations or contractions in the text, with the mark of abbreviation or contraction retained above them, instead of expanding them. An incomplete list of them is given on p. xviii. We must not complain, because perhaps the Cambridge Press has imposed this plan for the sake of brevity and economy; but is it fair to leave an unusual abbreviation like $\overline{\text{H}}$. (p. 104, l. 5) in the text? Surely it should have been printed out as 'habendæ,' or enumerated among the abbreviations on p. xviii, or explained, as Muratori explains it in a note on col. 404; or a reference should have been given to p. x of the Introduction, where the editor has another explanation to suggest.

The transcription of the MS., so far as can be judged from the three most acceptable facsimiles with which it is accompanied, is substantially accurate, though we notice that in the preface for S. Eufymia, on p. 104, 'immensa' is printed for 'inmensa,' 'eumdem' for 'eundem,' 'ineffabilis' for 'ineffabili,' without any note or hint of deviation from the MS. text; but the object of the book is professedly not palæographical, and no attempt is made to describe the forms of the letters and the orthography of the MS., although a MS. assigned to the first half of the seventh century might well have been deemed worthy of such special treatment.

The Introduction, which is good as far as it goes, is not exhaustive. In the first place it ought to have included, or there ought to have been prefixed to p. 1, a table of contents. This would have shown at a glance what the Sacramentary contains and what it does not contain. For the sake of the possessors of Mr. Feltoe's volume we append such a table here. They will be glad to copy it out in MS., and to paste it on the fly-leaf of their books. The arrangement is monthly.

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February		*Wanting.*
March		*Wanting.*
April	1	Forty-three Masses in commemoration of Martyrs, in the middle of the sixth of which the Sacramentary, in its present defective condition, commences. This sixth Missa is furnished with two prefaces, into the first of which the name of St. Tiburtius is introduced. This Saint, together with SS. Valerianus and Maximus, is commemorated in the Gregorian Sacramentary on April 14. Of these forty-three Masses No. xxiii. is of the Paschal Season; No. xxxiii. of St. Gregory; No. xxxiv. is of the dedication of the Basilica of St. Peter.
May	20	Six Masses (or parts of Masses) of the Ascension. Two „ of the Vigil of Pentecost ('pridie Pentecosten'). Some baptismal and Ember devotions. One Mass for the Sunday of Pentecost, with miscellaneous devotions, and an Ember Mass.
June	28	Five Masses for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. [June 24.] Eight Masses of SS. John and Paul. [June 26.] Twenty-eight Masses of SS. Peter and Paul. [June 29.]
July	50	Seven Masses, preceded by three parts of Masses of SS. Felix, Philip, Vitalis, Martialis, Alexander, Silanus, and Januarius. These Saints are named in the title but are not again mentioned in the Masses. [July 10.] Thirty-one ferial Masses. Seventeen morning or evening prayers. Twelve Masses in time of public anxiety or trouble.
August	85	Nine Masses of St. Stephen. [August 2.] Seven „ St. Xystus. [August 6.] One Mass of SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus. [August 6.] Fourteen Masses of St. Laurence. [August 10.] Two „ SS. Hippolytus and Pontianus. [August 10.] Seven Masses of SS. Adauctus and Felix. [August 20.]
September	103	Two Masses of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian. [September 14.] Four Masses of St. Euphemia. [September 16.] Five Masses of St. Michael, headed 'Natale Basilicae Angeli in Salaria.' [September 30.] Fourteen Masses of the Ember Feast. Consecration of a Bishop.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS—*continued.*

Month	Page	Contents
		Benediction of a Deacon. Consecration of a Presbyter. Twenty-three Masses for Anniversaries of Bishops, including the sub-headings 'post infirmitatem,' 'in ieiunio.' Consecration of Virgins. Nuptial Mass.
October	142	Six Masses in time of drought, the last four of them connected with Eastertide. Five Masses for the dead, the last two introducing the name of St. Laurence. One Mass for St. Silvester.
November	148	Two Masses of the Four Crowned Martyrs. [November 8.] Five Masses of St. Cæcilia. [November 22.] Four „ SS. Clement and Felicitas. [November 23.] Three Masses of St. Felicitas. [November 23.] One Mass of SS. Chrysogonus and Gregory. [November 24.] Four Masses of St. Andrew. [November 30.]
December	159	Nine Masses for Christmas Day, the following Martyrs being named in the title: Pastor, Basil, Jovian, Victorinus, Eugenia, Felicitas, Anastasia. [December 25.] Two Masses of St. John the Evangelist. [December 27.] Two „ of the Innocents. [December 28.] Five „ of the fast of the tenth month.

A perusal of the above Table of Contents forces these facts and conclusions on our notice :—

1. The absence of the contents of the first three months of the year and of part of April is a great loss. The loss is all the more serious because in the missing leaves we should most probably have found the 'Canon Actionis.' The special forms of 'Hanc igitur' and 'Communicantes' which survive (pp. 24, 25, &c.) make it practically certain that the missing Canon was the 'Te igitur,' &c., in its Gregorian or Gelasian form ; but to have had so early a text of the Roman Canon would have been of great interest and importance.

2. The profusion of Masses in connection with certain commemorations, and the absence of Masses in connection with others ; *e.g.* there are forty-three Masses of martyrs, twenty-eight of SS. Peter and Paul, fourteen of St. Laurence, &c., while, on the other hand, only one saint's name occurs in October, and none in June earlier than June 24, and none in December earlier than December 25.

3. The amount of dislocation of Saints' Days and the confusion of Saints' names. It is extraordinary to find St. Silvester's Day

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transferred from December 31 to the end of October, the last Mass for which month is headed 'Sancti Silvestri.' The explanation of the Ballerini, upheld by Mr. Feltoe (p. 214), does not seem to be a likely one, viz. that we have here a Festival or a Mass for the Deposition of St. Silvester, which has no connection with December 31, and of which no trace is found elsewhere.

No notice is taken of St. Stephen's Day in December, while no less than nine Masses of the protomartyr are marshalled together under August 2. This seems to be a confusion with Stephen I., Bishop of Rome and Martyr, who was commemorated in the Gregorian Kalendar on that day. It can hardly be a confusion with the Feast of the Invention of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, on August 3, because the Passion and not the Invention is the subject matter of the Masses; though the Invention is supposed to have taken place in 416, and the commemoration of that event is found in many of the older Roman Kalendars.

The name of Gregorius is introduced among the Masses for Martyrs in April. No martyr named Gregory can be found anywhere in connection with April, and this has led Bianchini, and after him Muratori, to suggest that 'Gregorius' is a mistake for 'Georgius,' and that St. George (April 23) is referred to here, a suggestion which Mr. Feltoe rejects (p. 17) and which certainly cannot be proved.

In the last prayer in the Mass for St. Silvester (p. 148) the name 'Simplicius' is suddenly substituted for 'Silvester.' This looks like a scribe's error. If, however, the reference is to Pope Simplicius, who died in 483, and who dedicated the basilica of St. Stephen at Rome, possibly referred to in the ninth Mass of St. Stephen's (p. 90), then we have a landmark for dating this part of the Sacramentary; on the other hand, the next Mass is that of 'the Four Crowned Martyrs,' one of whom, according to the Gregorian Sacramentary, as published by Muratori (Col. 127), was called Simplicius, and this may have caught the eye of the compiler of the Leonian Sacramentary, and have caused the mistake.

The passion of St. Euphemia is commemorated in a preface on Sept. 14, as well as on her usual day, Sept. 16 (pp. 104, 105).

All these and other confusing arrangements or disarrangements which might be mentioned point to the fact that the MS. known as the Leonian Sacramentary is not a service-book at all, but a compilation of miscellaneous masses and prayers made by some Roman ecclesiastic in the earlier half of the seventh century. The title 'Sacramentary of Leo' has worked much confusion, and will work more, though we do not say that Mr. Feltoe could have altered it. The Roman origin is fully proved by the many indications accumulated by Mr. Feltoe on p. xi. The compiler was a bishop, but not necessarily the Bishop of Rome. In the fourth of the Masses, arranged in September, under the heading 'In natale episcoporum,' he commemorates the anniversary of his own consecration (p. 127). The language of this *missa* implies that it was used in Lent, and the Ballerini therefore connected it either with the consecration of Zosimus on March 18, 417, or with that of Felix III. on March 6, 483. Mr. Feltoe acquiesces (p. 208),

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but the inferences are extremely precarious. Some unknown Italian bishop of the seventh, not the fifth, century seems to have compiled together materials which range at least from the fourth century to his own time. Such of them as include lengthy invectives against false confessors (p. 9) and false brethren (p. 68) can never have been intended for authorized use in public service. Mr. Feltoe does not mention these 'falsi fratres' either in his Introduction or Index. We should have liked to have seen both of them much completer than they are. Ascensa, Dedicatio Basilicæ S. Stephani, Liber viventium, Octavæ, Petri sedes, &c. &c., ought to have found a place in the Index. The mention of an Octave and the absence of any mention of the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14) might have been noticed in the Introduction as possibly bearing on the date of the MS., or of some of its contents. The numerous points of interest raised and discussed in the valuable Introduction of Muratori (coll. 16–37) ought none of them to have been omitted in the Introduction of Mr. Feltoe. We fear that students will still have to turn to Muratori to get a complete view of the Leonian Sacramentary, though we freely admit that many of these points are referred to in the notes, and that Mr. Feltoe's Introduction is good, as far as it goes. He modestly describes himself as a tiro in liturgical lore (p. v), a description which, if true, is illustrated rather by sins of omission than commission. It should be added that in the Notes the use of Leonian prayers elsewhere is carefully traced, and that Biblical students will find a useful catalogue of Old Latin and Vulgate readings in Scriptural quotations near the end of the Introduction.

The Missal of Robert of Jumièges. Edited by H. A. WILSON, M.A. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896.)

THE work done by Mr. Wilson is always so excellent that there is little left to the critic of his books except to express admiration. It is hard to estimate how much the ritualists of this generation are indebted to him. We cannot imagine ourselves now without his *Index to the Roman Sacramentaries*; and his new edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary is, as Abbé Duchesne declares, definitive. This edition of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges is as well done as that of the Gelasian Sacramentary, and the Henry Bradshaw Society may be congratulated on having secured the services of an editor who knows how to carry on the traditions of the great scholar after whom it is named.

The book before us seems to have been written early in the eleventh century, possibly in or after 1013. It is tolerably certain that it was written in Winchester, but it is not so clear that it was written for Winchester. The canon is of no great interest; in the clause *Communicantes* SS. George, Benedict, Martin, and Gregory are commemorated, and in *Nobis quoque* SS. Etheldred and Gertrude. The clause *Memento mei*, not very uncommon in canons of this date, appears after the epiclesis *Supplices te rogamus*. After *Pax Domini* there is *Agnus dei*, and this is the last entry in the ordinary by the original hand, the other prayers being added in somewhat later writing.

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There are some few other Sacramentaries of præ-Norman origin which may be compared with this book—Leofric, written in Lotharingia, but adapted for use in England ; Winchcombe, now in the public library at Orleans ; and a Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xviii., coming probably from Sherborne. The collects of these, especially the secrets and post-commons, often agree with those of the Gregorian Sacramentary where the Sarum Missal and its allies do not. In fact these special collects of the Sarum Missal do not appear in any Mass book known to us until after the Norman Conquest, so that this Missal of Robert of Jumièges does not help us to ascertain whence the Sacramentary came that was the source of Sarum.

One interesting point has been made out by Mr. Wilson, and this is that the Old English rubrics for anointing the sick in this book are almost identical with the rubrics in the Cambrai Pontifical. He has printed the two sets side by side on pp. lxxi and lxxii. It is known that the Leofric Missal was written in Lotharingia, and it may be that the office for the anointing of the sick in the book before us came from a neighbouring district ; it supports Mr. Wilson's surmise of the source of the whole book. Nothing akin to the rubrics of the early Pontifical remains in the *Manuale sive Officiarium Curatorum Insignis Ecclesiæ Cameracensis*, printed at Cambray in 1562.

Mr. Wilson provides a very carefully made index and table of contents ; and the book ends with a number of photographic reproductions of the more important miniatures of the manuscript, which give us a good idea of early Winchester art. There is also a facsimile of one of the pages containing the Old English rubrics, and of the last page of the book, which shows a few lines probably written by Robert of Jumièges himself while Bishop of London.

The Inferno of Dante. Translated, with Plain Notes, by EUGENE LEE-HAMILTON, Author of *The New Medusa*, *Imaginary Sonnets*, *Sonnets of the Wingless Hours*, &c. &c. (London : Grant Richards, 1898.)

YET another translation of Dante's *Inferno*, and yet another experiment in metre ! It seems but the other day that Mr. Shadwell surprised us by the adoption of the Marvellian stanza for his rendering of the *Purgatorio*. Now comes Mr. Lee-Hamilton, with the discovery that an English line of eleven syllables is absolutely essential if the object of a verse translation is to reproduce the effect of the original on the ear. The use, therefore, of the hendecasyllabic lines is the *raison d'être* of his translation ; and we have his authority for saying that it is written in *verse*, albeit there is no such statement in the title of the book, and 'a many' (as he would say) lines require a painful effort of scansion before we can say that they are not so much prose—'nisi quod pede *in*-certo Differt sermoni, sermo merus.' The ear upon which this version reproduces the effect of the original must be strangely constituted.

Mr. Lee-Hamilton justifies the adoption of this metre by the opinion and example of Philalethes. But whether or not that eminent scholar was able to reproduce the effect of Dante's verse in

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the guttural tongue of the Fatherland, as to which we say nothing, we are certain that the task is hopeless for any one who has to employ the English language for the purpose. Dante's own profoundly true observation that 'form oftentimes does not tally with the intention of art, because the material is deaf to its call,'[1] is here most appropriate. The English language as contrasted with the Italian is just such a deaf material. In laying stress upon the existence of an eleventh syllable at the end of each of Dante's lines Mr. Lee-Hamilton states only one half of the reason for their fascination, the other half being that the eleventh or 'feminine' (as he terms it) syllable is part of the same word as the tenth; that word is often longer than two syllables, and the rhyme which follows is a double one, embracing both final syllables. In English, on the contrary, even dissyllabic words admitting of this double rhyme are rarely to be met with. Were they the rule instead of the exception, and had Mr. Hamilton throughout made use of them in a rhymed version, we might have conceded to him the praise of success to a certain extent; but, as we shall see, he discards rhyme altogether, and therefore is nowhere in his futile enterprise.

Another fatal objection to his metre, and one which would have been equally forcible if he had made his verses rhyme, is that he constantly uses a monosyllable at the end of a line, whereas the exact opposite is the case in the *Divina Commedia*. We have collated the number of lines in it which close with a monosyllable, with the result that in a total of 14,233 verses only sixteen such are to be found.[2] And a halt in the rhythm characterizes almost all of them. Let it be clearly understood that we are testing Mr. Lee-Hamilton's lines from his own standpoint, viz. the claim that they reproduce the effect of the original upon the ear. That standpoint in our judgment exacted at the very least a rigorous abstention, in

[1] *Par.* i. 127–9.

[2] Such of our readers as are acquainted with the original Italian may find these interesting. They are as follows:

'Abraam patriarca, e David re,
E con Rachele, per cui tanto fe'.'—*Inf.* iv. 58, 60.
'Tosto che l' acqua a correr mette co',
Fino a Governo, dove cade in Po.'—*Inf.* xx. 76, 78.
'Appresso il Duca a gran passo sen gì.'—*Inf.* xxiii. 145.
'E men d' un mezzo di traverso non ci ha.'
Inf. xxx. 87.
'Se Tosco se', ben sai omai chi fu.'—*Inf.* xxxii. 66.
'Lo ciel perdei, che per non aver fè.
Qual è colui che cosa innanzi a sè,
Che crede e no, dicendo: Ell' è, non è.'
Purg. vii. 8, 10, 12.
'O folle Aragne, si vedeva io te
Dell' opera che mal per te si fe'.'—*Purg.* xii. 43, 45.
'Questi è divino spirto, che ne la.'—*Purg.* xvii. 55.
'Io volsi gli occhi, e il buon Virgilio:—Almen tre.'
Purg. xix. 34.
'Che andate pensando si voi sol tre?'—*Purg.* xxiv. 133.
'Detto mi fu; e da Beatrice: "Di, di'."'—*Par.* v. 122.

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all but the rarest instances, from the use of any word of less than two syllables at the close of a line. But we could more than fill this notice with references to his monosyllabic endings. Another feature in his use of them would, one might suppose, have struck him before he had gone far in his work, and have warned him to desist. It is this: that in order to obtain this single or final syllable he has to add a superfluous word unknown to the original, and which exchanges for feeble redundancy the vigorous terseness for which Dante's style is so remarkable. The reader's attention cannot fail to be called to this blemish, because the same words are over and over again made to do duty in this respect. Those most frequently occurring are 'here' and 'there,' 'now' and 'then,' 'once' and 'yet.' We append a few specimens:

'That Attila who was a scourge on earth *once*.'—Canto xii. 134.
'"O son," he said, "whoever of this herd *here*."'
'And then I shall catch up again my gang *there*.'
'And who is this, who showeth thee the way *here*?'
Canto xv. 37, 41, 48.
'Ah me! What sores I saw upon their limbs *there*.'
Canto xvi. 10.
'And even as he who wreaked his wrath with bears *once*.'
'The treachery of the horse which made the breach *once*.'
Canto xxvi. 34, 59.
'Remember, O thou perjurer, the horse *now*.'—Canto xxx. 118.
'Why have ye not been scattered from the world *yet*?'
Canto xxxiii. 153.
'At his request I grasped him by the neck *then*.'
Canto xxxiv. 70.

A glance at these quotations will show that without the unnecessary final monosyllables they are, all of them, perfect lines in the ten-syllabic metre which is the recognized vehicle for English blank verse. And they produce, in the first instance, the effect of such lines upon the ear, which is simply wearied by the futile attempt of the redundant syllable to make them something different.

Let us now advert to further propositions in Mr. Lee-Hamilton's Preface against which we must protest. He says that there are three main metrical factors in the *Divina Commedia*:

'1. The spirit of the Terzina, or intellectual division of the verse into groups of three, or of multiples of three. Dante thought in threes and sixes, and sometimes even in nines and twelves, the groups being expressed by the punctuation.
'2. The chain of the rhyme
'3. The eleventh, or as we should call it with respect to iambic verse, the feminine syllable, at the end of each line—a syllable characteristic of Italian verse in general, and without which no verse translation can reproduce the effect of the original.'

With respect to No. 1, we observe the total omission of mention of the intimate *nexus*, which is of the essence of the 'spirit of the Terzina,' between each two successive groups of three verses. The even lines in every consecutive six always rhyme, as do the first and third of the uneven lines; the rhyme being changed in the fifth of them, to be matched in the first and third lines of the next group of

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six. It is this interdependence of the groups of six which binds together and harmonizes a whole canto. It also shows that rhyme is part and parcel of the metre. Again, we cannot understand how Dante could have 'thought' in groups of three, six, nine, or twelve verses. His thoughts were not subservient to the verse, but the verse to them.

As to No. 2, Mr. Lee-Hamilton rightly speaks of the *chain* of the rhyme, the links of which are constructed as we have just said. But when he goes on to say, 'Of these three factors I have preserved the first and the third, and have omitted the second,' it seems to us that he gives his case away. We differ from him *toto cælo* when he continues, 'The rhyme is comparatively unimportant . . . The rhyme in the original is so unimportant that he whose mind is bent upon the meaning scarcely notices it at all.' We hold, on the contrary, that the rhyme is everything. Dante, most assuredly, was of that opinion. No one can read his carefully elaborated rules in the *De Vulgari Eloquio* for the construction of a canzone, and as to what lines in it should rhyme with each other, without seeing this. And, as to the *Divinia Commedia*, let it suffice to refer to the opening lines of canto xxviii. of the *Inferno* (which we will give in Mr. Lee-Hamilton's version) in order to show that he willingly submitted to the yoke of rhyme, because of its infinite superiority over blank verse:

> 'Whoever could, *with even unrhymed phrases*,
> Tell fully of the blood and of the maimings
> Which I now saw, however oft he told it?'

As to the assertion that 'the rhyme' (whether in the original or in a translation) 'is so unimportant that he whose mind is bent upon the meaning scarcely notices it at all,' let anyone test the difference between the perusal of a good translation in English terza rima and that of Wright's half-way imitation of that metre. We venture to say that he will be constantly irritated by the lack of continuity which mars Wright's otherwise laudable performance. We consider rhyme of some description an absolute essential to reproduction of the effect of the original. Not, indeed, that the effect can be in any material degree reproduced *to the ear*, as a matter of *cadence*, in our language; but as a matter of *composition* far greater success may be obtained in its reproduction to the *intellect*. And such last-mentioned reproduction is quite compatible with the use of verses of ten syllables and occasional final monosyllables.

We have already dealt with No. 3. We must add that to print blank verses in the guise of terzine, with which they have nothing in common, is a typographical trick which can deceive no one, and in the use of which Mr. Lee-Hamilton would have done well not to follow Longfellow. Nor is that the only point of resemblance between these two translators. Each of their versions proceeds from beginning to end upon a monotonous dead level of prosiness.

Here we might conclude; for Mr. Lee-Hamilton's notes do not claim to be other than short and simple, and call for no criticism.[1]

[1] We have, however, noticed an occasional erratum in them. *E.g.* note 1

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As, however, he relies so strongly upon having 'reproduced the effect of the original upon the ear' a few more reasons for our dissent from him will not be out of place. Just as Longfellow is frequently obliged to expand 'then' into 'thereafterwards' so Mr. Lee-Hamilton, in his search for extra syllables, turns such simple words as 'bank' and 'year' into 'embankment' and 'twelvemonth.' We constantly feel ourselves by the side of the Thames, owing to the use of the first of these elongations. Again, although Mr. Lee-Hamilton more than once abstains altogether from printing the translation of a word in the original of questionable taste, he on the other hand not seldom degrades Dante's words by rendering them into common or vulgar language. The following may serve as specimens :

'He did a deal with mind as well as falchion.'—Canto xvi. 39.
'A lot of moats are girt about the castles.'—Canto xviii. 11.
'Here piety's alive when pity's deadest.'—Canto xx. 28.
'And hath on th'other side all skin that's hairy?'
Canto xx. 54.
'Here, pop him in, for I must be returning.'—Canto xxi. 39.
'As I was once before in such a scrimmage.'—Canto xxi. 63.
'much desiring The fellow might escape, to have a shindy.'
Canto xxii. 134–5.
'Smote him with fist upon his leathery belly.'
Canto xxx. 102.
'When Hannibal and all his men turned tail there.'
Canto xxxi. 117.
'The tears were dropping with a gory slobber.'—Canto xxxiv. 54.

The elision of an inconvenient syllable also produces a very lowering effect upon the style. Thus :

'We left him there; and more I'll not tell 'bout him.'
Canto viii. 64.
'Just as the Romans, 'cause of the great crowding.'
Canto xviii. 28.

This blemish is even more conspicuous when the elision occurs in the middle of a word, as in canto vi. 115 :

'Here we encountered Plutus, the great en'my.'

Other instances of such last-mentioned elision are : 'Card'nals,' 'Fred'rick,' 'utt'rance,' 'stew'rdess,' 'int'rest,' 't'wards,' 'Emp'ror.'

Did our limits permit we might point out many other defects of style, such as mannerisms and obscurity; but we must restrict ourselves to calling attention to a few inaccurate renderings. In canto xvii. 31, 'Così scendemmo alla destra mammella' is rendered 'So down we went towards *its*'—Geryon's—'right-hand nipple'; but the meaning is that Dante and Virgil went down towards their *own* right.[1] In canto xviii. 87 Jason is said to have dispossessed the Colchians of the *wether*—instead of the *ram*—perhaps because the

to canto xv. purports to be to verse 1 of the canto : it should be verse 9. In the same canto, note to verse 29, '*faccia*' should be '*mia*.'

[1] So, in canto xii. 97, Dante says 'Chiron wheeled round upon his right breast'—*i.e.* he turned to his right.

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wrong word possessed a needed extra syllable. In canto xx. 16, 17 the translation imports that some of the shades of soothsayers then in sight had perhaps been twisted round by palsy; but Dante is referring to the possibility of palsy having caused such distortion, not in them but in living beings. Lastly, we find in canto xxiii. 42 the mistake made by so many former translators in supposing that the mother who snatches up her child and rushes from a house on fire stops to put on a shift. Dante says that she does not wait *even* to put one on.

We will conclude by referring to a few expressions which appear to us singularly unfortunate, and calculated to excite a smile rather than the suitable emotion. The first line in the well-known inscription over the gate of the Inferno—that crux of translators—is rendered

'Through me ye go within the aching city';

and in canto xxxiv. 28 Dis is described as

'The Emp'ror of the ever-aching kingdom.'

These lines suggest a troublesome tooth rather than the torments of hell. And a reader, not acquainted with the existence of the ancient Neri and Bianchi factions, may be excused if he supposes canto xxiv. 143, 'Pistoia first doth thin itself of Black ones,' to refer to an ostracism of chimney-sweeps.

In illustration of our opening remarks as to the prosaic sound of Mr. Lee-Hamilton's lines, let us end by transcribing, in prose form, his rendering of canto xxix. 79–81: 'And each of them now exercised the sharpness of his nails upon himself in the great fury of itching which can get no better comfort.' Line 80 consists of the words, 'Of his nails upon himself in the great fury'; and in order to make it scan either 'his' must be omitted or 'his nails' pronounced 'snails.'

Life and Letters of John Bacchus Dykes, M.A., Mus.Doc., Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham. Edited by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L. (London: John Murray, 1897.)

This short memoir of the life of a highly gifted and saintly man, although published more than twenty years after his death, will be not only a welcome reminiscence to those of his friends who still survive, but of still greater interest and use to the millions, as the Editor says in his Introduction, 'whose religious life has been helped' by the author of those Hymn Tunes, which have added so much to the beauty and holiness of the worship of the Christian Church. A very large number of these millions in all probability know nothing of him who composed the Tunes, and it will be good for them to know what manner of man he was, and to learn much, as we trust that they will learn, from his holy life and sound teaching.

The memoir is the work of a sister and niece of Dr. Dykes, but was entrusted by them to the editorship of his old and valued friend the Rev. Dr. Fowler, Vice-Principal of Hatfield's Hall, Durham, and now an Honorary Canon.

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We may trust it, therefore, as a faithful picture of the bright and religious home in which Dr. Dykes was brought up. His grandfather was an excellent and devoted clergyman of the old Evangelical school, who built a church in Hull, of which he was the incumbent for fifty-seven years. His father was engaged in business, but must have been a man of great piety and judgment, of whom the son could place this record in his diary after his death: 'God be thanked for giving me such a father. God grant that in health and strength I may devote my power to Himself, as he ever did, so that my work may not have to be begun when his began to draw to an end' (p. 85).

Brought up in a home where 'father and mother made it their first care that the home should be a happy one, and by their genuine goodness set an example to the household,' it is no wonder that in after life Dr. Dykes, with his numerous brothers and sisters, for they were a family of fourteen, should have developed such high Christian characters. He shared to a more than usual degree one of the sorrows incidental to a large family, especially when the members of it are not of very robust constitutions—the sorrow of separation by death from those most near and dear. He himself, when he was only seventeen, nearly died of scarlet fever; and when he was recovering his youngest sister caught the infection and died. His brother George, a surgeon, died in 1857; and in 1860 two others followed—the one from the effect of a chill, caught in rescuing a friend from drowning, and the other, a clergyman, from typhus fever, caught in the faithful discharge of his ministerial duty. In 1864 his father died, and two months after his youngest brother, Arthur. The record of all these sorrows is accompanied in the memoir by very touching letters and extracts from his diary, showing the deep religious faith and hope which supported both himself and them. It was on the occasion of his brother Arthur's death that Dr. Dykes had to spend his Easter at Brighton, where he attended the services at St. Paul's Church. The beauty of the church and the splendour and solemnity of the services made a deep impression upon him, as he says: 'I felt a strange mixture—delight and sorrow through all—delight at seeing such *glorious* service in the Church of England, and such signs of life! and sorrow at comparing all this with our shortcomings in the North' (p. 98).

It was no doubt the impression thus made upon him which encouraged him to persevere, amid a good deal of opposition, in raising the services of his own parish church in Durham to that bright and devotional character with which he left them to his successor. The following extract from one of his letters shows us his own feeling on this subject:

'I am more and more convinced, however, that I have done *right* in endeavouring to improve the church and the services, and to render them altogether more attractive. We are surrounded by a heathen population. An ugly church and dull service will never bring them back. We *must* make use of externals. We must fearlessly and trustfully employ the various appliances of worship, musical, ritual, and architectural, which the Church

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allows, and of which God has signified His approval, in the full confidence that in so doing we are not only not doing *wrong*, but simply doing what our duty to God and man requires at our hands' (p. 108).

The whole of Dr. Dykes's ministerial life after his first curacy was spent in Durham. On January 16, 1848, he was ordained to a curacy at Malton, and in July 1849 he was appointed to a minor canonry in Durham Cathedral; and on November 19 in the same year, at the annual Chapter, he was elected to the precentorship, and thus entered upon one of the most important works of his life. His friend and colleague, the Rev. E. Greatorex, thus describes the work which he had undertaken, and the influence of his life in Durham:

'The precentorship was, as might be expected, not altogether a bed of roses. Many prejudices had to be met, and improvements had to be very carefully introduced; but by degrees the services were improved by the introduction of new music, by weekly choir practice, and by bringing the singing boys into choir in an orderly manner (p. 77).

'His Durham life was, to a superficial observer, a quiet and uneventful one, but beneath the surface lay a great work; his very social life was working good; by his steady adherence to the Church's rules, and by his never-failing cheerfulness and placidity of temper, he drew many to see the beauty of the system he upheld, and gained the influence for which he was so remarkable' (p. 78).

In 1862 he was appointed by the Dean and Chapter to the vicarage of St. Oswald's, one of the largest parishes in Durham, and one with which his name will ever be associated; here, says the memoir, 'he lived and worked, a faithful parish priest, until his last illness compelled him to leave the home and parishioners he loved so well.'

In consequence of this appointment he had to resign the precentorship, but retained the minor canonry. During the next fourteen years of his life, too soon brought to a close, the work for which he had been preparing himself was done. The extracts from his letters and diary, judiciously selected, show us what a faithful, busy, and anxious work it was:

'As a pastor, Dr. Dykes was unremitting in his attention to the sick and dying, in going after the wandering sheep, in keeping up the daily services, and frequent celebrations of Holy Communion, so far as his strength would permit; and also in giving "ghostly counsel and advice" to the many who came to him and "opened their griefs," seeking the benefit of absolution' (p. 81).

But in addition to the faithful discharge of his duties as a parish priest, there was another great claim on his time and talents. He took a very active part in the preparation of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, to which he contributed in the first and subsequent editions no fewer than fifty-five tunes. In addition to these he increased the store of the Church's music by many anthems, services, chants, carols, and hymn-tunes to be found in other collections, a list of which is given at the end of the book, to the number of about three hundred. We think that it would be a great gift to the Church and a due honour to his memory, if these could be all collected and published together. Dr. Dykes was ready to write a tune for almost any

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one who asked him ; and we believe that he never issued one which had not cost him much time and care and religious thought ; and it is this which impresses upon them all that devotional character which seems to distinguish his tunes from all others.

Besides his pastoral and musical work, Dr. Dykes was a diligent student of theology, not perhaps a very learned or critical one, but most certainly a very thoughtful and devout one. In his early days at Cambridge he had taken much deeper interest in the subject than probably most of his acquaintance knew. He was a regular attendant at Mr. Carus's meetings on Sunday evenings, and 'took a special delight in the University sermon, and on his scholarlike theological mind profound impressions were made by Dr. Mill, Dr. Wordsworth, and Professor Blunt.' It is evident also from his diary that he took the greatest pains and interest in the preparation of his parish sermons ; and we would venture to suggest to those who now possess them, that a judicious selection of them might with advantage be published. He was especially devoted to the study of the Revelation and very possibly has left behind him some useful sermons on that subject. He often bewails in a touching and humorous manner his deficiency as a speaker, but he certainly wrote very carefully and thoughtfully, and with much fervour and power.

It only remains for us now to call attention to the valuable collection of letters at the end of the book on questions of conscience. These touch on a variety of subjects, such as Confession, Fasting, Communion, Temptation, Keeping Lent, Self-imposed Penances, Dealing with Dissenters. These letters are marked by a very keen insight into human nature, and by the most tender, careful, and judicious treatment of those who sought his advice.

'With him,' says the memoir, 'there was no undue magnifying of the priestly office, no craving after spiritual dominion ; he was led to the work by the real and earnest desire to be helpful to doubtful, wandering spirits, and to use what spiritual light he possessed to guide others on the road which, by his own experience, he knew to lead into green pastures and quiet resting-places, where the ear is opened to hear the Shepherd's voice and the sight quickened to behold the Hosts of God' (p. 239).

An Appendix at the end of the book contains the correspondence between Dr. Dykes and the Bishop of Durham, which was fraught with such painful issues ; for we have good reason to know that the distress and anxiety attending it considerably hastened Dr. Dykes's death. The editor in his Introduction says : 'Even now some may think that this correspondence ought not again to be published. Yet it seems only fair to Dr. Dykes's memory that the true story should now be put into permanent form, after this considerable lapse of years, and told in his and the Bishop's own words.' Certainly, without it, the life would not have been complete ; still, we are inclined to think that it might have been better omitted, as it may possibly prejudice many readers who knew nothing of the circumstances at the time, and who might be discouraged from accepting the rest of his teaching. Into the merits of the controversy we will not enter much. The Bishop was a kind-hearted man, but very prejudiced.

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His conduct was certainly arbitrary, and his letters are cold and unsympathetic. And, considering the smallness of the points on which he insisted, it seems cruel to have tried so earnest and faithful a parish priest, as he must have known Dr. Dykes to be. But party spirit at that time ran very high, and we have little doubt but that the Bishop was urged to act as he did. It is very probable also that Dr. Dykes was pressed on by others to resist. He certainly acted unadvisedly in bringing the action to try the power of the Bishop as to refusing to license a curate; and we cannot but think that it would have been his safer course to have submitted under protest to the Bishop's injunction, and not to have sacrificed the spiritual welfare of the parish and possibly his own life, by his refusal to obey. One thing is clear, that the letter in which he conveyed this refusal to the Bishop is a very clever one, full of telling points, and written, as he himself says, 'in all seriousness, and not without earnest prayer.'

It certainly deserved a more courteous, if not sympathetic, answer than the curt refusal to license the curate.

Philosophical Lectures and Remains of Richard Lewis Nettleship. Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. Edited, with a Biographical Sketch, by Professor A. C. BRADLEY and Mr. G. R. BENSON. In two volumes. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)

THE combined efforts of friends and pupils which have resulted in these deeply interesting volumes are a testimony to the regard in which Nettleship was held, and the work glows with that gratitude which he valued so highly. Mr. Bradley has recounted 'the chief events of Nettleship's outer life' and has attempted such a description of his mind and character as explains in some degree 'the great influence he exerted on his pupils and friends, and the impression of "uncommonness" which he almost invariably left even on acquaintances' (i. xi). Mr. Bradley is also responsible for the preparation of the first volume,[1] which includes a collection of miscellaneous papers (pp. 1–49) and extracts from letters (pp. 50–108), redactions of lectures, notes on logic (pp. 113–234), and an essay on Plato's conception of Goodness and the Good (pp. 237–394), which was the only part of the volume written for publication (pref. p. vi). The second volume has been prepared by Mr. Benson and consists solely of lectures, reproduced from the full notes of pupils, on Plato's *Republic*. It will not be necessary to quote passages in detail to illustrate Mr. Nettleship's teaching as a moral philosopher, because we can accurately define his position by noticing that 'he was in substantial agreement with the idealism represented first and most powerfully in Oxford by Green,' whose work at Balliol, as far as another could, he took up (i. xxiv, xlvi). And it will be enough to say that the second

[1] For the benefit of readers who are better acquainted with ecclesiastical than with Balliol affairs Mr. Bradley should have added a note to say that the author of the sermon mentioned in i. 95 was the Master of University College.

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volume gives English readers an excellent account of the drift and contents of Plato's great inquiry 'how to live best' (ii. 5). We will, however, illustrate Mr. Nettleship's treatment of his author by quoting his description of the passages in the *Republic* on education and the future life:

(i.) 'There are three important ideas in [Plato's] system of education. First, there is the idea that education must meet all the demands that human nature brings with it. Secondly, there is the conception that as long as the human soul is capable of growth the work of education ought to go on. . . . Thirdly, the great organs of education are all those which human nature in the course of its growth has produced: religion, art, science, philosophy, and the institutions of government and society are all to be enlisted in the service of education' (ii. 292).[1]

(ii.) 'According to the tale of what was seen by Er the Armenian, who twelve days after he had been killed in battle was sent back to life, the soul immediately after death proceeds to a spot where it is judged. The just souls are there seen ascending, through an opening in the sky on the right hand (St. Matt. xxv. 33), to a thousand years (Rev. xx.) of happiness, and the unjust descending, through an opening in the ground on the left, to a thousand years of punishment. At the same spot, also, perpetual streams of souls are seen arriving, some coming down by another opening in the sky from their sojourn in heaven, others coming up by another opening in the earth from their sojourn below. As each soul returns, whether from bliss or from pain, it goes into a meadow,[2] where it rests for seven days before it chooses a new life upon earth. The ordinary punishment allotted to the unjust soul at death is the requital ten times over of the evil done in life; and so, too, the recompense to the just of the good done in life is tenfold. But there are other measures of punishment also. Those whose lives have been very short are differently dealt with. Some again whose guilt has been extreme are held not to have been sufficiently punished when they return after a thousand years, and are sent back again; and there are some incurable sinners who are cast for ever into Tartarus' (ii. 360).

The essay on Plato's conception of Goodness and the Good (i. xxiii, 237) is part of a book on Platonism for the general public which Nettleship undertook to write for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, into the limited compass of which he vainly attempted to compress the stores of his wide knowledge. His aim was to give some idea of what was in the man's mind in its original unmitigated form, without apology or attempt to soften it down for modern culture, but the design was not finished at the time of his death. The lectures on Logic need not detain us long, though the subject was one on which, next to Plato, Nettleship most frequently lectured.

[1] It is worth while to take every opportunity of driving home the truth that education is the gradual process of leading man forth to the full development of *all* the faculties which God has given to him. Compare Liddon's *Easter Sermons*, ii. 289, 306.

[2] 'Campus erat . . . fragantia vernantium flosculorum plenus,' says Drythelm in his vision in Bede, v. 12; compare Dante's description of the 'celestial forest' in *Purg.* xxviii.; Fursey's vision in Bede, iii. 19; Mr Plummer's collection of notes on 'visions of the other world' in his edition of Bede, ii. 294-95; *Lyra Apostolica*, No. 52, 'They are at rest'; and Ps. xxiii. 2.

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In the wide sense which Oxford practice gives to the term 'Logic' the subject embraces a discussion of the theory of knowledge in general, and the design of Nettleship's course was to give explanations of terms current in logical treatises, with a short discussion of a few chief problems, and historical references to some of the most important philosophers. The specially historical lectures of his course are not here produced, and the materials which are selected are presented in the latest form into which Nettleship cast them (i. 111–112). We do not for a moment wish to deny the interest or the value of the redactions of all the lectures printed in these two volumes, but we cordially agree with the remark that the miscellaneous papers and extracts from letters 'represent [Nettleship] more adequately than his lectures or even his essays' (i. xlvii), and the biographical sketch both supplements and is supplemented by these autobiographical remains.

When he was the head boy at Uppingham, and Thring had left the senior boys to bring an unknown offender to justice, Nettleship

'asked the lads to remember that they were trusted, and called on them to be worthy of the trust. He ended his appeal to the sense of honour by saying, "Uppingham is a little place, and I dare say you fellows think it doesn't very much matter how we treat either our masters or one another; but at least it shall never be said, if I can help it, that Uppinging boys are either liars or cowards. Those who agree, show their hands." And the whole school rose, and cheered their head boy to the echo' (i. xii).

Nothing perhaps so well indicates the wide esteem in which he was held in the Balliol circle at Oxford as a remark about the value which was set upon his presence there 'by Jowett and Green on the one side and by the undergraduates on the other' (i. xv). It is a pity that one or two tricks of speech and manner in the description of Langham in *Robert Elsmere* can hardly fail to remind Oxford men of Nettleship, for the character of Langham is contemptibly unlike that of Nettleship (i. xxvi). It is curious that a man to whom the hearing of music came to be 'almost the only reasonable form of worship' (i. xxviii), and who was utterly unable to understand that the great dogmas of the Catholic Faith are germs of moral power (i. 104–5), should make those who knew him best feel that they had scarcely ever known a more religious man (i. lv). His religious position, indeed, presents a fascinating problem, and the papers and letters afford many glimpses of his inner mind: for example, on immortality (i. 3), the Atonement (i. 39), our Lord's Divinity and Resurrection (i. 102–3), a curious kind of animism (i. 107), and various theological topics. Everywhere the accuracy and delicacy of Nettleship's feeling for language are evident (i. l), and everywhere we are impressed by the strange picture of a noble soul who never found in the Church what so many equally noble and nobler souls have found there. All that can be said is said in the inscription on the memorial tablet at Balliol: 'He loved great things, and thought little of himself: desiring neither fame nor influence, he won the devotion of men and was a power in their lives: and, seeking no

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disciples, he taught to many the greatness of the world and of man's mind' (i. lvi). That a man so truly noble should have his teaching summed up in the bathos of 'the greatness of the world and of man's mind' strikes us as one of the most unutterably sad comments on such a good man that we have ever read, sadder even than the line of Addison's epitaph in Westminster Abbey, which declares that he was '*patronus* fidei Christianæ.'

The Anglican Revival. By J. H. Overton, D.D. (London: Blackie and Son, 1897.)

The 'Victorian Era' Series, to which this little half-crown volume in cloth boards belongs, is designed to form a record of the great movements and developments of the age in politics, economics, religion, industry, literature, science, and art, and of the life-work of its typical and influential men. Canon Overton's volume appears to be the solitary representative of 'religion' in the series up to the present, though Professor Holman is preparing a volume on National Education which deals with a subject in which the Church has played the largest, and for many centuries the only, part. As Canon Overton points out, 'the Anglican Revival' and 'the Oxford Movement' are by no means convertible terms. The Anglican Revival succeeded the Oxford Movement, and spread more widely. It owed a considerable part of its success to men who never came under the spell of the Oxford School, who kept aloof from it, or even came into collision with it. The Anglican Revival was not checked, as was the Oxford Movement, by the disaster at Oxford in 1845, and Canon Overton gives a popular and extremely lively account of the details of this later and wider development of Tractarian principles in this little book. The subject is of course regarded, as he says, from the clerical point of view, but it is none the worse for that. Whatever advantage may be gained from passing through the crucible of competent lay criticism has, however, been bestowed upon the work by Mr. J. H. Rose, the editor of the series (pref. pp. v–vi).

The introductory chapter deals with the hidden roots of the Oxford Movement, the features of religion in the period which immediately preceded its rise. Even in the first quarter of the century, and from 1825 to 1833, the Church was beginning to move in missionary, educational, and building work. If there was much surface bitterness against her, there was also a silent deep-rooted attachment to her. There were the Evangelicals and the Orthodox, the Clapham and the Clapton sects, each in their several ways, one indirectly and the other directly, preparing for the Tractarians. An excellent little summary is given of the preparatory literary influences of Sir Walter Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Keble, who would have been a pioneer instead of a leader of the Movement if he had died immediately after the publication of the *Christian Year* in 1827 (pp. 16, 24). The influence of such less known men as Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox is not forgotten (p. 18), though we search in vain for a reference to the apostolic life of Bishop Jolly, and regret

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that Canon Overton did not take an opportunity of making the life of this truly remarkable man better known.[1]

Full justice is done to the work of Hugh James Rose at Cambridge, and of Bishop Lloyd, the two Palmers,[2] and Mr. Miller (pp. 21–7). In dealing with the Oxford Movement itself Canon Overton divides it into three stages. The first opens with Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy' and the Hadleigh meeting in 1833, and closes with the publication of the first volume of Newman's sermons in 1834 and the early Tracts in 1835 (p. 27). Here, appropriately, Canon Overton introduces short accounts of the three men whose lives form the history of the Movement (pp. 34, 37, 41). The second stage is rightly dated from the adherence of Pusey to the Tract writers in 1835 (p. 62), and includes the death of Hurrell Froude, the project for the publication of the *Library of the Fathers*, the Hampden controversy, the publication of Newman's *Prophetical Office of the Church*, Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, Isaac Williams's[3] tract on *Reserve*, and Froude's *Remains*, and the proposal for the Martyrs' Memorial. The third stage traces the 'alarming phase' (p. 88) of the Movement which culminated in Newman's secession in 1845. The salient points of the well-known story are cleverly brought out in Canon Overton's narrative up to this important date, but the distinctive merit of the book appears to us to lie in the success with which the author shows that from the principles of the Oxford Movement the Church of England revived throughout the country when the Movement itself in the place of its birth had practically collapsed. The illustration of this theme occupies the remaining part (slightly less than half) of the book. A description of the state of affairs in 'Oxford after Newman's Secession' (p. 121) introduces us of course to Pusey in the position of leader, to the names of Marriott and J. B. Mozley, and the origination of the *Christian Remembrancer* and the *Guardian*. A very necessary and instructive chapter on 'Cambridge and the Movement' follows (p. 135), and 'the Movement in the outer world' (p. 146) is naturally connected with the work of Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. Hook. The results of the Hampden and Gorham cases, and the influence of the Movement upon public worship (pp. 167, 188), may fairly demand a chapter apiece, and in conclusion Canon Overton summarizes the causes of the success of the most remarkable religious phenomenon of the century. He names the revived study of Church history, the revived sense of beauty, the vast number of tales for the young,[4] the personal characters of the leaders, the supply

[1] See *The Life of the Right Reverend Alexander Jolly, D.D., Bishop of Moray*, by the Rev. W. Walker, M.A. (Second edition, Edinburgh, 1878). He was born in 1756, and died 'when no mortal eye was near to witness his departing moments, having been found on the morning of St. Peter's Day, 1838, calmly reposing in death' (*loc. cit.* p. 158).

[2] Palmer of Worcester and Palmer of Magdalen, p. 64.

[3] Called 'J. Williamson' on p. 228!

[4] Even Canon Overton's considerable list of names must be increased by the addition of that of the Rev. W. E. Heygate.

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of a want which Evangelicalism was increasingly unable to satisfy—the consciousness that the Church was worth fighting for—practical pastoral work, and a revival of the poetry of religion, among the great factors which contributed to a work which has been crowned by 'the blessing of the Almighty' (p. 222).

1. *Life after Death, and the Future of the Kingdom of God.* By Bishop LARS NIELSEN DAHLE, Knight of St. Olaf. Translated from the Norse by the Rev. JOHN BEVERIDGE, M.A., B.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1896.)
2. *The Life of the Waiting Soul in the Intermediate State.* By the Rev. Canon R. E. SANDERSON, D.D. Third Edition. (London: Gardner, Darton and Co., 1897.)
3. *With Christ in Paradise.* Meditations on Life begun on Earth and continued in Paradise. By the Right Rev. A. B. WEBB, D.D., Bishop of Grahamstown. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1898.)
4. *Our Life after Death; or, the Teaching of the Bible concerning the Unseen World.* By the Rev. A. CHAMBERS, A.K.C. Fourteenth Edition. With Preface by the Rev. Canon HAMMOND, LL.B. (London: Charles Taylor, 1897.)

ENGLISH Churchmen have not yet learned how to observe Easter Eve. The precious teaching which is fully set forth in the special liturgical appointments for the day is still far too much thrust on one side, partly owing to the feeling of relief that the strain which the modern observance of Good Friday entails is over, partly by the excitement of Easter decoration, and partly by a dread of 'the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory.' It is the great day on which the Church puts before all her children the doctrines of the life of separation from the body, which she dwells upon in particular cases when the Order for the burial of the dead is used.[1] And it would be difficult to name any part of the Christian faith on which there is more general ignorance among Church-people. We say this without forgetting that some useful books upon the subject have appeared in recent years; that Mr. Chambers's popular account of the teaching of the Bible concerning the unseen world has reached its fourteenth edition; and with a full sense of gratitude for such excellent little books as Bishop Webb's Meditations, which formed the subject of addresses printed at first privately for use on a devotional day, and Canon Sanderson's sermons, preached in Chichester Cathedral and at Hastings. We are glad to see that these sermons have reached a third edition, because, although they only profess to be plain words addressed to an ordinary congregation, and do not aim in any way at being a complete theological treatise, they form a convenient commentary for popular use on several important passages of Holy Scripture which refer to the intermediate state.[2]

[1] The sermon after Evensong on Good Friday, and a very short address in the place provided by the Prayer Book for the sermon on the morning of Easter Eve, may be used to emphasize at least parts of the precious lessons of the time.

[2] 1 Thess. iv. 13; St. Luke xxiii. 43; Phil. i. 6; 1 St. Peter iii. 18–20; 2 Tim. i. 18.

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Under any circumstances, without having in view the prevailing relation of English Church-people towards the subject, we should feel a pleasure in introducing a book of such theological moment to the notice of our readers as we believe Bishop Dahle's treatise to be. The translator's preface will give the reader—what most readers will need to be told—the chief facts about the distinguished author, who directs all the missionary work of the Norwegian Church with experience gained in the mission field of Madagascar, and who is one of the most learned philologists and the ablest preachers of his native land (Pref. pp. vi–viii). He has himself written a short preface to this first translation of any of his works into English (Pref. p. ix), and tells us that he has aimed at a survey of the main features of the Biblical doctrine of 'the last things,' both as concerns the individual and the Church. He has accepted 'no guide except Holy Writ,' and has specially avoided the use of all technical words and phrases, which might at once have given a more learned appearance to the work and confused the general reader. True scholars will have no difficulty in recognizing the thoroughness of the Bishop's investigation, in spite of his simplicity of diction.

The work, which is exceedingly well translated, appropriately opens with an allusion to St. Paul's great chapter on the abiding character of faith, hope, and love. Hope, the virtue with which a book on life after death is specially concerned, is, says the Bishop, 'the face of faith turned to the future' (p. 1). Man being as he is, hope stands side by side with fear, and our inquiry about the future brings hope and fear to bear upon the three great divisions of the subject. There are for our consideration the future of the individual from and including death until our Lord's final advent, the future of God's kingdom on earth until that same event, and then the event itself, with its results to the individual, the universal Church, and the whole creation (p. 4). Such an investigation, putting in their proper position of subordination the aids usually supplied in the investigation of truth by experience (which fails us here), speculation, existing notions, and analogies in nature, must obviously depend upon Holy Scripture, that is, God's own revealed word, as the only trustworthy source of knowledge (p. 9). The introductory chapter closes with references to the dangers of such an inquiry, and the attitude which the Church has adopted towards it at different times (pp. 15, 18).

The work proper, dealing with the first division of the subject, opens with a chapter on death, considered as an historic and prehistoric fact, examining its physical character, its real cause and consequent nature, and its results both as a curse and blessing (pp. 24–58). The next section is on immortality, and deals first with the various vague meanings of that term which are current, and then with that personal immortality which is taken for granted rather than demonstrated in the Bible. Certain extra-Scriptural proofs of immortality are also considered and well summed up on p. 79, and the beliefs of the heathen world on the subject are surveyed (pp. 59–84). A substantial section of the work follows on the intermediate state,

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in which, after a brief account of the conceptions of various races and religions (p. 85), a very careful inquiry is undertaken into the Jewish and Christian teaching (pp. 93, 113). This includes a full examination of the signification of the term Sheol (p. 95), a note on the Apocryphal books (p. 113), and an exhaustive discussion on the evidence of the New Testament. Such questions as the soul's relations in the intermediate state (p. 122), the meaning of Hades (p. 150), and the possibility of conversion after death (p. 168) are so thoroughly considered that the reader gains the impression that no evidence has been kept back or even unconsciously omitted. As a sample, we may refer to the examination of the great passages in the First Epistle of St. Peter, iii. 18, iv. 6 (p. 190). In concluding this part of his work the Bishop exposes what is unscriptural in the doctrine of Purgatory (p. 210),[1] and inserts a few historical and doctrinal remarks on prayer for the dead (p. 215) and on the salvation of unbaptized children (p. 219). He infers from the evidence that 'we may entertain a hope of salvation and bliss for our unbaptized children immediately after death, yet not more than a hope' (p. 227).

The second part of the book opens with a statement of three great questions. What great events may be expected to take place before the Day of Judgment, in what order, and at what intervals? The first question in certain important particulars is answered in the Bible. The second is much more difficult, and 'at the third we come to a complete standstill' (p. 229). The Bishop begins this branch of his subject by giving what he is more than once careful to point out is not an exposition, but only a survey, of the main features of the Revelation of St. John (pp. 232–67). He then dwells upon two of the great events which are to prepare for the end, namely, the preaching of the Gospel to all nations (p. 273), and the conversion of the Jews (p. 278). A fine instance of the Bishop's exegesis is to be found in the long note on Romans xi. 25, 26 (pp. 294–98); and his comprehensive mode of surveying the whole area of evidence is shown in his note on what the view of the promises of the conversion of Gentiles and Jews has been in different periods of the Church (pp. 315–18).[2] The great events which are closely connected with the end itself are discussed in the sections on Antichrist (p. 320)—a term which is taken to indicate a definite human personality, the millennial kingdom (p. 354), and the last conflict (p. 387). Good notes on the different interpretations of 'Antichrist' and on the history of Chiliastic views are given (pp. 351, 379).

The last part of the book, under the title of 'The End,' includes

[1] We cannot think, in view of 'doctrina Romanensium' in the past, that it is desirable to popularize the word 'Purgatory' in our efforts to spread true doctrine about the second stage of human life, as the author of the St. Bartholomew's Church Tracts attempts to do in No. 40 of his series, entitled *Purgatory*.

[2] It is well that we should not forget that less than a hundred years ago the Rev. Charles Simeon asked, 'With what propriety and in what mode can a mission be attempted to the heathen from the Established Church?' Quoted in *Australia's First Preacher*, by J. Bonwick, p. 36.

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brief reflections on our Lord's final appearance on earth, the general resurrection, everlasting death, the transfiguration of nature, and eternal life (pp. 391–455).

We have said enough, we trust, in our compressed review of the contents of this important work to show that many fascinating and yet unanswerable questions 'de novissimis' receive in its pages as full a treatment as any reader can hope to meet with in the present stage of life.

The Revel and the Battle, and other Sermons. By GEORGE RIDDING, D.D., Bishop of Southwell. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)

IT is no easy thing to criticise these sermons, for they are not easy themselves either in style or in thought. Moreover they cover a wide period of time, between the earliest, preached in 1863, and the latest, in 1895, and are addressed to the most widely differing sets of hearers. Perhaps the prevailing type is that of a University sermon. And this may be the reason why a sermon preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, on Commemoration Sunday should have been chosen to give a title to the book, though oddly enough the sermon itself is placed in the middle of the volume. The Bishop of Southwell is at his best in addressing a University audience, in dealing with University ideals and problems, and the academic flavour runs through most of his sermons. We cannot imagine that they would appeal strongly to a general congregation; the thoughts are too subtle and the expression too involved. Indeed here we must accuse the Bishop of being unnecessarily obscure. He can indeed write clearly and vigorously when it suits him, and he is a master of epigram; but what are we to make out of such sentences as these: 'It may be that competitive individualism will have to evidence the truth for man of the Christian Church motives of membership one with another, which does not rise on the basis of utility' (p. 129); or, 'But it needs not the subtler art intelligence for sympathy to rejoice in opportunities for an ideal work to be the crowning masterpiece of a devoted art life'? (p. 267). And as an example of an 'academic' sermon, we might select that on 'Betting and Gambling,' which a foot-note tells us was preached by request at St. Mary's, Nottingham. This sermon is pre-eminently one to read in a study, slowly and carefully. It is unquestionably powerful. The preacher recognizes the difficulty of his subject; he will not make sweeping statements, but prefers to balance and to discriminate. His conclusions are true enough, but we doubt whether a general congregation even of educated people would grasp them, or indeed follow the preacher's arguments.

But we turn to what seems the special excellence in this volume —the sermons which deal definitely with University life. The sermon *The Revel and the Battle* (the title is suggested by the fact that it was preached on the anniversary of Waterloo) expounds seriously and thoughtfully what is the real function of a University.

'The one discipline for which a University exists is to train its students to seek and find and value and maintain truth—truth of know-

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ledge and truth of life, truth intellectual and moral—to teach the different methods of its different departments, to teach the patience and modesty of its difficult pursuit, but chiefly to inspire the undivided desire to obtain truth, and the undivided desire to maintain it when obtained; the trust, the courage, the loyal faith in it. If learning is rarely sought, and knowledge is mainly derived at second hand, yet even in giving information teaching here will not be mere getting people through examinations, but will be directed to inspire independence and thoroughness, a desire for knowledge and an interest in subjects for themselves. Here it is known what elsewhere is often unknown, that it is not the information but the manner of getting it which is the training; and that, though knowledge is the particular object studied, it is not that particular object which is of chief permanent value, great as it is, but the power of pursuing rightly the future objects of life' (pp. 142–3).

These are wise words, and never more needed than in a time like this with its innumerable 'cranks,' its clamour for what 'pays,' its eagerness for specialisation, its haste to get rid of old-fashioned methods and ancient studies. Again we quote with profound approval the following from an earlier sermon preached at a special service for undergraduates, on 'Young Self-Absorption:'

'Through all a man's University course he is surrounded by a scaffolding which it takes all a man's mind to mount; and too many, ere they have mounted it, have worked the spirit of scaffolding into their hearts; the builder supersedes the architect in men's souls, in a mechanical age, as he does in bricks and mortar; and the glorious edifice which the scaffolding was meant to raise—the noble, generous, uplifted soul of man—seems a vague unpractical piece of poetic talk beside the beautiful machinery of the treadmill. System dins competition and rivalry into men, not perhaps in the same sordid degree as in uncultured commerce, yet in a degree new to the University' (p. 9).

But these sermons are interesting in another way. They provide a psychological study of the development of the preacher's mind. They show us a gradual consolidation of Church principles. And apparently, as we might expect, it is the exercise of the office of a Bishop which has thus cleared and strengthened a mind which is set naturally in a peculiarly academic mould. A larger experience and a sympathetic effort have modified the earlier tendency to latitudinarianism; so some of the later sermons provide *retractationes* for the earlier ones. In the sermon on 'Young Self-Absorption' already referred to, preached in 1882, we are told: 'Those [moral] duties were doubtless impressed upon Europe by teachers inspired with a belief in a Divine life of which those duties were the spirit. But now that they have been known, they stand as part of the moral conscience of enlightened Europe, not as positive laws or rules of a master, nor as rules to which we are bribed by promises; but as truths—truths alike in themselves to our nature, whether revealed at first by the Son of God or the Son of Man' (p. 22). But in a sermon preached in 1895 we read: 'When men will keep the fruits without the teaching, in the next generation the fruit will lose its flavour and spirit. Where distrust of the teaching has broken men's lives from that root, there social and moral principles have no vitality

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as Christian' (p. 337). Again in 1886, two years after Dr. Ridding's consecration, he tells the London Diocesan Lay Helpers: 'The Church must perforce work on Church lines, as men say. This is sad experience, but it is experience' (p. 200). But in 1895 we have a stronger and healthier utterance. 'The Church is invited to seek reunion by concession of system or doctrine. No blinder mistake could she commit. Religion does not draw religious people by easiness, nor do concessions inspire religious people with respect. . . . A creed to catch everybody by being nothing is no creed' (p. 338).

But by far the most interesting of these contrasts will be found in comparing this latest sermon, which we have already twice quoted, on 'The Church of the Nation,' with one preached at Oxford in 1864 on 'The Liberty of Teaching,' preached, as the foot-note tells, while the University was considering the prosecution of Professor Jowett for his part in *Essays and Reviews*. There is much that is wise in the sermon, the text of which is the counsel of Gamaliel; but we cannot help feeling that the preacher had never grappled with the question of the Church's duty towards the inherited Catholic Faith. The 'Articles' are spoken of as if they were all of the same order and value; we are told that 'the very principle of a Reformed Church is that past generations were not infallible' (p. 78), and a strong plea is made that the clergy should not be 'the only persons debarred by the very regulations of their office from free and intelligent discussions of the perplexities for the sake of truth' (p. 79).

But again in the sermon of 1895 we have a clear and most conscientious attempt at discrimination. We will not discuss the Bishop's conclusion; but it is well worth thinking over and developing. He tells us that the question of change or development 'is open to many illogical confusions.' 'Essential and non-essential is not a distinction for which we have any line provided, either about doctrine, or constitution, or rule. What is true, or wise, or good, what is primitive, apostolic, universal, are distinctions of history or wisdom. But we have no line drawn about what is essential' (p. 333). Then, after discussing briefly 'rules' and 'constitution' in a way which perhaps at first reading seems unsatisfactory, but is really very definite when we get below words to thoughts, the Bishop goes on to speak of 'doctrines' (p. 335). These he classifies into (1) doctrines on subjects requiring revelation, taught by the primary authority of Christ or the Apostles: if these be disputed, 'Historic Faith and Historic Christianity disappear' (p. 336); (2) 'doctrines applying primary teaching to subjects not formulated in the first age,' *e.g.* Faith and Works, Predestination and Free Will. On these subjects 'our Church teaches her Articles with no doubt, but not as Rome, the Creed of Pius IV., as necessary to salvation, or as Protestant Confessions with anathemas against rejection. She states simply in these constructive doctrines what the teaching of the Church of England is as gathered from Scripture interpreted by the Primitive Church' (p. 336); (3) 'doctrines on subjects left unformu-

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lated by our primary authorities,' *e.g.* 'Sacramental theories.' Under this head the Church of England 'limits certainty to what is certain,' 'obeying but not inventing' (*ibid.*).

The whole of this sermon is well worth studying; so indeed are many in this volume, in spite of their difficulties. Especially we would single out the sermon (I. viii.) on 'Some Conditions of Prayer,' and therein particularly the excellent passage on intercessory prayer (pp. 128, &c.), ending with the remarkable words: 'Experiences of prayer are men's secrets not to be published. But I do not doubt that those most assured of the power of prayer have felt their strongest proof, not in blessings received by themselves, but in influences which they have been convinced have been worked on others in answer to prayer for them' (pp. 131–32).

Preachers of To-Day.—1. *The Glory of the Lord.* Six Sermons by the Rev. ROBERT EYTON, Canon of Westminster, &c. 2. *Sin and its Conquerors.* By the Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1897.)

1. THE appetite of the British public for printed sermons (*i.e.* if the demand corresponds to the supply) must be as insatiable as their impatience at having to listen to sermons in Church is constant.

The publishers describe this series of *Preachers of To-Day*, in which the book in question occupies the first place, as 'a series of cheap volumes of Sermons by Popular Writers.' And we gather from the list of writers that the series, still further to suit the public taste, will not be limited to any one religious communion.

There is so much that is noble and inspiriting in Canon Eyton's sermons that we wish it were possible to recommend them unreservedly. He has a high ideal of human life; he cordially hates selfishness in any class; he has the gift of expressing himself clearly and vividly; last, but not least, he is a profound admirer of the late Dean Church, whose writings he quotes with approval more than once in this little book (pp. 4–5, 82).

But one radical defect seems to run through these sermons, and it is a very dangerous one. His conception of Christianity seems to be that of an active altruism, about whose doctrinal foundations one need not particularly enquire, provided that there is life and work to be seen. We have no reason to suppose that Canon Eyton does not himself accept the Catholic Faith in every point. But what we find fault with is that he does not seem much to care whether other men do or not. He condescends to the characteristic error of our own day, which is always crying out for the moral fruits of Christianity, without the doctrines which have produced these fruits, and which can alone continue to produce them in the world. So we find an example of the modern cheap disparagement of the Athanasian Creed on p. 6. We are told that such a sentence as, 'He, therefore, that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity,' exactly embodies 'the doctrine of exclusive salvation'; and this doctrine, 'we see now, obscured Christ's attitude and misrepresented His teaching' (pp. 6–7). So again there is an unworthy sneer at the Laudian Commemoration

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on p. 12: 'Archbishop Laud, whom some quaint survivals of a past age are now attempting to glorify by a special festival.' Christ is now revealed 'as the Emancipator of the reason' (p. 14). Christ's kingdom 'will never come by mere adherence to doctrines, by being what men call *sound in faith*,[1] *i.e.* always ready to utter our partial crudities with consummate assurance' (p. 48). And yet St. Paul bids a bishop reprove men sharply that they may be 'sound in the faith.'[2] We are not surprised to find Canon Eyton quite unable to understand the growing desire for an outward reunion of Christendom, or the disappointment which the recent Papal utterances have caused to many.[3] We cannot follow Canon Eyton in his interpretation of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, in which he slurs over the 'great gulf,' and regards Dives as plainly on his way to purification and perfection. But we are glad to see that he cannot accept the theory of annihilation (p. 73), nor disregard the plain teaching of Scripture and reason about a state of eternal loss (p. 74).

We must praise the deep moral earnestness of these sermons. We recognize the depth and subtlety of the preacher's thought. We are only sorry that the importance of doctrine has fallen out of proportion in his mind, and that he uses language sometimes on this subject which, if the New Testament and Church History mean anything at all, tends towards results which he would be the first to repudiate.

2. These sermons, we gather from internal evidence, are not very recent ones. Perhaps for that reason they lack the controversial bitterness which has of late years been so unhappily prominent in much of Dean Farrar's work. It cannot be denied that they are good and powerful sermons, and calculated to awaken a slumbering conscience. Still to our mind they would be much better and more powerful if they did not suffer from two of the author's characteristic defects. The first is the defect of style. Dean Farrar has never learned that piece of advice which Sappho gave to Alcæus, 'to sow with the hand and not with the sack.' Sermons, especially on such solemn subjects as Guilt and Repentance, do not require to be overloaded with illustration, allusion, and quotation. In endeavouring to increase the beauty and attractiveness of his message the preacher diminishes and dissipates its inherent force. The second defect is the still more serious one of failing to set forth the doctrinal basis of repentance and forgiveness in the Christian Church. Rather we find a tendency to disparage dogma and to appeal to the feelings and emotions. Thus in the last sermon in the book, on 'Lessons from the Birds and the Lilies,' the author fails to grasp that both in the last chapters of Job and in the Sermon on the Mount the force of the appeal to nature lies really in our answer to the question 'Who and what is the Teacher?' It is true that our Lord did not teach those listening multitudes about theology, about 'the petty verbal distinctions which exacerbate the hearts and cleave asunder the sects

[1] Italics our own.
[2] Titus i. 13; cf. ii. 2.
[3] Sermon IV., on 'Christian Unity.'

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of quarrelsome Christendom' (p. 103). But it is equally true that without theology we cannot rest upon the Sermon on the Mount as the word of an infallible Teacher. It makes all the difference whether He who said 'But *I* say unto you' was truly God or not; whether the answer which came to Job out of the whirlwind was only the gorgeous imagination of an Eastern sage or a revelation of that Holy Ghost 'who spake by the Prophets.'

And, to speak for a moment of the principal subject of these sermons, we cannot but think that the whole question of Forgiveness is most inadequately treated. It is, indeed, a most blessed invitation to bid sinners come to Christ 'as true penitents' (p. 36). But how many millions are asking, 'How?' And nothing but the full statement and exercise of that commission which the risen Lord gave to his Apostles can help them.

Village Sermons preached at Whatley. By the late R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L., sometime Dean of St. Paul's, Rector of Whatley, Fellow of Oriel College. Third Series. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1897.)

THE third series of *Village Sermons* by the late Dean Church will be welcomed by many readers. Like the first and second series, it contains teaching characteristic of its author, expressed in clear and simple language. Clergy may find in it very much which should prove helpful in suggestion as to the character and method of their pulpit teaching; and both clergy and laity will do well to make its contents the subject of careful thought. It is unnecessary for us to dwell at any length on the sense of the seriousness and responsibility of life and the claims of our Lord as the Master and only hope of men which is markedly present in these Sermons, as in all the writings of Dean Church. What has specially struck us has been the evidence of the pains taken in the instruction of a village congregation; each sermon has plainly had the proper time and thought allotted to it as conscientiously as if it were to be delivered from the University pulpit or in St. Paul's. Such a fact, in the case of such an author, affords a lesson which is not, we fear, altogether unneeded by many of the clergy.

We may quote two passages as illustrative of the general character of the book:

'To become as a little child means to have conquered our pride; and what is there in all man's life more difficult, what is there that fewest succeed in, what is it that sticks to us to the last, even when all else is forced from us, but our pride? All have pride. It is in the poor as strongly as in the rich, in the young as strongly as in the old, in the sick, even, as well as in the strong and healthy. Men will suffer adversity patiently, but it is another thing to give up their pride. Men will resist the temptations of the world, but they cannot give up their pride. Men will be kind, and just, and industrious, and honest, but if their pride is wounded they will be hard and obstinate. Men who have appeared to have conquered and got rid of all other gross sins yet are overcome still by their pride. Trouble and losses may bow us down to the very ground, but they do not crush our pride. To overcome it is the lesson of lessons' (pp. 31–2).

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'"The kingdom of heaven is at hand;" therefore all those things which flourish here on earth contrary to the laws and righteousness of that kingdom are doomed to speedy ruin. All the wickedness, all the daring unscrupulousness, all the worldliness which holds up its head and works with so high a hand, fearing nothing, caring for nothing—how quickly is the time coming, ever nearer and nearer, that must sweep it all away to the place appointed for it. "The kingdom of heaven is at hand;" therefore it will not be long before the hope of the righteous is fulfilled. He who has held fast to his true faith in Christ, who, in suffering and disappointment, has never lost his trust in the goodness of that Lord who perhaps has chastened him so heavily, has only to wait a little while and the trial will be over, the day of patience and faithful suffering will have ended, and the day of refreshment shall have come, to last for ever. "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Therefore we shall soon have cleared up all those doubts and perplexities which try us here, where we see so much evil and so much sorrow allowed, so much wickedness prospering, so much goodness cut short and brought to nothing, so much promise failing, so much hope defeated. The veil will soon be drawn aside, and all will be made plain' (pp. 7, 8).

From the Granary: Musings and Eloquences. By the Rev. JOHN R. VERNON, M.A., Prebendary of Wells. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1896.)

THIS volume of sermons, which forms, in the quaint language of the preface, 'a small sample-bag of corn threshed out and laid up in the barn' after thirty-five years' ministerial gleaning and ingathering, is marked by certain characteristics which, if they achieve nothing else, at least preserve the contents from being called dull and commonplace. As we read we were tempted to jot down such remarks as 'eccentric,' 'jerky,' 'sensational,' 'abstractions,' 'striking,' 'fanciful,' 'far-fetched,' but now and again it was 'beautiful,' 'persuasive,' 'invigorating'—remarks which show that the preacher is, if not always attractive, yet worthy of attention. The titles too are out of the way, preparing one for something peculiar, *e.g.*, 'Lethé,' 'Dogged by a Detective,' 'The Apple of Concord,' 'The Empty Seat,' and some are labelled as 'parables,' viz. 'The Well of Water,' 'The Acorn,' and 'The Organ.' These latter are a little disappointing; that of the acorn is the best, yet scarcely worthy of the occasion, viz. an ordination in Wells Cathedral, and that of the organ is in point of teaching a long way behind Mrs. Gatty's *Imperfect Instruments.* Here and there are found excellent sermons, *e.g.* 'The Secret of Unearnestness,' 'Toiling in Rowing,' and 'The Sweet Constraint.' They are full of helpful and beautiful ideas, and are very practical. There is no certainty in the preacher's mood; he is frequently whimsical and erratic, and he cares little or nothing for the setting of a text; but he seeks to gain attention by something that is uncommon, and, having done so, he often disappoints by leaving the desire which he has raised only half satisfied. As a mission preacher he would perhaps be more effective if he were more practical; but as a regular teacher one would expect from him more of that systematic doctrinal teaching the need of which in our day he has so well urged in the sermon entitled 'The Battle of the

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Standard.' Still, we must be grateful to him for many things that he has said, and has said well. The old legend about the dead dog outside the gates of an Eastern city (pp. 74–75) is very striking, especially the conclusion of it: 'Then a whisper arose and passed through the crowd, "This must be Jesus of Nazareth: none other but He could find aught to praise in a dead dog,"' and the following passage from a sermon for Passion Week is admirable, both for its sublime theme and the reverent treatment of it:

'There is *one* adequate object of our love. The perfection of love's ideal; a love unchanging, amid changes; satisfying, amid disappointments; enduring, when other loves fail; patient with our waywardness; hopeful for us in our despondency; ever helpful in our need; sufficient for our yearning; entirely adequate to our every requirement; forgiving and long suffering; full of pity for our weakness; forbearing with our fickle heart; a love which, having loved once, loveth to the end; a love which endures through unkindness, neglect, desertion; a love which outlives the mystery of the forgetful grave: a love which sought us in our lost estate; which won us from our sullenness and indifference; which accepts our little for its much; which will not refuse the leavings of the heart which has given to others the banquet; a love which, being Divine—that of our Creator—deigned to become human too—that of our Brother; the love of Him who hath indeed redeemed us, and washed us from our sins in His own Blood' (p. 112).

After such an appeal—and there are not a few passages which rise to true eloquence—we can overlook many minor blemishes in these sermons.

St. Francis of Assisi: his Times, Life, and Work. Lectures delivered in substance in the Ladye Chapel of Worcester Cathedral in the Lent of 1896. By W. J. Knox Little, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester and Vicar of Hoar Cross. (London: Isbister and Co., 1897).

This volume contains a series of eleven lectures by Canon Knox Little on the Times, Life, and Work of St. Francis of Assisi. The Introductory Lecture treats of the Value of a Study of St. Francis, and the next two deal with the External and the Internal History of his Times. Then there follow successively The Early Days, The Beginning of the Order and its Development, Early Missionary Efforts, and Some Important Incidents in Early Franciscan History; and the series is closed with three lectures on The Saint's Natural and Supernatural Characteristics, his Closing Days, and his Influence upon Art and Literature. Such a course inevitably demands much time and study, and these have not been wanting in the preparation and composition of the work before us. Its author tells us that 'he has for many years studied everything, mediæval or modern, which has come within his reach relating to it,' and that his judgment has been formed independently upon original authorities. We gather, too, from the lectures, although so much is not directly stated, that Canon Little has visited the spots especially identified with the career of St. Francis, and so comprehends the *genius loci* and the local colouring. So ample an equipment should secure work of

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considerable brilliancy and interest, for the lecturer stands at a considerable advantage in comparison with the ordinary historian. He can select only the more salient points of his subject, and is not tied down to the strictness of continuous narrative, can skip dull spaces and concentrate all the reader's attention upon what is sparkling with life; and within such wide limits as those included in 'times, life, and work,' can find abundant and varied material for the exercise of his knowledge, judgment, and literary skill.

With all these advantages Canon Knox Little has only succeeded in producing very disappointing work. Great as is the interest which attaches to the history of St. Francis and to the wonderful movement which he originated, and sincere as is the writer's sympathy with his hero, we are never moved by the narrative. Canon Little does not seem to be fired with his subject; his style is irretrievably dull, and we cannot recall any passages which a reader would mark for quotation or would care to transcribe. His lectures abound in sweeping assertions, and he often moralises in a fashion incredibly commonplace and threadbare, while in place of letting his story carry its own evidence, he bristles with such irritable objurgation of opponents, real or imaginary, as seriously disturbs the reader. Here is an example of the Canon's method of moralising. He has reached in his narrative the crisis when Francis stripped himself of everything he possessed and renounced all family ties:

'Henceforth,' the writer continues,—'it is worthy of notice—we hear no more of the rich, commonplace, self-seeking Bernardone, except as the father of that great man with whom he had quarrelled, and who moved Europe to its very depths. Such are the ways of God! The wise, worldly, common-sense merchant—the idol, the ideal, of shallow, unreal Christianity is dead and buried. His very name would have perished but that he was the father of one of the greatest men who ever lived . . . God's ways are not our ways. Bernardone is the prudent, ordinary man of the world—he is dead and forgotten' (p. 96).

And there follows another page of equally profound discussion of the proper relations between father and child. Is it necessary to dissect and expose the bathos of such fustian as this, or to do more than deplore the introduction into it of the Sacred Name?

It is difficult to convey, without too extended quotation, an impression of the utter flatness engendered by a slipshod style. For example, in the space of a dozen pages we are told nine times that various persons *seemed* to be this or that when no such qualifying term was needed. St. Francis '*seemed* to flash into joy' (p. 107); '*seemed* certain of his call' (*ib.*). In the next paragraph we are told 'his call was complete.' 'Peter *seems* to have been a learned man and of a distinguished family' (p. 111). 'Bernard *seems* to have possessed moderation of thought' (p. 112). 'St. Francis *seems* to have loved Egidius with a very special affection, and Egidius *seems* to have deserved it' (p. 114). 'These two brothers *seem* to have gone without any definite plan' (p. 117), and 'the Bishop of Assisi *seems* to have been fatherly and kindly' (*ib.*) 'In a second journey they *seem* to have covered more ground' (p. 119). Nor are such

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banalities relieved by plentiful intermixture of vapid oracular truisms, *e.g.* 'Appearance is one thing, reality is quite another;' nor by elaborate insistence on what is palpable until the writer arrives at an anticlimax. When we read that St. Francis '*utterly* gave himself for others,' the last word has been said, but Canon Little continues, 'He kept back nothing, and his love was wide and generous. There was nothing narrow or pedantic about it . . . He might have said with unerring accuracy, Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto' (pp. 236–7). Could anything be more absurd than this sequence of thought fitly crowned by the worn-out quotation? Verily the writer seems to have attained some glimpses of the obvious.

We had noted some instances of the sweeping and therefore questionable statements in which Canon Little indulges. St. Francis *created* Italian literature' (p. 292); 'conventional vulgarities with us English are *always* mighty' (p. 291); 'muddlingness is the destruction *of all the merely modern attempts at* painting' (p. 294); St. Francis *broke the power* of feudalism in Italy' (p. 219). To take only the last of these assertions. Surely the Crusades, to whose influence in other ways the writer refers, were the most effectual of all agencies in undermining feudalism throughout Southern Europe. The blemishes on which we have been dwelling indicate a want of that well-balanced and mature judgment which is essential to the right decision of many important questions on which Canon Knox Little enlarges. Perhaps our estimate of his lectures is a little severe; perhaps we expect too much. But the times, life, and work of Francis of Assisi are of almost unique interest and picturesqueness, and a canonry of Worcester might be thought to afford opportunity for ripe and cloistered learning.

The Teaching of the Russian Church. Being Notes on Points on which it differs from the English Church. By ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, B.D., Rector of Welwyn, Herts, formerly Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Published for the Eastern Church Association. (London: Rivingtons, 1897.)

THIS very clear and useful little book is 'a somewhat enlarged form,' 'with a few necessary alterations,' of a 'paper' which 'was read originally before a Society of East London Clergy.'

'It has two purposes. The first is to give, in the language of authorized documents, or of writers who may be regarded as representative interpreters of their Church, the teaching of the Russian Church on those subjects particularly about which questions might be asked, namely those points on which its teaching differs from that of our own Church, or of the Church of Rome, or those on which controversy and discussion have been raised.

'The second purpose is to try and bring out what the writer believes to be the temper and spirit of the Russian Church. Two Churches may have exactly the same offices and professions of Faith, and yet their life and spirit may be quite different. The same beliefs may be held in very different ways' (Preface, pp. v, vi).

One of the points of most interest at the present time is that about the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. At the end of a careful

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statement Mr. Headlam sums up the Russian opinion on the subject of Transubstantiation:

'If transubstantiation or μετουσίωσις or any similar word be used to guard the doctrine of a real Sacramental Presence in the Eucharist, it would express adequately the teaching of the Russian Church; but if the use of the word is supposed to mean the acceptance of the Roman doctrine represented by it, then the word is misleading. The reality of the Sacramental teaching of the Russian Church is undoubted, but equally strong is its rejection of the materialised doctrine of the Roman Church' (p. 11).

In connexion with this subject, as also with regard to Purgatory, the significance of the change made by the Russian Church in the decisions of the Synod of Bethlehem is pointed out (pp. 9, 10, 19).

On the subject of the Invocation of Saints Mr. Headlam mentions the important facts that Russian Christians pray for the Saints as well as invoke them, and do not restrict those to whom Invocations are addressed to any specially selected canonised Saints.[1] He thus describes the belief which underlies the practice:

'What is implied is that the whole company of the faithful in heaven and earth are one. United to one another in the Communion of Saints, the prayers of the whole Church ascend to heaven on behalf of all; as we are benefitted by the prayers of the living, so are we benefitted by the prayers of those who have gone before. As we are benefitted by the love of the living, so are we benefitted by the love of the departed. And the whole Church is ever striving to rise upward. Beings who are not perfect must continually be striving after greater and greater sanctification, and the departed are in a state of "serene upward progress"' (p. 20).

Mr. Headlam contrasts 'the belief and temper of the Russian Church' with 'that of Rome' and with the attitude of 'many theologians among ourselves.' His summary of points of difference contains the following statements:

'The Russian and the Eastern Church generally avoid, as much as possible, definition. The Roman Church is always trying to define the manner of the change in the Sacraments: the Eastern Church says it is

[1] It is, we believe, a common opinion among English Church people that it is unlawful for Roman Catholics to invoke any of the departed except the canonized Saints. This opinion does not appear to be correct. St. Thomas Aquinas, indeed, says that the souls in Purgatory 'non sunt in statu orandi' (*S.T.* II². lxxxiii. 11 ad 3), and that we do not ask them to pray for us because 'nondum fruuntur visione Verbi' (*ibid.* 4 ad 3); but Bellarmine speaks otherwise, 'Non videtur dubium quin pro se ipsis orent,' 'probabile est eos pro nobis orare,' 'superfluum videtur ab eis *ordinarie* petere ut pro nobis orent, quia non possunt *ordinarie* cognoscere quid agamus in particulari' (*De Purgatorio*, ii. 15); and, to quote a modern writer, Schouppe says, 'Probabilius . . . orant pro nobis, præsertim eas juvantibus,' 'probabilior quoque est sententia Bellarmini licitum esse animas purgatorii invocare . . . quod tamen Ecclesia publice facere non consuevit' (*Elementa Theologiæ Dogmaticæ*, tract. xix. § 121). There appear to be different schools of thought, corresponding to such differences as there are in these quotations.

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a mystery. The tendency of the rest of the Western Christian world has been to try and define what it does not believe' (pp. 13–4).

'The Russian Church avoids the obtrusively "priestly" language of the modern Roman Church. . . . The Roman language speaks of the power of the Priest, the Russian of the prayers of the Priest and the work of the Holy Ghost' (p. 14).

'The Roman Church dissociates the Priest from the Church, the Eastern associates him with it' (pp. 14, 15).

And, further on, we read—

'The West has retained and intensified a heightened sense of the individual life, of the reality of sin, of the necessity of personal conversion; it has lost, in the introduction into all theology, whether Roman or Protestant, of hard, legal ideas, of a too rigid system, of an exaggerated desire for construction, of a banishment of mystery, of the attempt to solve, by human reason, problems which are quite inexplicable' (p. 25).

After describing 'three characteristics of the Russian Church'—'that it is a National Church,' that it is 'the Church of the laity,' and that its special mark is 'religious devotion' (pp. 27–9)—Mr. Headlam proceeds to discuss 'its relations to England and the Anglican Church' and the bearing of these on the question of reunion (pp. 29–34). It is a great satisfaction to find that his cordial appreciation of Russian Christianity has not led him to advocate any hasty or ill-considered attempts to heal external divisions. Rather, he lays down expressly that no good is likely to come from such attempts, and that the 'method' of those who 'aim at reunion' should

'be one which works without caring for the immediate results, one which works by the sober path of theological study, of mutual intercourse and charity, of educating both ourselves and others' (p. 32).

A very useful appendix is added consisting, as described in the preface, of

'a short list of the service books and authorised doctrinal statements of the Russian Church, and of translations of them into English, with a few books, accessible to English readers, on the Russian Church' (p. vi).

The Teaching of the Russian Church is likely to be read with interest and profit by many readers. We regret that the use of the words 'at any rate' on page 25 should suggest a doubt whether the author considers the presence of the *Filioque* clause in the Creed to be advisable.

The Clergy List, with which is incorporated the Clerical Guide and Ecclesiastical, 1898. (London: Published for the Proprietors by Kelly's Directories, Limited.)

As compared with the *Clergy List* for 1896—the issue for 1897, through some inadvertence, we presume, did not reach us—this is to all intents and purposes a new book. We are now able to trace the clerical career of each clergyman from first to last. If only the works written by each had been added it would have formed a very serious rival to 'Crockford.' We presume the proprietors were

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deterred from making that addition by considerations of space and of weight. How extensive and how thorough the remodelling has been may be inferred from the fact that, whereas in the *Clergy List* of 1896 part I. (the 'List of the Clergy') occupied only 496 pages, in the present edition it rises to 1050 pages. That there is no sensible increase in the bulk of the volume is largely due to the use of much thinner paper.

We cordially echo the editor's fervent wishes that sufficient pressure may be brought upon the Government to induce them to bring in a measure to relieve the clergy of the unjust burden of taxation, from which they have so long suffered, as no other class would have suffered, almost in silence. 'It certainly does seem extraordinary that the clergy should be the only class in the whole community of whom many should be largely rated upon their incomes, whilst in every other case the local rates are assessed only upon the annual value of a house or of premises.'

We must not omit to mention that in the issue for this year an attempt is made in Part II. (the 'List of Benefices') to give the gross and net values, where before but one, the actual value, was to be found.

Before the April number finally passes out of our hands we desire to put on record a work which will no doubt be of the greatest interest to all readers of this *Review*. We refer to a '*History of the Roman Breviary*, by Pierre Batiffol, Litt.D.; translated by Atwell M. Y. Baylay, M.A., vicar of Thurgarton, Notts. With a new Preface by the Author' (London: Longmans, 1898). We hope to deal with this work at greater length on a future occasion. But meanwhile it is important to remark that this English translation contains a considerable number of additions and corrections supplied to the translator by M. Batiffol, and not to be met with in the latest French edition of 1893.

At the moment of going to press we have received the first volume (*St. Matthew*) of a cheaper reissue of Sadler's *Commentaries on the New Testament*. We have so repeatedly had occasion to expatiate on the merits of this admirable work in the pages of the *Church Quarterly Review* that we need not now do more than state that this new issue will appear, under the auspices of George Bell and Sons, in monthly volumes, till the whole twelve are completed, at the very moderate price of 4*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—BODLEY'S 'FRANCE.'

France. By JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY. Volume I. Introduction. Book I. The Revolution and Modern France. Book II. The Constitution and the Chief of the State. Volume II., Book III. The Parliamentary System. Book IV. Political Parties. (London and New York, 1898.)

IT would have been more in accordance with the actual scope and purpose of these two interesting volumes if Mr. Bodley had given them a more specific name than that which stands first upon their title-page. So general a term leads the intending student to expect an encyclopædic view of the almost innumerable items which make up our complex European civilization, or at least to suppose that the title includes such subjects as the Central Administration, the Judicial and Financial Systems, the Church, the Army, and the essentially modern but all-important question of the mutual relations of Capital and Labour. The present instalment of Mr. Bodley's work is, however, judiciously confined within narrower limits. The volumes before us deal only with the relations of modern France with the Revolution and with the working of French political institutions, and we are promised a further work upon the other elements of a modern State which we have enumerated. We are much mistaken if the perusal of the present portion of Mr. Bodley's onerous and useful task does not whet the reader's appetite for the additional feast in store for him. For the work before us is no dry disquisition on abstract politics. Its writer wields a pointed pen and possesses no mean skill in the disposition of his facts. He is not mastered by the huge mass of particulars he has

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gathered, but he can marshal and handle them with all the skill of a practical literary strategist. The fullness of his information displays itself in the sparkling richness of his pages, and an agreeable vein of humour, kept well under control, runs through them and gives piquancy to his narrative. So pleasant is the guise in which Mr. Bodley presents his mature and well-reasoned conclusions that the reader is as unconscious that he has been studying political philosophy as was M. Jourdain that he habitually spoke in prose. It is a crowning merit that the volumes are written in a spirit of judicial impartiality. Mr. Bodley's is not indeed a work of colourless neutrality, but with full sympathy and admiration for the great nation whose institutions he is describing, the author bases his conclusions on the impregnable rock of ascertained and established fact.

Before we proceed to the consideration of those facts and of the conclusions which Mr. Bodley deduces from them, it may be helpful to determine what are some of the fundamental and essential criteria by which the failure or success of any system of democratic government may be justly estimated. Without venturing upon disputable ground we think it will be universally conceded that a successful government should embody the national genius and spirit, and should at least have a tendency to further and foster high national ideals. It should secure stability for the constitution, and should enlist the services of its ablest citizens in its legislative and administrative departments. It is of no mean importance that its institutions should be able to awaken and to sustain general interest in their proceedings. More than all, by insisting upon the implicit and absolute incorruptibility of its functionaries it should uphold a lofty standard of national honour, and at least should not encourage the growing power of the plutocracy and that adoration of wealth which is the bane and threatens to be the ruin of modern peoples. Of course in the application of such tests it is by the general tendency of established institutions rather than by their action in isolated instances that we shall rightly judge them; and if we find after wide inquiry that the existing *régime* is largely at fault in every one of the particulars we have enumerated, we cannot escape the conviction that the system of government, however defensible in theory or however well adapted to people under different circumstances, is in the case under investigation a complete failure.

We are anticipating Mr. Bodley's verdict in affirming that the existing constitution of France glaringly fails to satisfy

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any one of these conditions. Instead of kindling widespread enthusiasm its parliamentary system is the subject of apathetic indifference, qualified only by supreme contempt for the politicians who manipulate its destinies. Amidst the ranks of public men of all parties one looks in vain for names of eminence in statecraft or intellect; the foremost men of the country are conspicuous by their exclusion from the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the shifting ministries represent no broad political principles, but only personal jealousies and petty squabbles. The taint of pecuniary corruption has scandalized and wrecked successive cabinets, and the violence of party antagonism deters men of high character and sensitive nature from the political arena. Of course there are men of high ability in the French Cabinet, but there are no longer names like those of Thiers or Gambetta around which the nation could rally; and such is the instability of the constitution that it was all but upset by such a charlatan as General Boulanger. The volumes before us furnish the explanation of so singular a condition of affairs.

Mr. Bodley helps us to realize in his Introductory Chapter how great is the difficulty of his self-imposed task, and what are the hazards attending any attempt to forecast the political future where a multitude of conditions, unknown and impossible to foretell, will modify the issue. None save the painstaking student of contemporary history can fully comprehend how intricate are the problems in the government of a nation 'which is the most complex product of civilization on the face of the globe' (p. 5). 'It is writing the history of a kaleidoscope,' said Cardinal Manning to the author; and it needs intimate acquaintance with the numerous parti-coloured pieces separately and with their diversified combinations. Seven laborious years spent alternately in Paris and in the provinces were all too brief for generalizations which should include the brilliant capital and the great manufacturing centres of France, the contrasted communities of Brittany and Provence and the Pyrenees, life in city and châteaux, amongst the vineyards which furnish the wealth of France, and the mining and industrial regions which feed its labourers, and the pastoral territories far removed from the toil and turbulence of the towns—all too brief, when M. Taine conceived his *Origines de la France Contemporaine* in early manhood, and left them forty years later still incomplete. But in the course of such a permanent residence the true significance of the little things whereof life is so largely composed is gradually revealed.

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'Even now,' says Mr. Bodley, 'when I know the French provinces as few foreigners can know them, the familiar scenes of daily life which meet the casual view give me pleasurable sensations as keen as when I was a passing stranger. A bishop blessing little children in the aisles of his cathedral, a group of white-coifed peasant women in a market-place, or a red-legged regiment swinging through a village to the strains of a bugle march, has now for me not merely the sentimental or picturesque interest of former days. I know, indeed, that the lives of many of these people are neither ideal nor idyllic, but I recognize now in these provincials, with all their failings, the true force of France which keeps her in the front rank of nations, in spite of the follies, governmental and otherwise, committed in her beautiful capital' (i. 9).

Nothing short of settled residence in the country for a term of years with undistracted devotion to its study could qualify any one for the investigation of the functions and working of its national institutions. It has been wittily and acutely said that there are two moments for writing: one when the writer knows nothing of his subject, the other when after long study he has mastered it; and Mr. Bodley has striven to combine the freshness of early impressions with the more trustworthy conclusions of wider knowledge.

'If I had confined myself,' he says, 'to a few instructive tours, alternating sojourns in anti-republican châteaux with visits to provincial towns to see the authorities, I should have got some vivid impressions of contradictory phases of French life, auxiliary to my sedentary studies, without acquiring a competent knowledge of France. An itinerant in a strange land, whether lodged in an inn or beneath a hospitable roof, has no real experience of the working of its institutions. The government of the country, the administrative, judicial and fiscal systems, although he has glimpses of their machinery and hears much of their advantages or inconveniences, have no practical purport for him. They only become realities to the student who submits himself to the conditions of existence of the people he is studying. Then as a householder, a tax-payer, or, if needs be, as a litigant, in unrestricted and unfavoured commerce with all classes of the population, he can turn to profit the daily incidents of life, or even its vexations' (i. 23).

It is from the vantage ground thus gained that the writer has taken his deliberate survey, and it is from thence that he traces his long-drawn indictment against the existing system of parliamentary government. He finds the great French nation, once the most joyous and *débonnaire* race in Europe, weighed down by a spirit of the acutest pessimism. He finds its genial sociability and politeness curdled into political antagonisms, pursued with the coarsest ferocity. He finds its

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thirst for glory, which, if it be a malady of noble minds, is one that promotes national *esprit de corps*, deadened by its dismemberment into groups with separate aims, which distract it from the united pursuit of a common purpose. He finds distributed daily throughout the country 'tens of thousands of cheap journals, which, expressing every shade of opinion, from the doctrine of the Commune to reactionary clericalism, have one feature in common, the scurrilous aspersion of public men' (i. 40). Nor are these merely the prejudiced strictures of an alien; eminent French writers bear similar testimony that France is in full decadence, and that Frenchmen have lost the pride of nationality, although its more thoughtful statesmen do not accept the humiliating theory that their great democratic nation can only recover its high position under the patronage of absolutist Russia. The one indispensable panacea for the malady under which France languishes will be a 'form of government capable of working well with the permanent institutions of the country. These are the Centralized Administration and Manhood Suffrage, and even though the master whom France is always looking for arrive, he will not enjoy a long reign unless he be apt to combine those elements' (i. 45).

No student of French contemporary history omits to trace its connexion with the Revolution; but we need not follow Mr. Bodley through his rapid sketch of the varying 'appreciations' pronounced by native and foreign authorities on the great upheaval, nor need we dwell with him on M. Taine's audacity in venturing to question its philosophy and its prestige. The one result which it is essential that the reader should bear constantly in mind, wrought by the destructive energy of that 'nameless orgie, that monstrous fray into which madmen, incapables and miscreants, rushed,' was that anarchy desolated the land—the administration was an absolute chaos, the finances mismanaged, society honeycombed with dissoluteness and corruption. So deep and widespread was the disorder that France could hardly have escaped extinction had not the cry of foreign invasion welded the nation together for resistance, and bred on the field of battle a hero who was also a master of the science of government. The enmity of Europe was the salvation of France.

Mr. Bodley's admiration for the First Napoleon is unbounded, but he gives adequate reasons for maintaining that he was not only the saviour of the Revolution but also the maker of modern France, 'who displayed the most colossal gifts of government and organization ever possessed by a

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human being.' It is worth while to furnish the reader with some of the grounds on which the author bases these unique pretensions:

'A young general,' writes Mr. Bodley, 'of thirty, of alien race, who had learned as a foreign tongue the language of the people he was to rule, who man and boy had lived only for fourteen years in France, suddenly appeared, and being called in to intimidate misrule, instead of returning to his troops when he had restored order, revealed himself by his genius as the master and the chief of the nation. The soldier of fortune, a stranger unversed in civil life, succeeded where philosophers, lawyers, and politicians had failed, and saved the great movement, which had swept away the Old Monarchy and the Ancient Régime, from dissolving the French nation in anarchy' (i. 104–5).

'Before the ambitious conqueror had got the better of the ruler and the organizer,' Mr. Bodley continues, 'he had accomplished work which at the end of the century, after revolutions and invasions, after changes of dynasty and misgovernment of every form, lasts as the solid foundation and framework of French society. The whole centralized administration of France, which in its stability has survived every political crisis, was the creation of Napoleon and the keystone of his fabric. It was he who organized the existing administrative divisions of the departments, with the officials supervising them and the local assemblies attached to them. The relations of Church and State are still regulated by his Concordat. The University, which remains the basis of public education, was his foundation. The Civil Code, the Penal Code, the Conseil d'Etat, the Judicial System, the Fiscal System, in fine every institution which a law-abiding Frenchman respects, from the Legion of Honour to the Bank of France and the Comédie Française, was either formed or reorganized by Napoleon. No doubt the Revolutionary assemblies sometimes paused in their work of demolition to essay a constructive project. The Constituent Assembly created the departments, the Directory remodelled the Institute; and Condorcet might have carried out his schemes of education had not his colleagues of the Convention driven him into suicide to escape the guillotine. But when Bonaparte arrived in France in 1799 from the camp and the battlefield, he found that the result of the Revolution, for ten years in the hands of jurists, rhetoricians, and theorists, was chaos. It was illumined with a few streaks of light, which displayed the fragmentary beginnings of well-conceived designs; but it was none the less a chaos, needing the inspiration of a creator to evolve order from it, and the authority of a master of men to utilize the misapplied intellects of that erratic epoch. The institutions of the Napoleonic establishment survive, not as historical monuments, but as the working machinery which regulates the existence of a great people at the end of the nineteenth century, and their minute examination shows that they operate satisfactorily' (i. 108–9).

The well-known device, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,

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adopted by the first Republic and assumed by its successors in 1848 and 1870, suggests an inquiry into the present enjoyment by the French people of the blessings which those names connote, and here the writer allows the facts to speak for themselves without indulging either in superlative denunciation or in easy self-complacency at the superiority of our insular institutions. Yet nothing can be more effective than the vivid illustrations with which he contrasts French and English notions of liberty. We pass by excesses committed in the name of liberty in periods of violent political disturbance. We do not insist upon the notorious truth that philosophy was more leniently treated under the Old Monarchy than under 'the Republic, which had no need of savants and chemists.' We accept Mr. Bodley's assurance that the ordinary law-abiding Frenchman is neither perpetually hampered by irritating restrictions nor worried by the intrusion of officials. But the fundamental conception of liberty differs essentially in France from that which prevails under English rule. Here is one of his illustrations. Mr. Bodley pictures a commercial clerk, his day's work completed, explaining to his sons

'the nature of a *lettre de cachet* and the iniquity of a system destroyed by the glorious Revolution, which permitted a citizen to be thrown into prison without trial—when a knock is heard at the door. A police officer enters with a warrant to arrest the man on the charge of defrauding his employers: he protests his innocence and is carried off. So far the proceedings might have occurred in any free country, even in the case of a man unjustly taken into custody; but the next steps, which a whole generation under the Third Republic has submitted to, are not suggestive of life under a democratic parliamentary *régime*, of which the official *fête* is the anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille. The accused person is locked up in solitary confinement, cut off from communication with his family, and in private audience interrogated day after day by a magistrate, who strives to extort an avowal. Meanwhile all the forces of the police are at work to get up evidence against the untried prisoner, of the nature of which he is kept ignorant, while the *juge d'instruction*, in his interrogatories, uses the craft of a skilled expert to drag damaging admissions from the mouth of the man, bewildered with the isolation of captivity, sometimes browbeating him with threats, sometimes inventing the fiction that an accomplice has proved his guilt. Until the twenty-eighth year of the Republic, only when at last committed for trial was the accused allowed to consult a lawyer for his defence. The system of "secret instruction" flourished intact during a generation of democratic rule, sometimes indeed criticized in the press when it gave rise to some glaring scandal, such as the suicide of an unfortunate, conscious of his innocence, yet crushed with the

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anxiety of his situation; or when an eloquent advocate, by picturing to the jury the hardship of the ordeal, restored his client to his family broken in health and fortune. But the majority of the victims belong to the criminal class, so in a nation where the principle of the Habeas Corpus Act is only reverenced by a few theorists, it is not easy to effect a fundamental change for the sake of sparing from wrong an occasional honest citizen of the Republic who falls under the suspicion of the agents of justice. There the prolonged tolerance of such a system in a nation where universal suffrage is supreme, and where the freedom of the press in denouncing institutions is of unbridled license, has shown that its idea of liberty has a peculiar and special signification' (i. 127, 128).

If it be argued that such painful experiences rarely befall any save the criminal classes, a like plea cannot be alleged in extenuation of the arbitrary invasion of a private domicile in the owner's absence and the reckless breaking open of desks and ransacking of drawers on mere suspicion of smoking tobacco which has not been manufactured under the Government monopoly. But such material violations of civic liberty only happen occasionally, and are less oppressive than the tyranny of opinion which prevails throughout the length and breadth of France. This condition of things is begotten of and aggravated by the keenness of the antagonism between anticlericals and Catholics, the absence in France of the controlling influence of public opinion, the national incapacity of Frenchmen to understand liberty and tolerance in the highest sense, and the pressure which in a highly centralized system of administration the Government can bring to bear on its numberless officials. In every office a *dossier* is kept containing confidential reports respecting each functionary in the public service, and the reader smiles at the microscopic minutiæ gravely set down against some otherwise blameless official. A striking example is furnished by an incident which came under Mr. Bodley's personal observation. A friendly superior warned a postmaster in the Vendée that through his punctual attendance at Mass he was getting the reputation of being a clerical, and it was noted in his *dossier* that not only did his daughters take part in the services, but that *he even took a book with him to church.* As usual it is the bigotry of the boasted freethinkers which bears the palm for sectarian intolerance:

'No one has any idea what a noxious and insupportable creature is the anticlerical in the provinces. Always eager to accuse others of fanaticism, he is the bitterest and most oppressive of fanatics himself. Under the mask of freethought he would like to prevent his neighbours from thinking differently from himself, being violently

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and despotically narrow, for all his boasts of liberal-mindedness. If he were only a harmless fanatic it would not matter; but he is an aggressive persecutor, malignantly meddling in affairs which do not concern him, attacking or denouncing honest folks, public functionaries, and others, with whose conscience he has nothing to do, threatening them on account of their opinions, which he calls "subversive" because they do not agree with his. If he be a town councillor, or in any similar position, he uses all his influence to set up irreligion as a standard of citizenship' (i. 142).

The foregoing extract, adds Mr. Bodley, is not a quotation from an organ of the sacristy. It is from the *Journal des Débats*, to which Renan and Taine were contributors as long as they lived.

We can only add under this branch of our subject that the clerical party in France has not set such an example of tolerance as its wisest friends would desire, and that the prevailing tyranny of sceptical opinion is wielded by an insignificant minority of the population. The great majority of Frenchmen are tolerant or indifferent, and when we remember that M. Taine elaborately proved that the Jacobin conquest of France after 1789 was effected by a party which did not number one-twentieth of the adult male population, we think Mr. Bodley hardly brings out as forcibly as the facts would warrant that lack of moral courage is one of the most fatal defects in the character of modern France.

Whatever restrictions still hamper liberty in France, it might be supposed that the heirs of the Revolution would be satiated with the sweets of equality. On June 19, 1790, the Constituent Assembly suppressed all titles of nobility and all distinctions of honour, abolished the style of duke, prince, marquis, count, or baron, and under penalty of fine and deprivation of civil rights declared that henceforth no Frenchman should under any circumstances assume any appellation save his family name.

'A hundred years later,' adds Mr. Bodley, 'a generation grown up under a Republic, in which nobility has no place, and which claims to have inherited the complete doctrine of 1789 and 1790, reads in the newspapers any morning a list of names of the frequenters of a Parisian place of amusement, including more French subjects styled count or marquis than are to be found in a volume of St. Simon; while the Republic itself allows the members of its Legislature, and even its salaried functionaries, to deck themselves with whatever title seems good to them' (i. 160).

It would require more space than we can afford to bring out in detail the degree to which this appropriation of

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nobiliary titles prevails in the French Republic. Whilst certain peerages conferred by Louis Philippe and Napoleon are by express patent hereditary, the great majority of the titles now borne have no such legitimate origin; they have been assumed in defiance of monarchical tradition, and lack all connexion with the courtiers of Versailles or Fontainebleau. It is strange to learn that not only are self-made titles adopted by wealthy *parvenus*, but that the ancient gentry and the cadets of once great houses take the same liberties with the traditional usages of their order. Nor is it easy to determine where such assumptions are to find their limit. So long as any Frenchman may indulge with perfect impunity in a title which eventually increases his importance and augments the dowries he may demand for his sons upon their marriage, 'it is surprising,' as Mr. Bodley suggests, 'that any obscure people of independent means remain in France who have the self-restraint not to endow themselves with these ornamental advantages' (i. 171).

Of course it is only the obscure who require these mushroom distinctions, and herein lies the danger of their indefinite multiplication, which is objectionable for economic as well as for social reasons. There is a marked decadence in the modern French nobility whose lives are chiefly passed in frivolous pursuits, and it is they who give the tone and present the ideal which this swarm of upstarts imitates. No doubt there is much to be urged on behalf of a class jealously excluded from all share in the government, but neither their faults nor their virtues are those of the *noblesse* under the ancient *régime*. The age of memoirs is past. The airy grace, the exquisite finish, the sparkling conversation of the Bourbon dynasty are gone. The institution of the salon is extinct. The union of fashion and intellect which made the most brilliant of philosophers welcome in the châteaux whose foundations they were undermining, no longer exists; and in their place there reigns a cosmopolitan plutocracy, in whose sordid atmosphere the old urbanity and refinement are stifled, and whose pleasures are those which have been pursued in all lands and all ages by the self-indulgent, the idle, and the vicious.

To such generalizations there are of course many admirable exceptions, especially amongst the highest rank of French women, but the rarity of higher aspirations amongst the *jeunesse dorée* is illustrated in Mr. Bodley's pages by the honours conferred by the Republic upon the Duc d'Uzès.

'The Duke in travelling to the Congo did what would have

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passed unnoticed in England, whence every year men of good position go to spend their holidays on adventurous journeys. When in 1893 he died by fever on the expedition, officials of the Republic outdid reactionary journalists in giving importance to the untimely end of an unknown young nobleman, which in our country would have been dismissed with a sympathetic paragraph in the newspapers. But the event was doubly noteworthy in France, because it behoves the Government to encourage every class of its citizens when they show symptoms of a taste for voyaging, the lack of which in the nation checks the effective establishment of a colonial empire; and the case of a rich and well-born youth quitting the facile joys of the Boulevards for the arduous pleasures of travel was phenomenal. At all events his death received more official notice than if he had been the son of a Republican politician. The minister himself bore the news to the family, and at the funeral at the ancestral château in the Cevennes, a Republican officer, deputed by the Ministry to represent it, said he was sent by the Government of the Republic to express the unanimous sorrow of the nation for the Duc d'Uzès, who had displayed exceeding strength of character in foregoing the life of a favourite of fortune, his wealth and the splendour of his great name having already realized for him the dreams of human ambition' (i. 179, 180).

On the other hand the uniformity of education of all classes above the primary schools in France produces a superficial phase of equality. There is nothing in the French system corresponding to our great public schools with their traditional prestige and aristocratic influence; nothing parallel to our University life with the high social tone maintained in its more important colleges. Moreover civilization descends lower in the French nation than with us. 'The country tradesman or the village postmaster often reveals in his unstudied speech the urbanity of good breeding, and cottagers sometimes astonish strangers with their charm of manner.' We have been even more impressed with examples of refined culture in ranks of life where we should search for it vainly nearer home; we should hardly find, as is far from unusual in France, a commercial traveller discussing in admirable and discriminating language the latest phase of European politics or some recent production of literature or art.

The student of French history under three Republics may well wonder why Fraternity was emblazoned on their banners. 'Gallus Gallo lupus' is the motto which rises to our lips as we recall how Frenchmen have treated their fellow countrymen, nor are we quite persuaded with Mr. Bodley that the peculiar harshness of Frenchmen to Frenchmen in their political capacity dates from the Revolution. The wars of religion, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the

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administration of Richelieu, the dragonnades, and the conflict in the Cevennes, would seem to justify a different conclusion. So savage was the outburst of fratricidal strife which signalized the first Revolution, that only the discipline of war saved France from degenerating into primitive barbarism. In the days of June 1848 five thousand Parisians were despatched by their compatriots, and the slaughter was renewed in December 1851. When civil war broke out in Paris in 1870, the culture of fratricide was keener than before, and is described by Mr. Bodley in a glowing page.

'In time of war,' he writes, 'the French show generosity to foreign foes, but when Gaul meets Gaul, quarter is neither given nor expected. Thus the conflict between France and Prussia in 1870, desperate as it was, was not stained by deeds of truculence. But when the Germans were resting after their victory on the heights round Paris, Parisians, to show them that a triumphant invader did not stand deepest in their hate, made a bonfire of the noblest monuments of their capital as a spectacle for the conqueror, and amidst its fumes massacred venerable and peaceful citizens of France. The insurrection of the Commune was one of the blackest crimes known to history, and merited the sternest retribution; but its wickedness would have been a more salutary lesson for future generations had it been punished with less retaliatory ferocity. The dire occasion did not admit of judicial calmness: the infamy of the provocation offered by the insurgents was unparalleled; nevertheless the soberest narrative of the suppression of the rebellion convinces that Frenchmen meted out to Frenchmen penalty so ruthless, so exuberant, and so indiscriminate that other Europeans in modern warfare only inflict the like on barbaric races. The cruelty of the Communards and their fellow citizens was as dastardly as that of the Sepoys to the British at Cawnpore; the punishment inflicted by the Versailles troops on the Parisians during the *Semaine de Mai* was as merciless as that with which the English in India had to stamp out the Mutiny' (i. 209).

But it is not only when civil war is raging that Frenchmen display such animosity to one another; in the ordinary strife of political parties, the most rancorous spirit rages in the popular press and in the tribune. Of course there are French journals, such as the *Journal des Débats* and the *Temps*, which discuss burning questions with moderation and propriety. But in the cheap newspapers of widest circulation controversy is usually conducted in the grossest language and with the basest personalities, and those whom Mr. Bodley appropriately terms 'the furies of journalism' indulge in almost incredible indecencies. The stroke of death or the occurrence of some serious personal calamity is deemed fitting

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occasion for exultation over a fallen foe. It is difficult to account for this ferocity of internecine hatred amongst so highly civilized a community. It is partly due to the unsettlement of men's minds caused by perpetual changes in the *personnel* of the Government which irritate the orderly instinct of the French; partly to the theory of political scapegoats which is incidental to such a state of unsettlement; partly to irritation begotten of the memory of defeat by Germany and to the apprehension of invasion, both of them intensely galling to a nation which had long held, or believed that it held, the foremost place in Europe; and more than all, in Mr. Bodley's judgment, to the unwise adoption of parliamentary institutions 'by a people the least adapted in the world to be governed by constitutions improvised on the venerable British model' (i. 244).

At the close of his first book Mr. Bodley pauses to sum up the results of the Revolution, and his conclusions are startling when we consider how widely the great upheaval, notwithstanding the foul spots which disfigure its escutcheon, is held to have been the one crucial and beneficent crisis in the history of France.

'Here, then,' he writes, 'we see the chief effects of the French Revolution on modern France after a hundred years. There is the great tangible result, the machine of administrative government constructed by Napoleon; and there is the psychological or moral result of a people which has never yet found a political government to soothe or weld together the elements unsettled by the great upheaval. For the rest, the Revolution is not responsible for half of the good or of the evil attributed to it. It did not hasten one moment the invention of steam power or the application of electricity which have been the real revolutionary forces of the world in the nineteenth century, and the consequences of which the Ancient Régime could not have withstood. While it abolished certain intolerable grievances which bore most harshly on the humble, it did not redress the everlasting conflict between rich and poor. . . . It has done nothing to help the solutions of the problems which face humanity a century after its consummation; and it might never have occurred for any effect it has had on the relations of capital and labour, on the progress of Socialism, or on the power of Plutocracy. The best that can be said of the French Revolution is that just when civilisation was on the point of making history colourless it burst forth and produced for the student and for the artist a collection of pictures and documents thrilling and pathetic, grandiose and revolting, such as no epoch of antiquity or of modern times has supplied' (i. 244, 245).

In the briefest of his chapters Mr. Bodley discusses the origin and character of the existing French Constitution.

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He asserts that it affords no scientific interest such as that which prompted Tocqueville to his elaborate work on the American Commonwealth, and that no useful purpose would be served by a minute comparison or contrast of the French, the English, and the American conceptions of a constitution. The several French constitutions since the outbreak of the great Revolution have been too short lived, and the result of the struggle which gave them birth is as yet too inconclusive to supply material for profitable examination. We must content ourselves therefore with the record of facts without attempting to deduce general principles from them. And here it is not a little singular to note that the established *régime*, which its authors avowedly regarded as provisional, has proved the most stable which France has seen in the nineteenth century; that its Republican form is due to the mutual jealousies of the Royalists, who had a large majority in the National Assembly which decreed it; that being the result of a compromise the new constitution does not embody the assertion of pretentious maxims or philosophic theories, and that it contains within itself many elements of instability which must eventually call for the intervention of a strong controlling hand.

If the chapter on the French Constitution is thus meagre, the succeeding one which treats of the Chief of the State commences with the seeming promise of deeper significance. 'Few subjects,' we are told, are more attractive to the student of modern democracy

'than the various conceptions which the French people have held in the last hundred years of the attributes of a chief of the executive. They have not succeeded one another with the gradual developement of evolution: nor have they have followed the regular course of periodic revolution and reaction. They have to be referred to a number of causes. The alleged instability of the national character is not sufficient to account for the history of the last century in France. Account has also to be taken of the premature suddenness of the great emancipation; of the personality of the master into whose arms France threw herself, not knowing what to do with her new liberty, who made the succession difficult for ordinary mortals; of the peculiar influence that exterior relations have constantly had on the domestic destinies of the country. Only thus is it possible to understand how it was the same nation which ten years after publishing its Declaration of the Rights of Man handed them all over to the soldier whom it made Emperor, whose consistent policy was a complete negation of every article of that famous document; which having submitted with pride to the glorious tyranny of a military dictator, accepted as his successors from the hands of his foreign conquerors, the unwarlike heirs of the *régime*, the upsetting of

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which had cost Europe a quarter of a century of convulsion; which, half a generation later, exchanged its belated exponents of the divine right of kings for a statutory monarchy after the British model; and wearying of it wandered back into the wastes of doctrinaire revolution, investing itself there with universal suffrage, which it forthwith confided to the guardianship of Louis Napoleon to form the anomalous foundation of the anomalous autocracy to be founded by him' (i. 258–9).

Here certainly we have portrayed in telling phrase a series of phenomena, whose abnormal sequence is sufficiently startling to awaken eager interest in its philosophical explanation. But no sooner has Mr. Bodley completed the enumeration of them and whetted our appetite for his revelation of the key to their production, than he calmly observes that their examination has no place in his pages. We are constrained accordingly to confine our attention to the actual institutions of contemporary France.

There is no reason why we should linger over the functions assigned to the Chief of the State by the National Assembly of 1871. Neither the great services of Thiers, nor the military sternness of MacMahon, nor the insignificance of M. Grévy, nor the acknowledged uprightness of Casimir Périer, availed to secure for any of the presidents that steadfast support from the nation and the parliament which is indispensable to salutary and effective rule. Mr. Bodley assigns to M. Grévy, the first Republican President of the Republic, the baleful pre-eminence of excluding from office the one man, Gambetta, who could have kept together a strong majority, and of inaugurating the vicious system, which has ever since prevailed, of short-lived ministries representing groups. There are few pages in the fascinating history of France so tawdry and despicable as that which contains the chronicles of its government for the last quarter of a century. The ingratitude and incompetence of the reactionaries has only been equalled by the internecine jealousies which have torn the camp of the Republicans, and by the revelations of corruption, of violence, and of injustice which have scandalized the nation and the civilized world. Not that any of these blemishes can be laid to the charge of a series of presidents who could individually compare favourably with any line of rulers elsewhere. But their position is regarded by the nation with such indifference, and by politicians with so much envy, that the chief of the executive is sure sooner or later to kindle the discontent of a sufficient number to make his place untenable.

To this fatal defect of instability, which mars the entire

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parliamentary system in France, Mr. Bodley repeatedly returns. He traces its origin to the ill-advised addition at the Restoration of an improvised shadow of the British constitution to Napoleon's administrative edifice. He regards it as the fundamental and deadly cause why each generation in France for a century has looked upon the existing form of government as only provisional and destined to disappear under general contumely. He discerns the like conviction predominant throughout the reign of Louis Philippe, never frankly accepted by the Legitimists; and through the veiled despotism of Louis Napoleon, to which only a small section of the foremost Frenchmen rallied. The irritation inevitable under the German invasion fanned the bitterness of France against its rulers, and rendered the nation sceptical of the virtues of their public men. In the train of so many political vicissitudes there have arisen groups of Orleanists and Legitimists and Imperialists; Republicans split up into various sections, and behind these the upholders of the Commune; and the Parliament has only too faithfully reproduced these mutually antagonistic fractions, deeply distrustful of each other, yet ready to combine with their extremest opponents in a common vote to turn out any existing cabinet. Under such conditions, no steadying power has been found in the Senate, from which the more Conservative element has been gradually eliminated. We need not linger over the mode of its election, nor enlarge upon the influence which it exerts, but may pass to some account of the more powerful body which corresponds to our English House of Commons.

The composition of the Chamber of Deputies may serve very largely to explain the instability of French ministries, which necessarily depend on their support, and which in practice experience, besides the vacillation engendered by the group system, all the insecurity of reliance upon an undisciplined assemblage restrained by no dignified traditions and absolutely devoid of parliamentary *esprit de corps*. The most scornful descriptions of the Chamber under the existing *régime* are those penned neither by foreigners nor by reactionaries, but by leading philosophers and capitalists, or by conspicuous Radical politicians. Here is the estimate of M. Maret, a prominent Radical deputy:

'Gambetta's *sous-vétérinaires* are glorious creatures by the side of these choice specimens sent to Parliament not only by the villages, for which some excuse might be made, but by the towns and even by Paris; all intelligence is disappearing in an assembly which will soon be a mob of nullities.'

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Soon, he predicted,

'only those will try to enter the Chamber who have nothing to lose, or are so blemished that dirt has no terror for them, or are unfit for any other occupation, till the day when the boot of a successful soldier kicks out this imbecile Parliament' (ii. 143).

Writers of the Opportunist school are equally severe, and lament that political life has ceased to have attractions for the *élite* of the French nation. 'We are marching towards the formation of a narrow class of politicians with the abstention of thinkers and of men who make others think.'

The official analysis of the calling of the deputies elected in 1893 casts yet stronger light upon the character of the representative assembly. Among the 583 deputies returned only four were members of the Institute, and barely a dozen more, of those untried in office, were noted for ability in various capacities, while those who in the previous Chamber had risen above their colleagues were impartially and universally rejected. The twenty-four millions, two-thirds of the entire French population, devoted to rural pursuits, sent up only fifty landed proprietors and forty agriculturists to the Palais Bourbon. The great commercial interest returned but sixty members connected with trade, and labour was even worse represented than capital by ten so-called *ouvrier* members. Fifty more are described as of no occupation, whilst the great military people which permits clergy of all orders to enter its legislature, selected but a score of officers as well as two Catholic priests and one Protestant pastor. The strongest section in the Chamber was that of the lawyers, who numbered 150, two-thirds of them being provincial barristers, and next came country doctors, apothecaries, and veterinary surgeons. The press secured about fifty seats, the class of retired functionaries about as many more; and national school masters of all grades, including village teachers, about half that number. Two causes have helped materially in producing so deplorable a condition of affairs. One is the pusillanimous abstention of the upper ten thousand from any active concern about the destinies of France.

'Never,' says Mr. Bodley, 'had a society such an opportunity for doing service to their country as had the higher circles of Paris after the war. Even after the politicians of their preference had thrown away their chance of governing the country, when the Republic was founded, a self-respecting upper class, well organised and vigilant, might have been a serious factor in French politics' (i. 46, 47).

What their example has really been may be gathered from

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the estimate of a French writer of high repute, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu:

'Les hautes classes sont inconsciemment les grands fauteurs du socialisme. Leur vie est une prédication contre la société. La frivolité impertinente de la jeunesse de nos salons, l'oisiveté ridiculement affairée de nos *sportsmen* et de nos *clubmen*, l'étalage outrageant de la débauche élégante, quelles leçons pour le peuple de la rue!' (i. 48).

A yet more influential cause of the degradation of the French Chamber, Mr. Bodley considers to be the lack 'of any power latent amongst the French which could ever be so directed as to make them apt for parliamentary government.' A seat in the House presents to a Frenchman little of the attraction it exerts over the most educated and energetic Englishmen. The lofty prestige, the widespread reputation, the opportunities for usefulness, the association with men of light and leading, which our House of Commons offers, are little known to the members of the Palais Bourbon, whose very names are but seldom heard, and whose faces are often scarcely known amongst even their own constituents. To these primary causes may be added the lowering tendency of the payment of members. An annual income of 9,000 francs —no inconsiderable prize to small country practitioners in law or medicine—calls forth a swarm of needy professional politicians; while the average Frenchman's disregard of parliamentary institutions leads him to avoid the trouble involved in candidature for a Chamber which he neither respects nor considers likely to be permanent.

The position occupied by ministers and ministries in France is in singular contrast to anything which obtains among ourselves. Mr. Bodley describes the arrival of the Minister of Agriculture at a French country town to unveil the bust of a deceased Republican deputy. He is escorted from the station by a squadron of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and on his route the Cardinal Archbishop with his Vicar-General issues from his palace hard by the cathedral, and in his wake follow the judges in their robes of office, all alike eager to pay their respects to the minister (ii. 230). With us, the most powerful and popular of premiers, on a political visit to a provincial town, would fare, save for the personal attentions of his political partisans, like any other private traveller. In France, the holder of a portfolio for six months, himself probably a country doctor or solicitor by profession,

'will recall in after years two fine sensations of his official existence:

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the one, when on arriving at the town the order rang out to present arms to him, a man of peace; the other, at the Prefecture, when a prince of the Church, with conciliating words, bowed before him, an anti-clerical freethinker' (ii. 230).

It might be argued that all this pomp was in recognition of the incarnate sovereignty of the people and of the absolute powers wielded by its representative so long as he remains in office; but he would be egregiously mistaken who reasoned that the honours so accorded befittingly symbolized more permanent authority attaching to the Republican official, or the higher esteem he enjoyed in comparison with a British Cabinet minister in a similar position. The military salutes granted to ministers on public occasions date from the First Republic, and are prescribed by the celebrated decree of Messidor promulgated by Napoleon when First Consul. The practical estimate of ministers and ministries in France deserves further inquiry.

The two respects in which French ministers and ministries differ most markedly from English ones are the excessive powers wielded by individual ministers and the brief periods during which both ministries and their separate members have been able to retain office. The head of each department wields a practically absolute authority in his own sphere, and the portfolios of War, of Justice, and of the Interior invest their holders with such power as excites the no less watchful jealousy of official colleagues than of avowed opponents. A minister under the Republic 'is supposed to be responsible to Parliament, but as the parliamentary machine is not adapted for supervising a bureaucracy, ministerial responsibility takes the form of ministerial instability' (ii. 233). Instead of taking advantage of the experience acquired by long or previous tenure of a complicated and laborious office, a new prime minister under the French Republic studiously avoids in constructing his Cabinet the replacing an influential colleague in a post which he has already filled. Exclusion from office is the ordinary penalty of conspicuous success.

A review of the French parliamentary system from the date of the restoration of the Bourbons presents us with a series of rapidly dissolving ministries.

'At the end of 1818, in little more than four years, thirty-six changes of portfolios had taken place, and the pamphleteers of the period compared this record of about fifty months with the fifty years' reign of Louis XV., who in all his councils had only fifty-seven ministers' (ii. 324).

The revolution which placed the Orleans dynasty on the

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throne did not check this tendency to disintegration, and when the monarchy of July 'disappeared in a street brawl unworthy of the name of revolution,' its rule for seventeen years and a half had been aided by the counsels of eighteen ministries. Even the stern discipline of the Franco-Prussian campaign failed to weld the nation together so firmly as to abolish the group system which is so fatal to ministerial stability, and during the last twenty years no less than twenty-five cabinets have been formed. It should be added, however, that 'since 1879 all the ministers of the Republic have been Republicans, chiefly of the Opportunist and Radical groups, and from that date to the formation of the Méline Cabinet in 1896, 130 different persons filled the various ministerial posts' (ii. 234). The resignation of a ministry under existing conditions is generally little more than the reconstruction of the Cabinet, when the Prime Minister sometimes accepts a subordinate post in the new combination, and one or more of his colleagues may be permitted to retain their positions for some specific purpose whose accomplishment has been suspended through the change of Government. This frequency of ministerial mutations accompanied by the recurrence of the same names in different Cabinets has given rise to the epithet of 'ministrabilis' applied to the supple and unformidable politicians who are habitual office holders in successive and shifting ministries. The following passage illustrates the causes which conduce to such deplorable instability and the manner in which it is effected.

'The Ministry of the Interior excites the most watchful jealousy, and only once since M. Grévy's accession has the holder of that office in a fallen Cabinet been effectively kept on to handle the wires which from the Place Beauvau move the administrative government of France. M. Constans, as the penalty of that privilege, aroused such feelings of disgust and odium that his three years' tenure of the redoubtable portfolio put an end to his ministerial career. His offence was that he did his work too well. When he was called to the office early in 1889, after General Boulanger's triumphant election as member for Paris, it seemed likely that the Exhibition of the Centenary of the Revolution would be opened by that popular hero, instead of by President Carnot. M. Constans, whose curious past had invested him with a legend of strength and dexterity untroubled by scruple, was called in as the sole strong man capable of upsetting the people's idol, who, five weeks after the entry of the new minister, was in flight. When the ministry fell, Boulangism being not quite dead, M. Constans retained his portfolio in the new Cabinet, which had an abnormal life of nearly two years. Thus he became the object of malign attack unequalled even under the Third Republic, where the capabilities of an unlicensed press have grown beyond the dreams of

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anarchy; and the rancour of defeated Boulangism, in rooting up buried fragments of his private life, was encouraged by his political allies, who viewed with envious dismay the machine of centralization worked without interruption by a bold and vigorous hand' (ii. 235, 236).

We have not space for examination of other points in parliamentary practice and procedure in which the French system differs widely from our own. The method of transacting business in each House under the guidance of a bureau whose chairman is the President, whilst its other members are four vice-presidents, eight secretaries, and three questeurs; the election of a President, who, unlike our Speaker, continues to act as an extreme partisan, and himself frequently as such harangues the Chamber; the division of the assembly into bureaux to each and all of which is committed the preliminary examination of all proposed measures before their discussion by the 'commission of initiative' which reports on them to the House, and especially the Budget Commission, which reviews the entire financial position as well as that of the several branches of the great public departments—are all serious variations from English parliamentary methods and require no little attention to comprehend them in all their bearings. Probably, however, the practice of allowing all ministers in high office to address either House of Parliament, without necessarily being a member of either, is the one which commands most attention amongst ourselves, and on this Mr. Bodley writes as follows:

'Anomalous as is the confused French system, the faculty of appointing experts to fill ministerial posts calling for technical knowledge is not without advantage, and I have heard a Secretary of State, impatient of the place-hunting solicitations of constituents, declare that to be a minister without being a member of Parliament was the ideal situation of French political life. But though such ideal situation be filled by a heaven-sent minister he has usually to depart from it after a few months' tenure of it, when the Republican Chamber, interpreting the doctrine of ministerial responsibility in the same spirit as did its Royalist and Orleanist predecessors under the Restoration and the Monarchy of July, upsets the Cabinet. In considering the working of the parliamentary system in France we always get into the same series of vicious circles. If to remedy ministerial instability ministers were no longer responsible to Parliament, the machinery of centralization might fall into the power of an ambitious hand who would dispense with the Legislature in governing France. Or if the nomination of the ministers, no longer responsible to Parliament, passed, in reality as well as nominally, into the hands of the Chief of the State, he, if popular and capable, would be subject to the temptation of making himself dictator by nominating his own

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creatures, who would abet his schemes of autocracy by means of the redoubtable machinery confided to them. Consequently there is no remedy under a *régime* of representative government. Ephemeral ministries must succeed one another at brief intervals, the office of minister must remain in misesteem, and parliamentary anarchy must continue, because France possesses a centralised system of administration essential to her existence, and because the French have an ever-latent longing to be governed by a master' (ii. 257–8).

The fourth book of Mr. Bodley's work is devoted to a graphic description of the various groups into which French political parties are divided. They are no less than seven in number, as besides the Royalists, the Bonapartists, and the Secularists, the Republicans are split into the four sections of the Rallied and the Left Centre, the Opportunists, and the Radicals. To this minute subdivision of the Parliament and the nation, instead of its distribution into two solid and well-disciplined parties, much of the evil under which the country suffers should be attributed; but the tendency to such *amorcellement* seems ingrained and ineradicable. It appeared in the Constituent Assembly of 1789, in the Chambers of 1818, in the Parliament of the Orleans monarchy, and even in the Corps Législatif of the Second Empire as soon as thirty-five deputies hostile to the Government were returned to that shadow of constitutional rule. Even the terrible disaster of the Franco-Prussian war failed to unite into a solid phalanx those who avowed the same opinions, and it was the singular exploit of the Reactionaries who commanded a majority in the National Assembly of 1871 that by their mutual jealousies they threw all power into the hands of their opponents, and imposed the Third Republic upon the French nation.

Despite the cunning of the hand which portrays them, French political groups are hardly picturesque, with the exception of the older Legitimists, to whom there clings something of the perfume and daintiness of the *ancienne noblesse*, and of the romance which attaches to unwavering fidelity to a hopeless cause. The fusion of Legitimists with Orleanists, through the failure of the elder branch of the Bourbons, has wrought little real cordiality between them, and the strength which should have accrued to them by the Comte de Chambord's death was shattered by the maladroit perverseness and folly of the Comte de Paris. It is impossible to feel much sympathy with a party which through the vicissitudes of a century has learned nothing and forgotten nothing; which is largely composed of a counterfeit nobility with sham quarterings, and of true scions of ancient houses absorbed in frivolous

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or disreputable pursuits; which has lost all common patriotism in internecine strife; or which aims at recovering the throne through alliance with such a mountebank as General Boulanger, or by such histrionic arts as those of Prince Henry of Orleans. Of course there still survive in France some worthier representatives of the illustrious stock whose high qualities shone out so gallantly in the days of the guillotine, and we make no apology for reproducing the finished interior in which Mr. Bodley places them vividly before us.

'Here is one of those rare châteaux in which life has gone on without interruption from before the Revolution; for though remote from the Court, where the head of the family had a high place, it was never entirely deserted for Versailles, and at the second Emigration the devotion of a retainer saved it from confiscation. Since the Restoration the women of the house have handed down the tradition of the Duchesse d'Angoulême, witnesses of the austere life of her who, like some of themselves, had grown prematurely old in ill-timed girlhood under the shadow of the guillotine; inheriting, too, the masculinity of that illustrious princess, and provoking an echo applied to themselves of Napoleon's description of her, that she was the only man of her family. A Puritan seriousness marks the daily round in this Catholic château, and in the spacious old hotel of the provincial capital during the winter months; for the family have abandoned Paris since the death before Metz of the only son. Although the master of the house has accepted the Orleans succession, there are few traces of that branch of the Bourbons to be seen within these walls, which shelter many royal relics. Enshrined in the chapel is the Book of Hours of Marie Antoinette; among engravings of eighteenth-century portraits after Rigaud and Vanloo is a later print representing the birth of the Child of Miracle in 1820; and with the family pictures is the painting of a boy in brilliant uniform, one of the infant grenadiers commanded by the young Duc de Bordeaux, when his grandfather, Charles X., occupied the throne until his cousin of Orleans displaced him. But the signed photographs of Philippe, Comte de Paris, and of his heir, have not the conspicuous place here which they occupy in the salons of fashionable Reactionaries at Paris. There is an aged lady who, despite her quality of dowager, still reigns in this household, and the sorest grief of her life, greater than the death of her soldier grandson at Gravelotte, for that was full of honour, was his father's resolve to acknowledge the Orleans branch. When he travels abroad to pay his respects to the pretender she affects to believe him gone to see his notary; and the *Gazette de France*, which records the pilgrimage, she has refused to read ever since that venerable Legitimist organ became Orleanist. When the Duchesse de Berry was being hunted like a partridge on the hills by the agents of Louis Philippe, she was growing up in the Faubourg St. Germain, now only a geographical expression, but then the sanctuary of aristocratic exclusiveness, whereof few traces remain in any section of Parisian society. There she learned to hate

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Orleanism as the blackest phase of the Revolution, and took a husband older than herself whose first infant memory was his father's farewell embrace as he went to be beheaded. To justify her vehemence towards the Orleans family she preserves a manuscript book, her mother's journal at Coblentz of the year 1793, and the childish round hand, amidst notes of lessons and of nursery pastime, records, with precocious pathos, the news of horrors which the *émigrés* received circuitously from Paris, beginning with the execution of the King, and ending with reflections on the death, on the same scaffold, of the basest of his judges, Philippe Égalité' (ii. 353–5).

We are compelled to conclude our notice of Mr. Bodley's work without referring to other points of interest in which his volumes abound, and must content ourselves with a rapid summary of the chief grounds on which he holds that representative institutions in France are irretrievably discredited. He traces one essential cause of their failure to the confusion between the legislative and executive powers, inevitable when the members of a Chamber usurp functions beyond their province, and all but inextricable when their overlapping boundaries are not adjusted by a strong executive or a long tradition. He insists that they are absolutely and fatally incompatible with the centralized administration of France, designed to be wielded by one strong hand—an administration whose maintenance is yet vital to the very existence of the country, and whose dissolution would bring down every institution of the land in ruins. He urges that representative government requires for its healthy development the controlling force of public opinion, which, although a reality under the Monarchy and the Empire, is no longer in existence: as well as the regulative consolidation of party discipline, which not only is as yet unknown in the French Assembly, but for the evolution of which all the necessary antecedents are lacking. He holds further that parliamentary government can only flourish under a permanent and stable *régime*; that its deliberations must be directed by a president of unimpeachable impartiality, and that its debates must excite interest and demand attention. 'I take no interest in politics' is a phrase constantly on the lips of the most respectable and intelligent of Frenchmen, and a representative government so ignored is a government discredited. To crown all, Mr. Bodley is persuaded that representative institutions are altogether alien to the genius of the French, and that however skilfully devised they will never satisfy a people whose ideal form of government is the rule of one capable master.

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The weight of so many convergent reasons seems to us quite irresistible, but we should have been glad if Mr. Bodley could have carried his investigations further, so as to explain why it is that so highly gifted a nation is unsuited to enjoy institutions which we regard as the highest growth and guarantee of liberty. Some light will doubtless be cast on this problem if Mr. Bodley is able to supply us with those further instalments of his work which he foreshadows. Then perhaps we may learn how it is that, despite the fertility of her soil and the industry of her sons, France is losing the front rank in civilization, and exhibits a lack of that moral earnestness which is the most essential form in all national greatness. To the high qualities of Frenchmen he bears emphatic and ungrudging testimony; but a cynic would be tempted to close his volumes with the remark that it is the nation's own fault if it is not represented more creditably, and he would recall the caustic sarcasm of the great Swedish chancellor, 'Go, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.'

ART. II.—THE CHURCH IN THE VILLAGES.

1. *Joseph Arch.* The Story of his Life told by himself, and edited with a Preface by the COUNTESS OF WARWICK. Second Edition. (London, 1898.)
2. *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe.* (London, 1807, &c.)
3. *The Works of Richard Jefferies.* (London, 1892, &c.)

WE were not favoured by the publishers with a copy of Mr. Arch's curious autobiography, nor indeed are we indebted to their courtesy for the second edition, which is now before us. We frankly confess that we do not think that the book is worth the money which it cost, and we should not care to keep a copy of it. But it presents to our view a hearty hatred of the Church of England, and this is one aspect of the subject of our article which it may be profitable to consider, and, if possible, to explain. Mr. Arch will, we trust, forgive us if we put the interest of the kingdom of Christ at large in the first place, and only make use of the facts of his own life and the portrait of his personality incidentally in illustration of what we must beg leave to regard as the larger theme. Even a Churchman may claim a share in English freedom, and if we employ Mr. Arch's narrative in

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the service of the Church we must claim our right so to do, at the risk of suggesting the parallel that the censers of those who swung incense for their own gratification were made into broad plates for the altar.[1] We do not at all say that Mr. Arch's character, on which he enlarges with immense satisfaction, is in itself uninteresting or uninstructive. On the contrary, it contains a mixture of qualities which will greatly excite the curiosity of readers of biographical literature, and our admiration and respect for some of these qualities are none the less sincere because we recoil from others, and because we believe him to be entirely mistaken in his opinions about the Church. This autobiography is the record of a man who belongs to the class of agricultural labourers, but whose parents lived on their own little bit of property, and who was filled with an uncommonly strong purpose of 'getting on.' He began with bird-scaring and hedging, and he has ended with a seat in Parliament for a division in which Sandringham is situated, so that Mr. Arch can describe himself as M.P. for the Prince of Wales. The story of this career shows Mr. Arch to be possessed of sturdy determination and courage, which are not uncommon qualities among the agricultural labouring men of England, and the rarer gift of influencing others, which gave him a very high and honourable though contested place among the forces that have combined to improve the condition of men of his class in the last thirty years. His narrative, in his own words,

'is the life-story of an English agricultural labourer—of a man who has undergone many and varied experiences, who has borne severe toil, privations, and hardships, and who was blessed with few social advantages or privileges, yet who was endued by nature with a robust, healthy, and sturdy condition, a dogged determination, and a steady, plodding perseverance, which culminated eventually in more than ordinary success' (p. 2).

In order to appreciate the true value of Mr. Arch's story for the purpose which we have in hand, it will be necessary to make some preliminary observations upon his own character, for all his evidence is very strongly marked with his own personality, and upon the characteristics of the class with which the Church has to deal in the country. We shall then be in a position to examine the attitude which Mr. Arch and his fellow labourers assume towards the Church, and the relation of the Church towards them.

I. Mr. Arch himself need not detain us very long, and the

[1] Numb. xvi. 38.

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chief points of his character will emerge with sufficient clearness in the extracts which we shall make later on. One or two remarks, however, must be made now. As a man he is wonderfully well satisfied with himself, and the passage about his wife in which he regards that excellent woman as an Indian chief would regard his squaw, and quotes his father's remark that she really was hardly the companion for such a man as Joe was, shows a strange absence of that innate gentlemanly feeling and chivalry which are part of the common character of the country folk (pp. 46–7). As a Wesleyan local preacher we should be sorry to think that Mr. Arch is to be regarded as a fair sample of the class. His local preaching, coupled with a gift of fluent speech, has led him into a habit of interlarding his remarks with Scriptural language which is not pleasing, and smacks too much of the style of Mr. Carey in *The Children of Gibeon.* But that is a matter of taste. A more serious matter in a local preacher is the absence of much that is most distinctive of the true Christian spirit. The charity that thinketh no evil, the acknowledgment of personal unworthiness, the recognition of good motives and actions in opponents, and many similar Christian virtues seem to find no room in Mr. Arch's expressed thoughts. We meet instead with envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness at every turn; with an apparent inability to see any good as a class in political opponents, in farmers, squires, and parsons; with a readiness to declare 'with an easy conscience, if I were going to die the next minute, that I have never wronged a fellow-creature intentionally in my life' (p. 48), which is a familiar frame of mind at the death-beds of those who cause their pastors the greatest anxiety. In a local preacher these are grave defects, and they colour the spectacles through which Mr. Arch looks at the Church. Much of the narrative, which has an interest of its own, we shall not find it necessary to consider. For example, we need not dwell upon the curious phenomenon of the collapse of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, the starting and the leading of which Mr. Arch looks upon as his 'real life work,' and which 'for about the last four years . . . has been practically non-existent' (p. 401). But the history of this collapse well deserves the attention of those who study the organization of trades-unions, their financial administration, their relation to personal influence, and their strange capacity for passing beyond the control of those who have called them into being. Leaving this and some other matters on one side, we will mention some passages of Mr. Arch's book

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which are more or less to our immediate purpose. The direct and unmistakable religious sentiment which found expression at the early meetings of the labourers is in part, if not chiefly, explained by the fact that most of the leaders were Methodist local preachers, and it is said that in no instance 'was one of the agitators trained for the work in the Established Church,' which we suppose to mean 'in no case did a professing Churchman become one of the agitators.' Naturally, 'this linked the movement on to Nonconformists everywhere;' and when a bishop allowed himself to make a disparaging remark about the movement, which we must presently quote, we are told that 'the Midland Dissenters felt that the hour of victory was nigh' (Pref. p. xii). The Countess of Warwick, who has edited the book and written a preface to it, has been careful not to over-edit, and has let the narrator speak for himself and express his opinions quite frankly in his own way. But she has felt obliged to say that there are some expressions of opinion with which she does not altogether agree, though she respects, as we do heartily, the honest spirit which dictated them. And she specially refers to 'the somewhat sweeping strictures on the country clergy' (*ib.* p. xvii). She adds, that it would be unfair to ignore the fact that matters have now improved, and that now 'there exists no body of men more anxious to do their duty than the country clergy' (*ib.* p. xviii). Mr. Arch does ignore much, both in the state of affairs among the country clergy when his struggle began, in the intervening period, and in the present condition of the Church in the villages. From the way in which he speaks, moreover, he seems to be unaware that some of the conduct on which he looks back with the bitterest resentment would be condemned as strongly by ninety-nine Churchmen out of a hundred as by himself. We should like to assure him that the incidents which he regards as illustrations of the rule are exceptions, and those which he regards as unaccountable exceptions are the rule, in the delineation of the true mind of the Church towards the labourers. Opposite to his cottage stands 'the parish church, with its fifteenth-century tower' (p. 4); but this does not seem to remind Mr. Arch that at least for the last 400 years the Gospel has been preached to the labourers of his native place. He dislikes the Church and the parson too much to be able to do them justice. This hatred in part is mixed up with the question of doles. In one passage (p. 6) it is implied that the parson would not give doles except to those who bent their necks to him for the

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sake of them, and did his bidding against their own conscience —as, for example, by signing a petition in favour of the Corn Laws. But a little further on (p. 15) it appears that the only reason why the Arch family did not get the rectory soup was that their mother would not let them fetch it. We respect this feeling of pride immensely, but it cuts the root from the earlier objection. Another 'tussle with the parson' in the matter of some coals to which the working men of the village had a legal right was entirely of Mr. Arch's own making, and as soon as his desire to receive the coals was made known he got his order for them. It was not unnatural to suppose, from the incident on page 15 alluded to above, that he was unwilling to accept them. No one would press the acceptance of any privilege or any gift on a man who looked upon the rectory charity with Mr. Arch's bitter hatred. When the parson, the farmer, and the leading men of the village did not support the proposal for a sick club, Mr. Arch seized the opportunity to impute the very lowest and most unchristian motives to the parson for his conduct (p. 34). A similar unjust imputation of bad motives is to be found on the occasion when Mr. Arch reads the developed prejudice of his manhood into the actions of his youth, and supposes his proud little spirit to have smarted and burned when he squinted through the keyhole of the parish church and mistook the decent order of the procession of communicants to the altar for an exhibition of 'the dragon of caste' (p. 20). Now that Mr. Arch has reached the age of reflection we should like to remind him that all communicants in the Church of England eat of one bread and drink from one cup, that true Christian charity would not forget this, and that the spirit which would resent another going first to the Lord's Table is as unchristian as the spirit which would be eager to take the highest room. As Mr. Arch does not think that anyone could show him who were his betters, and is not careful to conceal his thoughts in this respect, it is not surprising that he dislikes a well-known injunction in the Church Catechism, based, we may observe, on Bible teaching (p. 48). But we are surprised that a local preacher who probably knows that the Catechism contains the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments—to say nothing of the Apostles' Creed—should allow himself to speak of wasting time 'over the Catechism and other useless educational lumber of the same sort' (p. 26). Another element which partly explains Mr. Arch's feelings towards the spiritual mother of us all is to be found in his unfortunate experiences of the wives of the clergy. According to his own account he

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had to deal with 'a most despotic parson's wife, a kind of would-be pope,' who would give out such orders as that the hair of the school-children was to be cut or worn in a certain way (pp. 7, 51), or that the labourers should sit in church apart from their wives (p. 17), and who sat in state in her pew in the chancel, and received the curtseys of her poorer sisters before they took their seats elsewhere (*ib.*) Mr. Arch is not unnaturally very bitter about all this, and calls her 'the lady-despot at the rectory' (p. 16). To be just, however, we must not judge of the incidents of those days by our present habits and customs, and we must further remember what true Christian love towards the villagers has poured out from many a woman's heart beneath the parson's roof. But it is not Mr. Arch's way to mention matters which ought to soften his resentment. He tells us that when he went to school there were no 'grants' (p. 24), but he does not trouble to think how the parson found the money for the village school, or give the slightest hint that the Church has ever done anything for education. The school was a parson's school, and that is enough for Mr. Arch. It happened to be a 'downright good' school, he says, but this was 'entirely owing' to the master, not the parson. He hates the whole system of voluntary schools, and would 'like to see them swept away from off the face of the earth' (pp. 25-6). Our reflection on this is that when the Government did not provide grants for Mr. Arch's education, the Church provided him with what he admits to have been a good education, and, having received it, he now turns round on the Church, abuses her, and is so grossly unjust that he cannot even mention anything that she has done for the children of the country, except to say that the parson and his wife had 'numerous dodges' to keep up their power in the school and out of it (p. 52). Another cause of Mr. Arch's strong feelings toward the clergy, and certainly one of the chief causes, arose from the attitude of some clergymen, possibly of the majority of them, towards the Agricultural Labourers' Union. Mr. Arch represents the parson of the day as saying by his conduct towards the Union, 'Surely it is an evil spirit or a devil: let us flee from it.' 'And the parson fled as fast as his black coat would let him' (p. 82). Again,

'All through April the labourers were rising, and the farmers were standing out, and the clergy were taking the matter up. The Vicar of Harbury convened a meeting in support of the Union, and there was a parson here and there who went with us openly; but the majority were against us, and others blew now hot now cold, and flew

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round like weathercocks as squire or farmer or villager grew strongest at the moment. These shining lights of the Church as by law established were but poor farthing rushlights to the agricultural labourer' (p. 102).

Canon Girdlestone, however, 'wrote in a friendly spirit' (p. 85), and when the first great congress of the movement assembled, several clergymen were upon the platform (p. 109). On another occasion a justice of the peace, who is now a clergyman, took the chair and 'upheld us splendidly' (p. 135). In Manchester, says Mr. Arch, 'even the Bishop, Dr. Fraser, took sides with us, which in my opinion was a very brave thing for a prominent dignitary of the Church of England to do; but then he was a man as well as a bishop' (p. 222). Bishop Fraser had some difficulty in supporting Mr. Arch when, after using some violent language about landlords, he defended himself by quoting the sacred history of Moses and the Egyptians (pp. 223–5); but Mr. Arch would admire the Bishop thoroughly if his prejudices would let him. 'Bishop Fraser was a fine man, and an honest and well-meaning one . . . he was a wonderfully liberal man, considering his cloth and his lawn sleeves' (p. 226).[1] And then Mr. Arch gives way to the feelings of bitterness once more, and says that he found that the cut of the clerical cloth 'was not on true Gospel lines, but very much to the contrary,' and that a parson who bitterly opposed him kept close at home and sent his curate to a meeting 'to do his dirty work' (p. 226). A description follows of this and of other occasions on which Mr. Arch 'used to consider it a treat to be able to make short work of a parson or a curate' who opposed him (pp. 227–229). Mr. Arch was also very angry with a bishop who 'did not say in so many words' that Mr. Arch should be ducked in a horse-pond, but who made some observation which led Mr. Arch to suppose that the bishop wanted the operation to be performed. An attempt to be facetious led Mr. Arch to show, in reply, that he was ignorant that the Prayer Book contains provision for the baptism of adults, and, we may add for his further enlightenment, if need be for their complete immersion. He said that the bishop appeared 'to believe in adult baptism, which is contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England' (p. 121). Of Manning Mr. Arch writes with ungrudging praise, and with good cause (pp. v, 124–5). But 'freedom from priestcraft' was too attractive a watchword

[1] A reference must be made to the just estimate of the Bishop's character in Church's *Occasional Papers*, ii. 373, where Frazer is adopted as the spelling by some strange mistake.

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to be neglected, and the phrase, so dear to every Protestant Englishman, was duly placed in the forefront when the *Labourers' Union Chronicle* was started (p. 275). For the clerical magistrate, partly because he is a parson, partly because he is a magistrate, and especially because he is both, Mr. Arch has a deep dislike. He quotes a case in which two clergymen passed too severe a sentence (pp. 138–42), declares himself to be in favour of the appointment of stipendiary magistrates on account of 'class influence on the bench,' and concludes by saying that 'these Church of England gentry have too often trampled ruthlessly on the labourer in the past,' and that 'it is a matter of common knowledge that clerical magistrates are always the hardest and the most severe' (pp. 142–4). Mr. Arch himself admits in general terms that, as a matter of fact, there was much more kindly feeling shown towards his movement by the clergy and other ministers than he describes in detail, for on p. 267 we read: 'I will just give you one instance out of the many that have come under my notice with regard to the great sympathy and honesty of clerical men.' We think that Mr. Arch means these words, and does not here speak sarcastically, although in the conversation which he records on the occasion in question he has a queer way of behaving towards the sympathy and honesty of 'the clerical man,' and tells him 'and the rest of the ministers of all denominations' that 'as we have done without you in the past, we will do without you in the future' (p. 268). There is only one more passage to be quoted in illustration of this topic. It will show that Mr. Arch believed that 'there were too many Laodiceans' even among his own ministers, and explains why he gleefully recollects that 'they got from us the treatment they richly deserved' (*ib.*) It is part of a speech delivered in 1875:

> 'I have had conversations with a great number of dissenting ministers, and church ministers too, upon this matter (of turning the cold shoulder of indifference and distrust on us), and I don't say that we have not found them in many places really and truly sympathising with us—I mean especially the dissenters—but then they daren't speak out their minds. Let a dissenting minister come into your town; let him settle down in one of your chapels . . . and let him dare to say a word in favour of the movement, and on the side of the poor man who is down in the ditch, then you will find the little capitalist and deacon down upon him like vultures; and yet they do it in the name of godliness and Christianity and love to mankind' (pp. 265–6).

The reader has now before him the evidence which will enable

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him to form an accurate conclusion upon Mr. Arch's feelings towards the clergy. There are a few stray passages which must be quoted before we conclude the first part of our subject. Mr. Arch knew his Bible. On Sundays his mother read it to him, and told him stories from it (p. 9), and he could employ an illustration from it in a popular speech somewhat after the fashion of Sir William Harcourt's House of Commons use of Holy Scripture (p. 225). We should feel very thankful if we could be quite sure that Mr. Arch is right when he says that our English labouring men now read the Word of God on the Sabbath day in the bosom of their families (p. 265). The newspaper has introduced some changes not for the better into 'the cottar's Saturday night.' His mother was a dissenter by nature and by conviction (p. 21), and he remembers that when he was fourteen years old he went with her to listen to her preachers. He 'flung church-going over early in life, from religious conviction,' and took an active part in local preaching (p. 48), both in his own neighbourhood and in Wales (p. 50). His wife also 'was a Nonconformist' (p. 47), and he always felt that the Union movement owed much to the religious system of the Primitive Methodists, and agrees that it 'has done more good with scanty means, and perhaps in some persons' eyes with grotesque appliances for devotion, than any other religious agency' (pp. 240–1).

II. It will next be necessary to try to present some picture of the inward mind and the circumstances of life of the villagers for whom Mr. Arch brought about such very great improvements. The Countess of Warwick in her preface refers to the evidence of Dr. Fraser, the Bishop of Manchester, then vicar of a country parish, before a Royal Commission, and Mr. Arch again quotes from it in the body of the work: 'Bread was dear, and wages down to starvation point; the labourers were uneducated, underfed, underpaid; their cottages were often unfit for human habitation, the sleeping and sanitary arrangements were appalling. Naturally, they took colour from their environment.' 'It was impossible to exaggerate the terrible state of things then existing; they were so bad physically, socially, economically, morally, and intellectually that it would be difficult to make them worse' (pp. vii, 127). Mr. Arch supports his own Midland experience by witnesses from Lincolnshire and Somersetshire as to the condition of the labourers (pp. 125–6). The man who told his tale from Somersetshire

'slaved at farm work from 4 A.M till 10 P.M., and often longer, and

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frequently not more than twopennyworth of victuals would pass his lips the long day through. Slave as he might, his tyrannical employer was never satisfied. Wages would run in those parts from six to seven shillings a week, and stop at eight or nine shillings. There were old men whose wages did not go beyond a miserable five shillings, and when they had paid one shilling and sixpence out of that for rent, they made a close acquaintance with half-starvation. One poor old man said he was so hungry most days that he often did not know what to do to get along. The ordinary breakfast would be a tea-kettle broth, that is, bread in the breakfast pot with hot water poured on it; for dinner there would be a few potatoes, some bread, and occasionally a bit of bacon, but the bacon was most often seen on the father's plate, while the rest had to feed on the smell of it; then for supper bread again, and perhaps a small bit of cheese . . . As many as thirteen people would sleep all huddled up together in one small cottage bedroom' (pp. 126–7).

In Devonshire the bulk of the labourers 'got only eight shillings a week' (p. 85), and in parts of Essex there are still farms where ten or eleven shillings a week is the maximum sum of the labourer's wage.[1] These conditions produced 'stiff and bent and battered men, stunted and toil-worn, and thin and haggard wives' (p. 86). Who can describe the mental state of these men? Mr. Arch himself quotes with approval a passage from the writings of Professor Thorold Rogers:

'I remember that an eminent clergyman of my acquaintance, now deceased, told me that when he first took a country living—some of Arch's kindred were among his domestic servants, and he was entirely friendly to Arch's policy—nothing struck him more painfully than the evident suspicion with which the labourers in his parish met kindness. He said that he very early despaired of their confidence, for he noticed that invariably any trust he showed in them was distrusted, was supposed to be tendered with the object of overreaching them' (p. 238).

The Professor goes on to speak of the persistent apathy of despair, the sluggishness of ignorance, the habitual mendacity of distrust, the low cunning with which the oppressed shirk duty, and adds:

'I well remember that a friend of mine, earnestly anxious to better his labourers on his model farm, gave them high wages, regular work, and showed them infinite consideration. At last he despaired

[1] A correspondent in the *Essex County Chronicle* for May 27, 1898, even mentions nine shillings a week as still the amount of ordinary labourers' wages in his district, and concludes his letter with the exclamation: 'Oh, for another Joseph Arch!' On June 3 another correspondent in reply, urged that ten shillings is the present minimum.

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and sold his property, because they thought him, in their poor puzzled way, a fool; and he found that he had made them worse knaves than he found them' (p. 239).

George Eliot also helps us to realise the picture when she tells us of the shepherd whose

'glance, accustomed to rest on things very near the earth, seemed to lift itself with difficulty to the coachman (of the passing vehicle). Mail or stage coach for him belonged to that mysterious distant system of things called 'Gover'ment' which, whatever it might be, was no business of his, any more than the most outlying nebula or the coal sacks of the southern hemisphere; his solar system was the parish; the master's temper and the casualties of lambing time were his region of storms.'[1]

There were such men as these in the congregations to whom Mr. Keble preached his course of sermons on the Baptismal Office at Hursley, and Dr. Church delivered his village sermons at Whatley, though a reader of Mr. Arch's description of the Church's work in the villages would hardly gather that there were these village pastors of the saintly type. But Dr. Church has left us a sermon which shows that in 1869 he was not unmindful of the twofold debt of the clergy to the wise and to the unwise, and which contains a passage of wonderful insight upon the mind of the class which we are endeavouring to fathom. The village pastor goes, he says, from one set of people

'to another, to whom the heavens mean nothing at all, and the earth only the field where day after day, from sunrise to night, they toil in the frost and in the heat for their coarse meals; who know their work, and measure all other knowledge by it; to whom everything outside them is bounded and hidden by an impenetrable cloud, broken only by the most fantastic delusions;[2] whose meagre list of words hardly reaches beyond the expression of the necessities of life, and the simplest elementary emotions of the soul.'[3]

In an earlier generation Crabbe's poems, for which Newman 'had a lasting admiration,'[4] are full of a minute knowledge

[1] *Felix Holt*, p. 2; compare R. Jefferies' *Nature near London*, p. 88. He says that the shepherd 'knows of nothing but his sheep. You may brush by him along the footpath and it is doubtful if he sees you. But stay and speak about the sheep, and instantly he looks you in the face and answers with interest.'

[2] For example, the present writer was once asked by a country woman, shrewd enough in her own region of thought, whether the parish church was 'cutten out of one great rock as it stood.'

[3] *Human Life and its Conditions*, pp. 149–50.

[4] *Letters and Correspondence*, i. 52.

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of village life and the condition of the poor, and stand as an undying witness of the interest which a clergyman of the eighteenth century took in his poorer neighbours. Crabbe's verses deserve to be, and should be, studied by every country clergyman for their power in laying bare the human heart, which does not change. In this century trusted guides who directed the studies and moulded the lives of many who were clergymen in the country when Mr. Arch embarked upon the great work of his life were careful to encourage thoughtful study of the conditions of poverty and sympathy with the poor. Newman drew lessons from the fact that 'the most high God, God the Son, who had reigned with the Father from everlasting, He, even He, became a poor man.'[1] Pusey loved to dwell upon the mystical significance of the sufferings of poverty,[2] and Keble could speak of the patience of the poor, because he was their servant in his country parish.[3] Dr. Liddon's Whitsuntide sermon on 'The Gospel and the Poor' shows how young men in 1878 were directed to study the remedies which the Gospel provided for the alleviation of the state of the poor.[4] The influence of the poet Wordsworth, who was more read perhaps when Mr. Arch began his work than he is now, was certainly at work in the same direction of sympathy:

> 'And they perhaps err least, the lowly class
> Whom a benign necessity compels
> To follow reason's least ambitious course;
> Such do I mean who unperplexed by doubt,
> And unincited by a wish to look
> Into high objects further than they may,
> Pace to and fro, from morn to eventide,
> The narrow avenue of daily toil
> For daily bread.'[5]

Such extracts as these seem to show that there was a much deeper and wider desire to help the poor than Mr. Arch recognizes, and at the same time they serve to illustrate, taken all together, the extreme difficulty of understanding and of improving the condition of the country labourers. We have but one more literary reference to give as a source of information upon the subject: it is the collection of writings which Richard Jefferies has left behind, which is full of facts gained at first hand about 'Hodge and his masters' and the details of country life. His description of the labourer going to his

[1] *Paroch. Serm.* vi. 44. [2] *Eleven Addresses*, p. 113.
[3] *The Christian Year*, Tuesday in Easter-week, stanza 13.
[4] *Univ. Serm.* ii. 281. [5] *The Pastor.*

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work is worthy of a place beside our extracts from George Eliot and Dean Church.[1] When all allusions to literature have been made, our own experience of the labourer rises up before us, and we stand once more amazed before that baffling figure, with its mind moving so slowly, so tenacious, so shrewd in its limited way, so cunning, so deeply buried beneath its uncouth shell, so shy, so unapproachable by everything except by that Christian fellow-feeling which makes the whole world kin. It is only his unswerving faith in the catholic capacity of the kingdom of Christ that gives the country pastor confidence in his efforts to win these sheep of Christ's flock.

III. With Mr. Arch's point of view fairly before us, and having formed some idea of the puzzle which the country labourer presents to the village pastor, we ought to be able to see some reasons why hatred or indifference regarding the Church exists, and in what way the labourer may be brought within the reach of the full blessings and duties of the Gospel. It is evident that alienation from the Church is not always, as some too readily suppose, the fault of the Church. A study of Mr. Arch's temper and attitude will make this clear to any reader of his book. His bitterness and distrust[2] of educated men who wear cloth instead of corduroys, and who work with their heads and not with their hands, and his conviction that the Church system is selfish, formal, and inextricably bound up with hypocrisy and hostility towards the poor, would make it hard for the most faithful pastor to execute the duties of his sacred office with acceptance on the part of such a sheep of the flock. But suppose Mr. Arch to be, as he is, a local preacher, infusing this spirit into a little knot of hearers in a village chapel, and you have hostility towards the Church fostered and looked upon as an essential part of earnest religious profession. The picture of devout Christian dissenters hungering after spiritual bread, if only the village clergyman will feed them, is not true to the facts of the case in many villages. There are villages in which the clergyman has declined to have a Church mission on the ground that a counter and hostile movement was organized to meet every effort on his part for the good of his people; and, again, village School Boards which have no religious teach-

[1] Quoted in *The Eulogy of Richard Jefferies*, pp. 241–2. Compare the lines on the dying labourer in Faber's *Selections*.

[2] An instance of this is to be found in Mr. Arch's belief that a high sheriff considered himself contaminated by shaking hands with Mr. Arch (p. 387).

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ing in their school at all because one or two cantankerous members of the Board will agree to nothing. In the present fallen state of the human heart, with invisible forces of wickedness busily at work against the city of God, the country pastor knows that he wrestles against more than flesh and blood; and when the enemy of all is able to clothe his hatred in the garb of religious earnestness, he veils its naked ugliness, sometimes with disastrous results to the unity of God's family. There were country parishes in which the celebrations of the Queen's sixty years' reign were marred last year by rivalries and jealousy under the guise of religion. This is a side of the case which we wish to mention frankly before going further, because it recognizes a condition of affairs which forms the chief burden of many a country clergyman. How far the little bands of local preachers who go out from the towns into the villages on foot and in traps, and who alight from the Sunday trains at each small stopping place, are responsible for fanning this hostility and bitterness we are not concerned to say. But they are responsible for much, in so far as Mr. Arch, with his wonderful power of suppressing all the good side of the Church's work, is a fair sample of their attitude. We gladly also acknowledge the duty of alluding to parishes where the system of the Church has been loyally carried out for so long, and the clergyman has so faithfully lived the life of the true pastor among his flock, that the people have found all their needs satisfied in the Church, and dissent does not exist, or only exists in a dwindling congregation of the easily offended, because a dissenter may be made in a moment, while the formation of a Churchman is the work of a lifetime. After these acknowledgments we may pass to the consideration of a few topics which explain in some measure the state of feeling towards the Church which exists in many villages. A fundamental matter is the curious view which is taken of the duty of the daily services by many of the country clergy. They have undertaken to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer in their parish church, 'not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause.' We are willing to grant that the most generous interpretation which honesty allows shall be given to the meaning of 'an urgent cause.' But if language means anything, the phrase must exclude any settled factor of the priest's daily life. It must mean a cause which presses in upon him and prevents him when he is on the point of discharging what is his habitual duty. It cannot cover a settled habit of omission. Yet from a bishop's visitation Charge of

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1895 which lies before us we observe that in 86 per cent. of the parish churches in the diocese, the name of which need not be mentioned, this duty is not discharged. Even those who do not attend like to know that the pastor is doing his duty, and that they are being prayed for, and where to find their clergyman at fixed hours. Over and over again have we heard the country people speak contemptuously of a clergyman who has no service from Sunday to Sunday. The sound of the bell preaches a daily sermon, and the labourers who do fixed work at fixed hours know whether their minister is discharging or neglecting his duty. Before leaving the subject of the services we must mention some considerable amount of evidence which has come before us in the country of a habit of playing fast and loose with the Prayer Book in the way of omissions. The Shortened Service Act, providing for the abbreviation of a service which may be read in full in twenty-five minutes, does not allow any curtailment of the Sunday Service. But the supposed requirements or necessities of the country are sometimes held to justify peculiar treatment of the rubrics, and among the practices which have come within our experience we may mention the omission of the Litany on every other Sunday in the month, the shortening of the Sunday morning service by reading only one Lesson, the habitual closing of the service immediately after the Apostles' Creed by a hymn and two or three final prayers, and the omission of all the Communion Service before the Offertory Sentences! The Book of Common Prayer is not an easy manual for the country labourer, even when it is used in a straightforward course as appointed. But if it be subjected to this kind of treatment, it becomes an impossible book for an uneducated man. And, further, the labourer loses confidence in the clergyman when he sees that he is not following the rules laid down in the book.

When we pass outside the Church itself, and survey the clergyman's relation to his parishioners, and especially to those who are in Mr. Arch's circumstances of life, our reflections sum themselves up into the assertion that the clergyman must try to know his people, and give them opportunities for knowing what the Church really is and means. Mr. Arch's book is full of sheer ignorance about the real aim of the Church. He has never come within measurable distance of the conception of the Church as his spiritual mother, whether it be his own fault or the fault of the ministers of the Church who had to do with him. It is knowledge of her true

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purpose which he lacks. And where there is bitterness or hatred against the Church, or indifference, it is knowledge of her principles and her ways which must be supplied. To know her is to love her, and to serve the Bride of Christ is to satisfy the deepest wants of the human heart. The problem how to know the men is not an easy one. They work early and late. The men who have to do with cattle work also on Sunday. They have no half-day on Saturday. In Lent it is inscrutably ordered that they shall generally be busy with the lambs. When they sit down perforce they fall asleep. Their vocabulary is small. The means of knowing them group themselves round the school, the reading-room, and their own cottages. The school gives the children to the clergyman as the avenue to the parents' hearts. The children talk at home about what they have heard at school, and the labourer is always glad to talk to the clergyman about his children's lessons and characters. The religious difficulty does not exist in parishes where the clergyman honestly does his duty, and treats the children of dissenters in the Church school as he would like a dissenting teacher to treat his own lad. If the clergyman is wise, and desires to strengthen the position of voluntary schools, he will associate farmers and others, as the chief ratepayers, with himself upon the committee of management, and they will call an annual meeting of the parents of the school-children to elect one or more of their number to sit upon this managing committee. If the clergyman is bold as well as wise he will even propose as a manager the Joseph Arch of his village, and this frank confidence is likely to result in mutual knowledge and friendly co-operation. The true interests of voluntary schools are served by extending a welcome to this kind of popular administration, by a public audit of accounts, by the circulation of the school balance-sheet in every parent's house, and by the publication of all reports. Generous confidence in the parishioners begets confidence in return, and confidence in the pastor sweeps away resentment against the Church.

The clergyman has also to remember that the labourers lack information and instruction about the nature of the Church and the character of her work. If Mr. Arch himself does not know, we may be sure that the less gifted men of his class do not know. Therefore opportunities of spreading Church teaching and history must be seized in every possible way. The parish magazine must be made a vehicle of teaching; and if regular instruction is given on what is about to happen in the parochial church work, this will form at length

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a continuous record of the past. One night in the week during the winter should always be spent in the village reading-room in the conduct of a class, one week for men and another week for lads. The labouring men will attend this if they are told each time the subject of the address beforehand, though they may show no inclination to take part in the business of the parish council. The lads too will come, though perhaps more shyly, and in some parts of England they are hardly long enough in one parish to lose their shyness before they move to another. Many matters can be explained at these classes which are not quite suitable in church. For example, a description can be given of the ordinary steps by which an Englishman becomes a clergyman, and this will all be new and fresh to men who see both the clergyman and the dissenting minister similarly attired, and have no notion of the different processes by which the two have reached their goal.

The labourer must also be known, and can best be known, in his cottage and his garden. The garden is a natural handle for a supernatural blade, with which many a home-thrust may be made. Nothing can take the place of the visitation of the man in a friendly way in his own home. And the occasions of afflictions are blessed, thrice blessed opportunities. The pastor does not really know his flock till he has stayed long enough to connect some sorrow with every house; and the periodical changes of the dissenting ministers, while they have some obvious advantages, deprive them in many cases of the opportunity of staying long enough to know the people in this way.

A point or two must be briefly set down in conclusion. The labourers for the most part will continue to believe that the parson is a wealthy man, and many others who ought to know better will agree with them, until the incumbent of each parish annually publishes his official income and expenditure to open the eyes of his people. The country people, also, who look at things in a practical light, and do not understand the intricacies of legal procedure, will continue to distrust the Church until there is a speedier removal of notoriously negligent clergymen from benefices and of those who are past work. We simply state their way of looking at these matters, and do not ourselves forget, what does not trouble them, that such removals touch closely upon the questions of freehold tenure and clergy pensions.

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ART. III.—THE ROMAN BREVIARY.

1. *History of the Roman Breviary.* By PIERRE BATIFFOL, Litt. D. Translated by ATWELL M. Y. BAYLAY, M.A., with a new Preface by the Author. (London, 1898.)
2. *Geschichte des Breviers.* Versuch einer quellenmässigen Darstellung der Entwicklung des altkirchlichen und des römischen Officiums bis auf unsere Tage, von P. SUITBERT BÄUMER. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895.)

A HISTORY of the Breviary has long been one of our greatest liturgical needs, and in 1893 Dr. Batiffol satisfied this want with a clear and admirable account of the genesis of the primitive Divine Service, and of its local development into the Breviary of the Roman Church. Now we are indebted to Mr. A. M. Y. Baylay, the Vicar of Thurgarton, for a translation into English which is every way worthy of the original. We can warmly congratulate Mr. Baylay on the success of his liturgical versions, which are equal to his reputation; some of them seem to us on a par with those of Cranmer in the Book of Common Prayer, which is the highest praise that can be given to them. In the chapter on the Roman office in the time of Charles the Great we find some very happy instances of Mr. Baylay's skill in the translation of responds. Nor, on the other hand, is he less fortunate in a rendering of Ferreri's hymns, which have been the jest of hymnologers since Latin hymns began to be studied. The well-known stanza in Ferreri's Lenten hymn which begins *Bacchus abscedat* Mr. Baylay presents in the following English form, really not an unjust interpretation:

> Hence with thee, Bacchus! Venus fall a-weeping!
> Here's no more place for laughter or for feasting;
> Nor for the joys of marriage, nor for any
> Drunkenness either.

The turning into English of the French part of the work is very well done indeed, and it has been truly said that it does not read like a translation. Here and there perhaps we may come across an expression not well turned or the full value not given to a word. For example, the English word *loyal* by no means represents the meaning of the French *loyal*: 'The firm and loyal genius of Benedict XIV.' is not a translation of 'le loyal et ferme génie de Benoît XIV' (p. 351); 'Lovely collect' (p. 113) is hardly a happy substitute

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for 'l'oraison si belle.' And in one or two expressions we think we should have preferred the English word to the original of the Breviary. For example, why not use *anthem* instead of *antiphon*, especially when *respond* is used instead of *responsory*? And it seems to us that St. Mary Major or Great St. Mary's would have been better than St. Mary the Greater, for these former names have been naturalized among us. But after all, this is only a question of taste.

A word of praise is due to the type of the English edition, to which it is a great relief to turn after reading for any length of time in the French work.

The English edition has a special Preface prefixed to it, written by Dr. Batiffol himself, in which he explains the changes which he has made, mainly of his own motion, though some few have been inspired by Dom Suitbert Bäumer's *Geschichte des Breviers*. The English edition is not very greatly different from the second French edition. To take the first thirty-eight pages, in which the author sets out the genesis of the Canonical Hours, Chapter I. in the English book is, for all practical purposes, the same as Chapter I. in the French book. The changes are small and of a trifling character. What is a note in the English edition may appear in the text of the French; or statements are strengthened and amplified in the English edition by fresh illustrations and references; but the author's theory of the beginnings of the Breviary is the same in both. It has been said that the English book is a new book, forced from Dr. Batiffol by the criticism of Dom Suitbert Bäumer and his allies. The answer to this is the statement made by Dr. Batiffol in the Preface: that before publishing the first edition he knew Dom Suitbert's opinions, which had appeared in great part in reviews and articles before 1893. No doubt Dr. Batiffol has given a good deal of annoyance to the English Roman Catholics by his addressing members of the Anglican Communion as Catholics: 'Catholiques anglicans et catholiques romains nous célébrons le centenaire de la venue de Saint Augustin en Angleterre,' says the learned Abbé at the end of his Preface, dated last year; and this may have caused a certain feeling of irritation among the emissaries of the Pope in this country which is not soon to be allayed.

The first chapter of Dr. Batiffol's work is devoted to a discussion of the primitive sources of the Divine Service. To Rome, he says, we owe the calendar, the anthems, and responds, and the distribution of the psalter, but to Catholic usage the prescription of the hours of prayer; and, let us add,

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the structure of Divine Service. Bäumer (p. 4) tells us that the three essential parts of Divine Service are: (1) the Psalms; and poetical parts of Holy Scripture, which we may call Canticles; hymns, not of necessity written by inspired authors, of which we may give examples in *Te Deum* and *Gloria in excelsis.* (2) Lessons from Holy Scripture, taken from the Old or New Testament; homilies or commentaries from the Fathers; or the Acts of the Martyrs. (3) Short prayers, such as the Lord's Prayer, collects, versicles and responds, and anthems. Batiffol points out that this separation of the Divine Service into three heads had already been made by Tertullian, who, 'speaking of the Sunday observances, distinguishes these three constituent parts: *psalmi canuntur . . . scripturæ leguntur . . . petitiones delegantur*' (p. 5). And these are the three elements which we find everywhere entering into the composition of Divine Service. We see them well marked in the Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer, the Euchologion of the Orthodox Church, the Celtic books that have come down to us like the Bangor Antiphoner, the Mozarabic Breviary, and the Ambrosian Breviary.

Now when and how did this Divine Service come into existence? Batiffol's view is this: that the first Christians expected the return of our Lord to take place during the night between Easter Even and Easter Day, and during this night the faithful gathered together, and it was spent by them in watchings and prayers. Very naturally this night spent in watching and prayer was extended to the lesser Easter Days, the Sundays of the year, and thus came into existence the primitive vigil, containing the evening, night, and early morning offices for every Sunday. The celebration of this service was again extended to the Wednesdays and Fridays, the station days, as they are called, and then to the festivals of the martyrs. Thus the Divine Service was not at first celebrated every day, but much as some of us may remember in our childhood in parish churches, where the rubrics were not strictly kept, only on Sundays, Saints' Days, Wednesdays, and Fridays. And the two services, the Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer, are not unlike those celebrated in primitive times. The evening and night offices were originally one long service; but the night service early parted with the portion that began with the lighting of the lamps, and which continued to be said early in the evening, while the remainder did not begin again till cock-crow or midnight, though originally only one continuous service with

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that of Evensong. Our Evensong is thus like a shortened form of the night vigil.

But the Divine Service underwent further developments. The zeal of the confraternities of ascetics caused it to be celebrated every day, and they added to the morning and night offices further hours of prayer, Terce, Sext, and None, 'offices,' says Batiffol, 'which throughout the whole of Christian antiquity remained peculiar to the monks, who from mere private devotions had made their observance part of the liturgy' (p. 37). Of later introduction again are Prime and Compline, the latter of which bears the traces of its monastic origin in its Collect, *Visita quæsumus.* Thus Vespers, Mattins, and Lauds are almost of the same age as Christianity, while Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline are much later, and are monastic in origin.

Such is the opinion of Dr. Batiffol concerning the genesis of the canonical hours. And besides the evidence which he has brought there are confirmatory points in the Divine Service as celebrated in the present day in the Orthodox Church. In the ordinary parish church the Divine Service is said only 'on Sundays and other special occasions—that is to say, about two or three times in the week.'[1] This would correspond to the Sunday and station days, on which days only the primitive vigil was at first celebrated. Then on great festivals, when there is an all-night vigil, Vespers and Mattins are conjoined, as in the earliest days.[2] And in the Charterhouse the rule was that Mattins, Mass, and Vespers should be said in the church; but for Compline and the other hours they did not come to the church except on certain occasions.[3] This shows that the hours outside Mattins and Vespers were only private devotions, not common prayer.

On the other hand, Bäumer sums up his results (p. 40) differently. The early Christians separated from the Synagogue about A.D. 65: that is, about the same time as the first Epistle to Timothy was written, and at this moment of separation from the Synagogue the Apostles had already established, besides the liturgy, at least one, probably two,

[1] W. J. B., on the Offices of the Eastern Church, in the *Guardian*, October 7, 1891, p. 1591, col. iii.

[2] G. V. Shann, *Euchology* (Kidderminster, 1891), p. 1.

[3] 'Generaliter autem in ecclesia matutinas et missam et vesperas: in cellis vero semper completorium dicimus; pro aliis horis cantandis non venimus ad ecclesiam, nisi in festis capituli; vel quando in vigiliis aut ieiuniis missam habentibus hora in ecclesia dicenda est ante missam.' (*Repertorium Statutorum Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Basileæ, 1510, P. i. cap. xli.)

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canonical hours of prayer, Mattins and Evensong. Besides what we should call sermons, the service of these hours was made up of psalms, readings from Holy Scripture, and *extempore* prayers. A few pages on (p. 42) Bäumer allows that even if this service had been daily in Jerusalem in the Apostles' time, yet it had become limited to Sundays in the sub-Apostolic times, when persecution would not allow the Apostolic custom of daily morning and evening public prayer. Yet the practice of private prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours continued, based upon an Apostolic tradition; and thus, when the tyranny of persecution was overpast, the idea of public prayer at these hours was saved and the practice carried on.

The zeal with which Bäumer defends the practice of common prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, will be much esteemed by some among us. Bishop Cosin's devotions for these hours are still remembered; and William Law in his *Serious Call*, one of the classics of the English language, makes a great point of retirement for prayer at these times. It will be a disappointment to many pious souls if the practice of assembling for prayer at these hours prove to be not altogether primitive, and if daily public prayer be not of Apostolic origin. But in dealing with history, we have to remember only facts: to be, indeed, as the French say, *sans entrailles* in rejecting opinions which are offered to us only for edification.

When we leave the sources of the Divine Service in the universal Church, and begin to deal with the local development which is to end in the Roman Breviary, the difference between the two authors becomes more and more apparent. Bäumer (p. 205) devotes several pages to a discussion of what he calls *die neue Theorie* of Batiffol, to which he will by no means assent. It is not for us to decide these nice questions of liturgy; yet it seems to us that Batiffol has had hard measure dealt out to him by his Benedictine opponent.

The earliest document, says Batiffol in his second chapter, that throws light upon the liturgical customs of the Roman Church as against those of the Catholic Church, are the Canons of Hippolytus, which may be assigned to the last ten years of the second century. In them there is the distinction between the Liturgy or Eucharist and the Euchologium or Choir-office. This last is celebrated at cock-crow, and in church; but it is not daily, and it is made up of the three exercises, Psalms, reading of Holy Scripture, and prayers, just as we find in Tertullian the African. But on the days on which there was no assembly in the church, and at the hours of Terce, Sext, and None, and Sunset, there was to be

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private prayer: private and individual exercises, not celebrated in an assembly in the church. So it was still in St. Jerome's time at Rome; though in the East, as we know by the account written by St. Silvia at precisely the same date, there was at Jerusalem public and daily celebration of Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers. At Rome, says Batiffol, 'besides Mass, there was no other public office at which she [Paula, Eustochium, Læta] had to assist, except the vigils' (p. 44). At Rome the celebration of the vigils was accompanied by deplorable disorder in the time of St. Jerome, who advises the mother on no account to let her daughter stir an inch from her side. Those who have attended *Tenebræ*, the modern vigils, in recent times at St. Peter's in Rome, at the end of Holy Week, will understand what kind of disorder St. Jerome is alluding to. A greater scene of confusion can hardly be imagined than that in this basilica: the more scandalous because it is at the most sacred season of the Christian year, and in the church which more than any is now in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pope and under the eye of the Curia. It would seem that no abuse, however shameful it may be, can ever be reformed at Rome, if once it have established itself. It has received the tacit assent of the Curia, and reform, it seems, would be an acknowledgment of a liability to error.

Batiffol's third chapter deals with the Roman office at the time of Charles the Great, which our author considers the culminating point of the development of the Roman office. 'First the archaic period, extending over five centuries; then a century of more immediate preparation; then the golden age, embracing two centuries, the seventh and the eighth, during which, in the basilica of St. Peter, the *cursus* took shape which, in the case of the Anglo-Saxon monks of the seventh century, triumphed over the Benedictine, and, in the case of the Carolingian princes, over the Gallican; and which eventually became the rule for the whole of Latin Christianity' (p. 90). The chapter contains very valuable matter; but we can only point out one or two of its paragraphs which may be specially interesting to English Churchmen.

The anthem, now sung only before and after the Psalm, was once sung after every verse; it was cut down to its present state by clerks who were idle and without devotion, and who wanted to get off to their other occupations as quickly as they could (p. 95). Even now at Rome on certain occasions the anthem is sung in this ancient way, as on Candlemas Day, when *Nunc dimittis* is sung at the distribu-

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tion of the lights. In France it seems to have been preserved into the last century, as when the great Oes of Advent were *triomphés*, as it was called, at *Magnificat*. And there is a feature at the end of the office which we have been so fortunate as to retain in our Mattins and Evensong: to wit, the *Kyrie eleison* and Lord's Prayer, a feature which the Roman office has now completely lost: 'The most solemn place of all was thus given to the Lord's Prayer, as being the prayer of all prayers—a religious and primitive thought which unhappily was afterwards lost' (p. 96). Cardinal Tommasi emphasized this place of the Lord's Prayer in his scheme for the reform of the Breviary, rejecting the recitation of Collects.[1] This recitation of the Lord's Prayer was a necessary part of our Mattins and Evensong until the passing of the Shortened Services Act twenty years ago, when permission was given to leave it out on certain week days, a proceeding of which it is hard indeed to speak at present with becoming patience.

The lessons from Holy Scripture were regulated canonically, of which we retain some features in our services in Isaiah being read in Advent and Genesis in Septuagesima. For a long time, however, the custom of reading Holy Scripture was confined to Sundays and station days.

This chapter also contains a restoration of the Roman Calendar furnished by the festivals of the Gregorian Sacramentary. Elsewhere we read (p. 342) that the Calendar is not the Martyrology, a warning needful to those who use the modern Roman Breviary. Of the Christian year there is an admirable and charming description which begins on p. 114.

It is in the fourth chapter, not in any of the earlier, that Batiffol has had to reconsider his opinions in some details, and to rewrite a part, as he tells us in his Preface. The English edition gives us the results of his work as published in the second French edition. This chapter deals with the degradation of the Divine Service: the 'modern, and not Roman' office, ruined by the Franciscan Friars in the thirteenth century; the Breviary, as its name implies, is the shortened office, which 'had to accommodate itself to this spirit of laziness on the part of the clergy, by abbreviation' (p. 177). And yet, later on, we find added to the canonical office the Office of Our Lady, of the Dead, the Penitential and Gradual Psalms, so that 'the devotion of a saint would scarce suffice.' Batiffol not unaptly compares the modern Breviary of the fifteenth century to one of the old basilicas of Rome

[1] 'De Privato Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum Breviario extra chorum' in Thomasii *Opera*, t. vii. (ed. Vezzosi, Romæ, 1754), p. 67.

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in which 'the grand and simple lines of the edifice remain, but a huge number of parasitical little chapels block up the nave and aisles' (p. 225). 'With this liturgical deterioration we come to the end of the middle ages' (p. 227).

Some reform, then, could not be avoided when the uprising of the sixteenth century had to be faced. And the projects of reform are numerous enough. Strange to say, the first that we know of comes from Rome, dictated by Leo X. This Pope dealt with a matter on which, no doubt, he felt as strongly as he could on any ecclesiastical topic, the purity of the Latin of the Breviary, and it was only this that he wished to amend. The Pope commissioned Ferreri to write new Breviary hymns, and a volume was published at Rome in 1525. Doubtless these hymns pleased the Humanists of the time, just as a century later certain persons must have applauded the deplorable mutilations which even now disfigure the hymns of the Roman Breviary. Batiffol thinks that Ferreri has been hardly judged, and says of two of his hymns, one for St. Gregory, and the other for the Common of Apostles, that they 'are worth the greater part of ancient and modern hymns put together' (p. 235). Modern hymns may well be left to their fate; but such a judgment upon ancient hymns can only be received with unbounded astonishment. Is there no *Dies Iræ*, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, to put down only those first remembered, which may be thrown into the balance against Ferreri's imitations of Horace? Rather than have hymns of the type of Ferreri and of Urban VIII. it would have been better to have expelled all metrical hymns from the Breviary, as Batiffol (p. 266) suggests that Pius V. might have done; and thus restored the Divine Service to the state as to metrical hymns in which it was before the days of John Beleth or Abelard (p. 180).

The changes which the Breviary underwent in the sixteenth century possess great interest for English Churchmen. For in that age several attempts were made at real reform, not merely in Rome itself by Cardinal Quignon, at the suggestion of Popes like Clement VII. and Paul III., but in many dioceses and orders throughout the West. The reform of the Divine Service in England is almost the only one which has now survived, though the reformed Breviary of the *Humiliatæ* in Lombardy was still recited by these religious in the first years of this century, and the Breviary of St. Barbara at Mantua is said to be still in use. Though the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon is now the best known of these reforms of the sixteenth century, yet that century abounded with projects for

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reforms of the Breviary. Many dioceses in France and Spain reformed their Breviaries; and a history of the various attempts made with more or less success until all hopes of reform were annihilated in 1568 would be an interesting piece of work, though it would be looked at with fear and dislike by the Ultramontanes. The reprinting of Cardinal Quignon's Breviary by the University of Cambridge was spoken of at the International Congress of Roman Catholics at Freiburg in 1897 as an idea that would never have entered into the head of a 'Catholic,' however rare the book might be.[1] In the same way, copies of these reformed Breviaries may be found in Chapter libraries in France with the name of the diocese for which the Breviary was prepared cut out of the printed title by some good soul who could not bear to think that evidence of unfaithfulness of its diocese to Ultramontane principles should remain in existence.

If this be the tone of Roman Catholics, it can hardly be expected that they would like to set forth a full history of these manifold deviations from the standard of the Breviary of the Roman Court: deviations which can only be regretted by them as ever having occurred, and the very remembrance of which should be put away as quickly as possible. This is not the scientific way of writing history, even the history of the Breviary; but the feeling has to be reckoned with. Batiffol, after discussing Ferreri and Quignon, passes over the years between the Synod of Sens in 1522 and the end of the Council of Trent in 1563 in four pages. Bäumer, after a discussion of the same authors, dismisses all other attempts at reform in one page (408), but with a note on p. 384 that such reformed Breviaries may be found in large numbers in the National Library at Paris, the Angelica and Vallicellana Libraries at Rome, and elsewhere.[2]

Few things of late years have given us greater pleasure than the reading of Batiffol's work. Yet we cannot help thinking somewhat defective his treatment of the desire for reform. He is stiff in refusing any amendments that do not follow the lines of the Breviary of the Roman Court: that is, its system of the distribution of the Psalter, its anthems, responds, hymns, and the like. Surely some sympathy might

[1] *Compte-rendu du Quatrième Congrès Scientifique international des Catholiques tenu à Fribourg*, 1897, 'La Renaissance des Etudes Liturgiques,' par Ulysse Chevalier, p. 20.

[2] That Bäumer's references are not always perfectly accurate is shown by his quoting the *Quarterly Review* in note 1 of p. 402 where the *Church Quarterly Review* is meant; and the same misleading reference may be found again on p. 408, note 1.

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be exhibited for those who, looking back to antiquity, to the days of the Canons of Hippolytus and of Tertullian, could see that to Divine Service there are only three essential elements: psalms and canticles, lessons from Holy Scripture or writers agreeable to the same, and prayers. Anthems, responds, metrical hymns, are not of the essence of Divine Service: they are only its fringes and trimmings. Nothing can be more beautiful than some of them, and the taste of persons like Quignon, for example, who struck anthems and responds out of his Breviary, has been much criticized. But the end of Divine Service is not good taste, but devotion; and in many persons devotion is helped more by simplicity, such as we have in an unadorned recitation of psalms and canticles, followed by readings of Holy Scripture, than by the very elaborate and complicated system of the present Breviary, beautiful as it is. And the idea that the reading of Holy Scripture is not a spiritual exercise but a mere study is one which English Churchmen will hardly accept. They are inclined to think that the Gospels may be quite as edifying spiritual reading as the *De Imitatione* or the *Confessions* of St. Augustine. And to a Christian there is no question of the trustworthiness of the lessons from Holy Scripture, as there may be of the historical value of the legends of the Saints.

The Gregorian distribution of the Psalter, too, is insisted upon by some as if it were the essence of the Divine Service; so that he who ventures to suggest a more profitable distribution of the Psalms touches the sacred ark.[1] Why this should be so, when several other distributions are still in use with sanction of the Curia, such as the Benedictine, the Ambrosian, the Mozarabic, besides others less ancient, it is hard to see. Further, the faults of the Gregorian distribution are open and notorious. The perpetual recitation of *Beati immaculati* at the Little Hours becomes wearisome; and the Benedictine distribution, which is at least as old as the Gregorian, appoints other Psalms after the first two days of the week at Terce, Sext, and None. How different is the modern tone from that of the author of the Rule of St. Benedict, who tells us that if his distribution of the Psalter displease any, let the grumbler arrange it as he shall think better, provided only that the whole Psalter be said once a week.[2] Nowadays, so far from

[1] See Dom Bede Plaine, O.S.B. in *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, 1896, t. iii. p. 645. The Gregorian distribution, says this writer, is to the Divine Service what the Canon of the Mass is to the Liturgy.

[2] *Regula S. P. Benedicti*, cap. xviii.

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the whole Psalter being recited once a week, it is never recited at all, only a third of the Psalms being ever said, the multitude of saints' days having driven the ferial service out of the field. Practically, the Gregorian distribution is lost. Surely before insisting so loudly on the importance of retaining the Gregorian distribution, pains should have been taken to see that the distribution has been really preserved.

And the great length of the Breviary service, especially on Sunday, caused by the ill-devised Gregorian distribution, will always lead to abuses, and evasion of the recitation of the ferial office, and the substitution in its place of the Common of Saints. Until the distribution of the Psalter be altered we must expect to see those bound to recite the Breviary betaking themselves to stratagems to reduce the burden of the daily recitation of the office. For they are men, not angels; and the greatness of the burden of the recitation of the Breviary was well implied by Roskovány when he coupled together in his well-known treatise, *De Cœlibatu et Breviario*, two obligations of which it is hard to say which is the more oppressive, if of them a rigorous and punctual performance be demanded and exacted.

In our reform of the Divine Service in the Church of England we have been more fortunate than our neighbours. We have had to sacrifice, it is true, the weekly recitation of the Psalter, and we have put in its place a monthly recitation of the whole Psalter indeed, without exceptions; just as, in earlier ages, the Benedictines were compelled to sacrifice the daily recitation of the Psalter and submit to the lower plane of a weekly recitation. We have also a yearly reading of almost the whole Bible; once a year the greater part of the Old Testament, and twice a year all the New Testament, a most important return to primitive custom. Our Divine Service is sufficiently short to be no great burden, and it is no hindrance to pastoral duties, and yet it is a daily praising of God, morning and evening, with all the three essential elements of Psalms, Scripture readings, and prayer. It is not the burden, intolerable for many men, which the recitation of the Breviary involves, and which gives no time for other sacerdotal duties, leading the priest to look upon himself as a mere Mass-priest, one who when he has said his Mass and office has fulfilled all the duties of his charge that can possibly be expected of him; such a priest will not be a teaching priest; his energies are exhausted by the mechanical performance of the recitation of his official prayers. Study

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teaching, pastoral visitation, will be reduced to the smallest amount.

At the end of Batiffol's book (chapter vi.), there is a very interesting account of the last attempt that has been made at Rome to reform the Breviary. It was the project of no less a person than Benedict XIV. The Congregation appointed by him in 1741 do not seem to have been agreed upon first principles, no unfrequent failing with liturgical committees, as our own time has shown more than once. In the end the project came to nothing, though supported by the Pope. It would seem of vital importance to the Church of Rome that the lessons of her Breviary should not contain unhistorical statements. A surprising list of apocryphal homilies and lessons is given by Batiffol (pp. 334–38) from the modern Breviary now in use. To take an instance of unhistorical lessons connected with our own country: there is read to this day a lesson in the Breviary commemorating Pope Eleutherius on May 26, in the course of which it is stated that this Pope received letters from Lucius, king of the Britons, and that the Pope sent Fugatius and Damianus, who taught the faith to the king and those about him. No one nowadays believes in the existence of King Lucius; but those who have to recite the Roman Breviary are still, every year, compelled to insert these fables into the praises of Almighty God. Thereby some force is certainly added to the insinuation that historical facts are of small account in the Church of Rome. Complaints were made at the Vatican Council by French and German bishops[1] of this state of affairs, but nothing was done, as may be imagined, by this Council to remedy it.

We must now take leave of the history of the Roman Breviary, but we cannot do so without thanking the two authors whose works stand at the head of this article (one, unhappily, is no longer with us) for the light that they have thrown upon this very difficult subject. Even if it be true that the time is not yet come when a history of the Breviary may be safely written, yet it is the greatest help in the world to ritualists to have the present state of knowledge summed up and put before them in the convenient and accessible form of a book. To Dr. Batiffol we feel exceedingly grateful. His lucid pages make study a pleasure, and we are not less grateful to Mr. Baylay and those associated with him for giving us this excellent work in such scholarly English. It will be the duty of all those who are preparing for Holy

[1] Bäumer, p. 586.

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Orders to make themselves well acquainted with the work if they wish to understand some part of the history of the book by descent through which the Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer have kept the primitive and early features of the Divine Service which they so distinctly exhibit.

ART. IV.—ILLINGWORTH'S 'DIVINE IMMANENCE.'

Divine Immanence. An Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A., Author of *Personality, Human and Divine.* (London, 1898.)

THIS new volume from Mr. Illingworth's pen recalls the Appendix to what was, we believe, his first published work, *Sermons preached in a College Chapel*, which we had the happiness of reading nearly twenty years ago. That this should be so is one of numerous signs of a continuity of thought and purpose which may be traced throughout his writings, and it affords us an opportunity of expressing our pleasure that the high promise of his earliest work has received much fulfilment in the books he has published since.

Our reference to a continuity of thought and purpose is sufficient to show that *Divine Immanence* is full of the scientific spirit. By the scientific spirit we do not mean simply that a due regard is paid to the conclusions and theories of physical science. Such due regard, perhaps sometimes somewhat more than is due, is indeed found in all Mr. Illingworth's writings. By the scientific spirit we mean also a due respect for other groups of facts. To isolate any particular group, whether physical or historical or of whatever other description, is not scientific. Mental facts and facts of feeling are among the realities of life. He who would deal adequately with human nature or with the constitution of the universe, must take them into account. In describing *Divine Immanence* as truly scientific, we mean that its author assigns a proper place to the various elements in matter and thought which an observer who aims at impartiality or completeness must consider. If physical science is never far out of sight, mental phenomena which Newman and Browning and other students of thought have done much to emphasize are clearly kept in view.

This insistence on the consideration of all the facts of

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life is connected, in Mr. Illingworth's mind, with the acceptance of the Christian religion. It is a scientific commonplace that the value of an hypothesis depends on its power to explain and account for all observed facts. If certain groups of facts are isolated, they may cast doubt on Christianity. There is no reason to suppose that such isolated consideration is likely to lead to truth, or to do anything more than clear the ground for the co-operation of group with group. When all the elements in the problem are duly estimated, the result affords very strong evidence of the truth of Christianity. For

'human nature is an integral portion of our sum total of experience; and while comprising instances within itself of all the classes of phenomena, that nature elsewhere exhibits in a wider way—mechanism, chemistry, energy, organization, life—it possesses other characteristics which are peculiarly its own. And while the study of external nature is confessedly a thing of yesterday, the study of the human spirit is as old as its records of itself, and has been conducted by many a genius, before which modern names grow pale.

'Now religious instincts and aspirations are, as is perfectly well known, among the deepest, the most universal, the most essential attributes of man. These instincts, from time immemorial, have craved a revelation, and the Christian revelation meets and satisfies this craving, in a manner and a measure that are alike unique. At least then it is entitled to the same consideration as would be accorded to a scientific theory, in parallel case. Modern science is familiar with theories, which are far from possibility of proof, and yet, from their correspondence with the facts of experience, are regarded as practically true. We may reasonably claim therefore that, if tested, as we test other hypotheses, the Christian revelation stands in similar case. It fits the facts within its province, as no other scheme can fit them; and that, without conflicting with any other kinds of fact; whereas its rivals are all partial, and, however much they may explain, leave life, and love, and death, and spiritual experience unexplained. Yet if the world can be explained at all, and is therefore rational, as all science is bound to maintain, its highest product, the human spirit, must be rational and explicable too; and some answer to its aspirations, some solution of its problems must exist. Why should not the one answer which has appeared, and is adequate, be true? (pp. 164–5).

The passage we have quoted gives the keynote of the book. From the point of view that varying types of realities must all be duly considered, that

'sun, moon, and stars are real; men and women live and love; the moral law is strong' (Preface, p. v),

and that the 'critical and sceptical phases' of past 'philo

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sophical writing' have only paved the way for 'reconstruction,' for 'positive, synthetic ways of thought' (*ibid.*), Mr. Illingworth treats the subjects with which the book is concerned.

Despite the frequency with which the relation of matter and spirit has been discussed of late, readers will find much which is worth attention in the chapter which is devoted to this subject. The truth that matter and spirit, with all their differences, are unknown by us apart from one another, is of very far-reaching consequences. The fact that, since they cannot be completely disentangled, neither of them can be completely known has a grave bearing on many problems. But the most important part of the chapter is possibly that in which the uselessness of spirit to matter and the utility of matter to spirit are held to suggest that the 'final cause' of matter is spirit. Mr. Illingworth is not turned aside from his point by the knowledge of the prejudice which exists in many minds against any theory of 'final causes.' Fully aware of the contemptuous phrases in which they were described by Bacon and Spinoza, he shows that the well-known words of Bacon are by no means a complete representation of his real mind, and that, if 'Spinoza's objection is more thoroughgoing,' it 'rests upon an impossible separation between man and the universe' (p. 17). 'Matter,' then, it is contended, 'exists for the sake of spirit'; and while it is not asserted that 'we can trace the utility of every material phenomenon, or that we need suppose every material phenomenon to be subservient to human use,' it is asserted that the judgment which has been expressed is justified by observation that 'within the field of our experience there is a constant order of relation between the two which is never reversed.' Moreover this leads on to the thought:

> 'As we finite beings who use matter, and find it so adapted to our use, have no share in its original production, or control of its general course; we infer that it must be guided by a spiritual Being, of commensurate capacity and will' (p. 19),

an inference which, distinct from the better known form of the 'argument from design,' 'immensely strengthens the probability of design within the material order itself,' while it is 'unaffected by objections from the material side.' To overthrow it would need denial of the 'veracity of our faculties.' And

> 'when we are complacently told in certain quarters that the Copernican astronomy revolutionized man's view of his relation to the universe, we should remember that, to say the least, this is a

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considerable overstatement of the case. In minds of a materialistic bias, it would undoubtedly have this effect; but not in those who estimated man by the claims of his spiritual nature, which is as unaffected by the size of his dwelling-place as by the cubits of his stature. And what Copernicus did for space, modern science has done for time. It has dwarfed the spiritual history of man by comparison with the infinitude of ages, during which the material system that he inhabits was evolved. But still it is true that spirit thinks, and wills, and loves, while matter only moves in space; and man's judgment of their relative importance, therefore, remains what it was before' (pp. 20–1).

This last consideration seems to us of high importance. The knowledge of the hugeness of the extent of the universe and of the relations in place of different parts of it has formed to many thoughtful minds a grave difficulty in the way of accepting the fact of the Incarnation or assenting to the continuous Providential government of the human race by God. The true answer to this difficulty is to be seen in the 'relative importance' of matter and spirit, or, we might say, in the qualitative greatness of spirit even if it be the spirit of one individual only. Mr. Illingworth refuses, for valid reasons, to discuss the subject of any 'spiritual counterpart' in 'the rest of the stellar universe' (p. 18). If such 'spiritual counterpart' exists, it does not supply ground for doubting the truth of the Incarnation or the reality of Providence in human affairs when what we have called the qualitative greatness of spirit is borne in mind.

Spirit makes use of matter in innumerable ways. As the chief of these Mr. Illingworth specifies the 'religious use,' 'the part which it has played by its mere aspect, or by obvious inference from its aspect, in awakening and sustaining religious ideas' (p. 22). This 'religious use' is illustrated with a richness which shows the width of the author's culture. The 'Book of the Dead' and the writings of Cicero, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Zwingli, William Law, Shelley, Byron, and Wordsworth are among the works which are laid under contribution as affording

'evidence that nature—the material world with its sights and sounds—has exerted, throughout all ages, a profound religious influence on the thoughts and affections of men' (p. 48).

Of the 'famous exceptions,' such as Lucretius, it is said that

'they are critical and reflective rather than spontaneous; and by the fact that they are recognized as exceptions—paradoxical opponents of habitual opinion—they conduce, if anything, to prove the rule' (*ibid.*).

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In the third chapter, entitled 'Divine Immanence in Nature,' Mr. Illingworth challenges impressions which, closely connected with materialistic theories, have made their way into popular thought. He claims that the evidence which can be produced 'for the age-long existence and world-wide extent' of 'the religious influence of external nature' shows that behind all kinds of varying theories and explanations it is the teaching of experience that a 'spiritual reality' is implied by 'material things' (pp. 49–50). The possibility of a contention that this teaching is an 'illusion' leads to the question 'What do we mean by reality?' The 'popular opinion, supported by much popular philosophy, that reality is constituted by existence in space' is said to be 'fast becoming obsolete,' as the 'distinction' by which 'what were called the primary qualities of bodies, that is their spacial characteristics, such as size and shape, came to be regarded as more real than their secondary qualities such as temperature, colour, or scent,' is declared to be 'utterly untenable' (p. 51). A 'more hopeful road' is entered when the idea of personality is introduced (p. 52), and 'personality, the highest form of existence which we know' is set up as 'our standard of reality,' so that 'what is most intimately and permanently connected with personality must be for us, that is for the world of persons, correspondingly real' (pp. 54–5). And in a fine passage, Mr. Illingworth illustrates the worthlessness of much popular thought on the subject of reality:

'Take the sunset for example—a series of ethereal vibrations, merely mechanical in origin, and, as such, other than they seem; whose total effect is to create in us an optical illusion, making the sun, and not the earth, appear to move. Yet, as men watch its appearance, thoughts and feelings arise in their hearts, that move their inmost being in unnumbered ways. Youth is fired with high ideals; age consoled with peaceful hopes; saints, as they pray, see heaven opened; sinners feel conscience strangely stirred. Mourners are comforted; weary ones rested; artists inspired; lovers united; worldlings purified and softened as they gaze. In a short half-hour all is over; the mechanical process has come to an end; the gold has melted into grey. But countless souls, meanwhile, have been soothed, and solaced, and uplifted by that evening benediction from the far-off sky; and the course of human life to-day is modified and moulded by the setting of yesterday's sun. In the same way, a piece of music, a sonata or a symphony, is more real to its audience than the acoustic laws which cause it, or the instruments upon which it is performed. The world of science, in other words, is no more real than the world of sense; the two being only different aspects of one continuous whole, of which the human organism is also a part. It follows that we have no ground whatever for discounting the religious

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influence of external nature, as less real than the mechanical phenomena on which physically speaking it depends, and of which, in fact, it may be called a manifestation. The two things impress difficulties in us, but with equal justification' (pp. 55–6).

It is, of course, necessary for the human mind to be on its guard against being swayed by feeling alone. But the needed precaution against any such danger is to be found, not in ignoring the facts of feeling, which are facts of human life, but in considering them in combination with other facts equally real. It is too much the fashion to say that the feelings of the human heart are of no value, and that regard ought to be paid only to facts, some say of history, others of science. Such a position is often taken up in the supposed interests of orthodox religion. So to act is in reality a very short-sighted policy. And the illustrations in the passage we have quoted are sufficient to show its falsity. Certainly, the mechanical operations performed by an orchestra, or the waves in the air which produce sound, are not the only realities in music; nor are the glories of the setting sun to be estimated merely by the physical process of the revolution of the earth. A truer view is that for which Mr. Illingworth pleads; and our readers who are already familiar with them will forgive us for recalling words of power in which, from a somewhat different standpoint, the same truth was expressed by a master of thought and language many years ago:

'Let us take another instance, of an outward and earthly form, or economy, under which great wonders unknown seem to be typified; I mean musical sounds, as they are exhibited most perfectly in instrumental harmony. There are seven notes in the scale; make them fourteen; yet what a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise! What science brings so much out of so little? Out of what poor elements does some great master in it create his new world! Shall we say that all this exuberant inventiveness is a mere ingenuity or trick of art, like some game or fashion of the day, without reality, without meaning? We may do so; and then, perhaps, we shall also account the science of theology to be a matter of words; yet, as there is a divinity in the theology of the Church, which those who feel cannot communicate, so is there also in the wonderful creation of sublimity and beauty of which I am speaking. To many men the very names which the science employs are utterly incomprehensible. To speak of an idea or a subject seems to be fanciful or trifling, to speak of the views which it opens upon us to be childish extravagance; yet is it possible that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes, so rich yet so simple, so intricate yet so regulated, so various yet so majestic, should be a mere sound, which is gone and perishes? Can it be that those mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from

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we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No; they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound; they are echoes from our Home; they are the voice of Angels, or the Magnificat of Saints, or the living laws of Divine Governance, or the Divine Attributes; something are they besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter,—though mortal man, and he perhaps not otherwise distinguished above his fellows, has the gift of eliciting them.'[1]

As we have said, what is needed is the consideration of the facts of feeling and emotion in combination with other facts. Or, as Mr. Illingworth puts it,

'the whole of our surroundings, our total environment, impresses and appeals to our total personality; that is to say, to our personality not regarded as a group of separate feelings, but as a unity or whole. Consequently, it can only be apprehended aright by our total personality, our whole self with its complex interaction of emotion, intellect, and will; in which persistent feeling is as important an element as consistent thought' (pp. 58–9).

Metaphysics and moral philosophy combine to show that the human spirit transcends the bodily organism. Yet, as is pointed out in the work before us, it may also be 'described as "immanent" in matter.' It 'works through the brain and nervous system,' it 'pervades the whole organism,' 'so that we recognize a man's character in the expression of his eye, the tone of his voice, the touch of his hand; his unconscious and instinctive postures, and gestures, and gait.' Moreover, this 'immanence' 'extends' 'to the inanimate objects of the external world.'

'When we speak of a man's spirit surviving in his works, the expression is no mere metaphor; for through those works, even though dead and gone, he continues to influence his fellow-men. And when we look at the pictures of Raffaelle, or listen to the music of Beethoven, or read the poetry of Dante, or the philosophy of Plato, the spirit of the great Masters is affecting us as really as if we saw them face to face: it is immanent in the painted canvas and the printed page' (pp. 67–8).

With great daring, but also with great reverence, these thoughts are applied to the nature of God. Human personality, it is argued, gives us the only experience to which, as a matter of philosophy, we can appeal. Human personality shows a combination of transcendence and immanence. It is

[1] Newman, *Fifteen Sermons preached before the University of Oxford*, pp. 346–7.

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transcendent of matter, and yet it is immanent in matter. Hence, if the analogy between human personality and the supreme Spirit is to be maintained, the transcendence of matter excludes Pantheism which makes God merely immanent, and the immanence in matter excludes Deism which makes God merely transcendent, while Monism, alike in its material and in its spiritual form, is put aside by its contradiction of both transcendence and immanence. Hence

'the divine presence which we recognize in nature will be the presence of a Spirit which infinitely transcends the material order, yet sustains and indwells it the while' (p. 72).

And, continuing his daring yet, as we have said, reverent course of analogical inference, Mr. Illingworth goes on to point out:

'Under these circumstances we are entitled to urge that the Trinitarian conception of God, which we Christians have independent reasons for believing to be true, is intellectually the most satisfactory; since it embraces both the kinds of immanence in question' [*i.e.* those analogous to 'our essential immanence in our body' and 'our contingent immanence in the works which we are free to create or not at will'], 'and therefore harmonizes with the entire analogy of our personal experience. For according to this doctrine, the Second Person of the Trinity is the essential, adequate, eternal manifestation of the First, "the express image of His Person," "in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily," while "by Him all things were made." Here then we have our two degrees of immanence; the complete immanence of the Father in the Son, of which our own relation to our body is an inadequate type; and, as a result of this, His immanence in creation, analogous to our presence in our works; with the obvious difference, of course, that we finite beings who die and pass away, can only be impersonally present in our works; whereas He must be conceived as ever present to sustain and animate the universe, which thus becomes a living manifestation of Himself; —no mere machine, or book, or picture, but a perpetually sounding voice' (pp. 72–3).

It is to be noted that 'our own relation to our body' is here described as 'an inadequate type' of the 'complete immanence of the Father in the Son,' and also that a subsequent passage (pp. 92–5) shows that Mr. Illingworth fully recognizes that the world, as we know it, is a world perverted by sin. There are necessarily tremendous differences between our relation to our body and the 'immanence of the Father in the Son,' and but for the phrase to which we have called attention there would be dangers in the analogy; and it can be safely said that the universe is a 'living manifestation' and a 'perpetually sounding voice' of God only when it is

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remembered that the world as we know it is not in the condition in which it was created by God but bears the stamp impressed by human sin, and in consequence of sin is in the bondage of corruption, and is groaning and travailing together in pain.[1] It is true, on the one hand, that in it God is perpetually immanent. It is true, on the other hand, that it is to be compared, not to a picture in its perfection as it is completed by a great artist and bears the unsullied impress of his character and genius, but to a picture which has been marred by subsequent misuse.

Man is part of nature. Therefore the consideration of the immanence of God in nature leads naturally on to the consideration of the immanence of God in man. This latter aspect of Divine immanence points, Mr. Illingworth tells us, to the Incarnation as its climax. He brushes aside the argument commonly brought against the historical reality of the Incarnation on the ground that 'man' 'in uncritical ages tends to believe in incarnations' (p. 77) by contending that 'the general tendency to believe incarnations probable,' as distinct from the belief that in particular cases incarnations have taken place, 'is not only no argument against the Incarnation, but rather creates a presumption of its truth' (pp. 78–9).

'For it is only part and parcel of man's general sense of the divine nearness—nearness to and interest in himself. Man's habitual and almost instinctive belief in the existence of a God or gods has always been regarded as among the strongest evidences of natural religion. Its universality, that is to say, has been recognized as weighty evidence of its truth. But almost everywhere we find this belief to be inseparably connected with the further conviction, that their gods desire intercourse and friendship with men. And if the universality of the one belief is recognized as an argument in its favour, the practical universality of the other must be so too; it must be regarded as pointing to a truth' (pp. 79–80).

Further consideration of the Incarnation suggests the subject of the miracles of the Incarnate Life. It is pointed out that these miracles stand on an altogether different basis if they are the works of 'the divine Author of our human life and death' than that on which they would stand if they were 'taken by themselves,' apart from any idea of the Incarnation (p. 84). In treating of the miracles, as elsewhere throughout the book, the temper of the present age is much in view.

[1] Romans viii. 21–2: *αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν.*

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'Miracles,' it is said, 'at the present day, far from supporting anything else, are popularly supposed to be themselves much in need of support; so that, for many minds, they tend to invalidate, rather than to fortify, the credit of any document wherein their occurrence is recorded' (p. 87).

In view of this temper Mr. Illingworth passes by the criticisms which might well be made on the position thus referred to, and proceeds to show the inseparable connexion between the miracles and the Person of Christ, and to argue with great force that, granting the Incarnation, the miracles may be regarded as the 'most natural things in the world,' as being certainly within the power of one who was the Son of God, and as harmonizing 'completely with His whole character and work' (p. 88). If he follows Cardinal Newman in thinking 'one or two' of the miracles 'more or less improbable, being unequal in dignity to the rest,' he follows him also in the belief that these 'are supported by the system in which they are found' (p. 89), and asserts that

'with these questionable exceptions, there is a dignity, a beauty, a reserve of power, a restriction of use, a depth of spiritual significance, in the miracles attributed to Christ, which makes us feel that they are not merely congruous with His whole personality, but part of it. We cannot separate the wonderful life, or the wonderful teaching, from the wonderful works. They involve and interpenetrate, and presuppose each other, and form in their indissoluble combination one harmonious picture' (p. 90).

This argument is, indeed, not a new one. It filled a prominent place in a book so well known and widely read as the late Dr. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*. But it will be helpful to many to find it re-asserted with so great clearness and force from the standpoint, characteristic of the author of *Divine Immanence*, of appreciation of the special difficulties which beset belief at the present time.

After showing how the fulfilment of our Lord's prophetical promises have ratified His claims, Mr. Illingworth lays much stress on the purposes which, in Christian thought, are attached to the Incarnation. Christ did not come into a sinless world, a world, that is, in a state of order and harmony. 'The Incarnation was redemptive.' 'Sin, or moral evil, is a part of our total human experience, which philosophy is bound to take into account.' 'There is one department of the world in which demonstrably the reign of law breaks down.' Man's 'will is conscious of a moral law, yet disobeys it. His whole body and soul are involved in one complex, composite disease, due to the violation of the appropriate and

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natural laws of his species' (pp. 92–3). This fact, it is fair to say, throws a wholly different light on the miraculous character of the dealings of God with man than there might otherwise be.

'Instead of asking, "Is God likely to interfere with His own laws?" we should ask, "Is He not likely to restore them when already interfered with?" The interference is a fact; it is daily before our eyes; its appalling consequences are within us, and around us. Yet it is an anomaly in the universe, and the more we learn of the otherwise harmonious order of that universe, the more irresistibly we feel that such a fact cannot be final; and thus the likelihood of God's intervention assumes the highest possible probability' (p. 94).

Now, this 'likelihood of God's intervention' carries with it not only the probability of a 'sinless humanity' (p. 95), and so of the Incarnation, but also the probability of the Virgin Birth of Christ, the miracles of healing recorded in the Gospels, and those 'which more obviously imply power over the general processes of the material universe' (p. 98), and the 'crowning miracle of the Resurrection' (p. 99).

It is, without much doubt, true to say that the chief objections to the historical character of miracles at the present time rest upon the conviction of the uniformity of nature. The idea of law, the recognition of the invariable sequences of cause and effect, have taken very deep root in the minds of thoughtful men. The study of physical science has made many thinkers impatient of exceptions. Thus it is of no little importance to find it observed that 'we now think less of the uniformity than of the unity of nature,' and that 'unity is essentially a spiritual conception' (p. 103). For 'spirit'

'affirms the absolute supremacy of its own ends. It claims as of right to govern, and never to subserve matter; to use matter for spiritual purposes, and never the reverse. And whenever the reverse takes place, and we see spiritual beings using their powers in pursuit of animal, and therefore material ends, we recognize at once that they are contradicting the very essence of their nature, and are therefore unrighteous or wrong.

'If then the whole of nature is rooted and grounded in spirit, and the primary characteristic of spirit is this absolute self-assertion, the antecedent probability of miracles is immensely increased. In the days of deism, when nature was regarded as a machine set going once for all, interference with its regularity may well have seemed impossible; and the exaggerated estimate of the uniformity of nature was largely a legacy from those days. But if nature is only sustained by its intimate union with spirit, and spirit is what we have above

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described, it is no wonder that the processes of nature should be modified for an adequate spiritual end' (pp. 105–6).

The bearing of this same view of the relation of matter and spirit on the teaching of Christ and its effects in Christian history is also pointed out. It underlies His attitude towards the human body and towards nature and the symbolism of His language and His acts. It explains the Christian treatment of the body, the place of sacraments in the Christian system, and the Christian use of art.

In the last chapter it is shown that the dogmas of the Christian Church are simply the necessary outcome of essential truth. The systematized doctrine of the Trinity is but the clear and logical statement of what was involved in the most elementary Christian teaching about God. All formulated truths are only the expansion of the rudimentary fact that God is Love. So untrue is it to suppose that the philosophical aspect of religious doctrine is an after-thought and that the dogmatic assertions of the Church are 'metaphysical corruptions' of a 'simpler creed' (p. 152).

An Appendix consists of two essays, the first on personal identity, the second on free will. The first essay reasserts, with much knowledge of current philosophical thought, the reality of personality as distinct from the stages of consciousness through which it passes. The second essay contains clear and suggestive teaching on the existence and limited character of free will. It, like other parts of this work which touch the ground covered in the author's *Personality, Human and Divine*, will be read with interest by readers who are acquainted with that book as well as by those who do not know it.

One of Mr. Illingworth's great merits is his keen perception of harmonies. His enthusiastic belief in the ordered working of God as the Creator and Ruler of the universe makes him quick to discern unities of method and treatment in the various works of creation, providence, and grace. He has imbibed the spirit of Bishop Butler's great book and has reproduced it under the conditions of modern thought. Has he also the 'faults of his virtues'? We are inclined to think that he has, that his enthusiasm for unifying, in the senses which he has himself on various occasions explained, tends to lead him to ignore real differences in method. We think the present work far less open to objection in this respect than some of Mr. Illingworth's former writings. Yet there are more points than one on which we could wish that at any rate different language and arrangement had been used.

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One of these points is the subject of revelation. The way in which passages from the Psalms are introduced as if of a parallel character to the sacred books of Persia and to Greek and Roman poets tends, we think, to confusion of thought. It is true that Mr. Illingworth speaks of the 'still purer religious atmosphere' of Palestine and the 'clear monotheism and high morality of the later Hebrews' (p. 30), but we have failed to find any indication of a belief that the inspiration given by God to the writers of the Psalms was itself of a different character from any action in the minds of the writers of the Vedas or the Avesta or such poets as Æschylus and Virgil. It is a parallel instance that the ordinary immanence of God in human nature is described as 'inspiration' (p. 76); and we notice that in the reference to 'sun-myths, star-myths, storm-myths, myths of the mountains, and the rivers, and the trees' as lying 'at the root' 'of all early religion' (p. 22) and to the 'partaking in the tribal communion, the offering of sacrifice with its prescribed ritual, the due performance of epochal ceremonies, the observance of taboo' as 'the necessary means by which spiritual life first came to recognize itself (p. 129), no allowance is made for a primitive revelation to the first man or for the closeness of spiritual communion which there was between unfallen man and his Creator.

We observe a similar way of writing with regard to the Incarnation. We welcome indeed with great gratitude the description of the Incarnation as an 'intervention' (p. 94), and the argument used about the Virgin Birth of our Lord (pp. 95–7); but when the Incarnation is spoken of as 'the climax of' God's 'immanence in the world' and as made easy to belief by the recognition of the 'progressive manifestation of God in matter' (p. 77), we doubt whether the essential differences between the Incarnation and the immanence or indwelling of God in men are sufficiently kept in view.

So also with regard to the sacraments, it is certainly of value that the parallel between the Christian use of art and the Christian use of the sacraments should be pointed out and that reference should be made to the customs of various times and places which possess analogy to what is sacramental. The writer seems to us to obscure real differences when he says that the sacraments

'have a history behind them as old as humanity, and a context around them as wide as the world; and point us back to sacramental customs of immemorial age. And if these earlier rites derived

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reality and value from God's immanence in the world, and found Him at particular times and places because He is everywhere present and ready to be found, the Christian sacraments must possess this reality in its highest degree' (p. 150).

And while we recognize the immense difficulty of all questions connected with the Presence of God, we cannot but think the following passage altogether too subjective in its view of special manifestations and gifts of the Divine Presence:

'If . . . . a particular person realizes the divine presence, which we believe to be latent everywhere, with exceptional vividness in a particular place, does not this constitute an actual manifestation of God to that person in that place? For in what sense can it be said that God is not really present, when we apprehend His presence to such good purpose that the whole of our subsequent conduct is coloured by the fact?' (p. 131).

It is one thing to say the 'universal immanence' of God is 'the natural and necessary presupposition' of His 'particular presence' (p. 132) and another thing to identify the realization by a 'particular person' of the 'divine presence' 'with exceptional vividness in a particular place' with the 'actual manifestation of God' (p. 131).

To mention a different matter, we doubt whether a passage about the miracles of Christ (pp. 118–21), valuable as it is, leaves sufficient room for the miracles of the Old Testament and for those worked by Christians in fulfilment of the promise of our Lord.

We cannot, then, say that we are happy about every part of the book under review. Mr. Illingsworth's chief danger appears to us to be his tendency to be too hasty in establishing the harmonies of the universe and to forget that the recognition of the ultimate harmony will only be hindered by minimizing the real differences of method which are to be discerned in God's dealing with the world and mankind. Such a tendency is to be deprecated both because it obscures parts of the truth and because it is likely to produce temporary gain for the Christian religion at the cost of future loss.

There are thus a few pages in the book which we would gladly see rewritten. Yet it must not be supposed that the points which we have criticized are prominent. The space it has been necessary for us to give to them is due to the office of criticism to single out weaknesses rather than proportionate to the place which they fill in the work. We have laid some emphasis on them because they involve questions

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of very great importance, and because, in our judgment, they form blots in a very valuable book. For *Divine Immanence* is likely to prove of great service to Christian truth. It combines, to a remarkable extent, profound thought and clear expression. It is throughout written in an interesting style. It is marked by a deep sense of the value of truth and the power of Christianity. Many features in it betoken spiritual force as well as intellectual gifts.

ART. V.—WANTED, A LONGER CATECHISM.

1. *The Church Catechism Explained.* By the Rev. ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, M.A., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Wakefield. (Cambridge, 1896.)
2. *The Way of Life:* a Manual of Instructions on Holy Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion. By the Rev. WALKER GWYNNE. Parts I. and II. (New York, 1897.)
3. *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543). With Introduction by the Rev. T. A. LACEY. (London, 1895.)
4. *The Catholic Religion:* a Manual of Instruction for Members of the Anglican Church. By the Rev. VERNON STALEY. Third Edition. (Oxford, 1894.)
5. *The Missionary's Foundation of Doctrine.* By EDWARD T. CHURTON, D.D., Bishop of Nassau. (London, 1890.)
6. *Rudiments of Theology:* a First Book for Students. By JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, B.D., Canon of Bristol. Second Edition. (London, 1878.)
7. *Outlines of Church Teaching.* By C. C. G. With Preface by the Rev. FRANCIS PAGET, D.D. Second Edition. (London, 1887.)
8. *The Church Teacher's Manual of Christian Instruction.* By the Rev. M. F. SADLER, Prebendary of Wells. Twenty-Eighth Thousand. (London, 1882.)
9. *The Catechism of the Orthodox Eastern Church.* By IGNATIUS MOSCHAKE. (London, 1894.)
10. *Catechismus Concilii Tridentini*, &c. (Paris, 1873.)
11. *The Faith of the Gospel:* a Manual of Christian Doctrine. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, B.D. (London, 1888.)

THE title of this paper has been suggested by the ever-increasing number of handbooks treating of the Church Catechism and attempting to expand its contents so as to

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meet the growing desire on the part of Churchmen to have a body of sound divinity to put into the hands of clergy and teachers for the instruction of children and others who seek a fuller knowledge of Christian doctrine. The time has come when the Church can be no longer satisfied with the very meagre fare which the 'short Catechism' contained in the Book of Common Prayer can supply. So far as it goes the instruction provided is sound and good, but it is intended for young children in view of their Confirmation, and a child of ten or twelve years old, possessed of ordinary intelligence, is capable of knowing by rote and understanding the whole Catechism; and it would appear that until 1604, when the last section, dealing with the two Sacraments, was added, the Catechism was intended to be learned and understood by quite young children,[1] whose Confirmation would not be delayed to an age to which a later generation of English Churchmen grew accustomed. It can scarcely be thought enough to require of those who are going to be confirmed such a small modicum of religious knowledge as is to be gained in a few questions on the Baptismal Covenant, the recital of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, with their respective summaries, and a few questions and answers upon the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. It is obvious that a great deal more is to be demanded of an intelligent boy or girl of the age of fourteen or sixteen, and yet that is all which the Church provides without such expansion and development of these portions of the Catechism by the aid of unauthorized manuals—often insufficient and defective, if not extravagant, in their doctrine—as to make the pupil imagine that the teaching of the Church of England is a matter of private judgment, not of authority.

I. *The Difficulties experienced.* The result is that the parochial clergy and other teachers of Christian doctrine are continually sensible of difficulties arising from this lack of an authorized compendium of the teaching of the Church. The parish priests of England are at a great disadvantage in comparison with their Roman Catholic brethren, because these have the Catechism of the Council of Trent for their guidance upon nearly every point which could arise in ordinary con-

[1] Mr. Gwynne remarks in a note prefixed to Part II., 'It is plain, moreover, from her use of the word "brought," as well as from the smallness of her demand concerning religious knowledge, that the Church has here in mind a very tender age. There is to be no delay, but "*so soon*," &c.' There are many good points in this manual, rendering it thoroughly useful to young clergymen who are beginning to prepare children for Confirmation.

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tact with their people; for this Catechism was intended for the use of the clergy, not for the lay-people; whereas the English clergy have to search far and wide, and to quote this book and that, before they can say what their Church really teaches, and that causes many an inquirer to hesitate before joining the Anglican Communion. The Church Catechism serves as an admirable basis of definite Christian teaching, but the clergy need more of the same kind, and upon the same lines—that is to say, positive but not controversial teaching; full and complete, but not too minute and detailed; theological, but not overloaded with technical terms. In short, a book which would at once serve as a guide to the clergy and a text-book for the scholar would meet what is felt to be a great want at the present time. The want arises chiefly in these three directions, viz. (i) in classes for Confirmation, (ii) in Church schools of a higher grade, (iii) in dealing with those who would come over to the Church from Protestant Dissent or from Romanism. It may be well to say a word about each of these groups: (i) The parish priest often finds among his candidates for Confirmation some boy or girl who has been well grounded in the elements of Christian teaching, who knows and understands the Church Catechism, and who, if compelled to remain among those who are stammering through the text of the Catechism, or who cannot readily find the places in the Bible, experiences a sense of dullness and dissatisfaction in the Confirmation class, and while longing to learn is compelled (so to speak) to mark time and lose interest in what is being taught. Such a child needs separate treatment, something extra to learn, something that will exercise the memory and the reason, and make him or her an intelligent member of the Church. A short manual in advance of the Church Catechism would exactly meet such a case. As it is, the clergy are obliged to employ books which contain many things not according to the standard of the Book of Common Prayer, and quite unauthorized by the Bishops; and many of these books, as the clergy know by experience, teach objectionable doctrine and practices.

(ii) In Church schools of a higher grade it is found that when the Catechism has been learned and fairly well understood there is nothing further to be done. The study of the Prayer Book and of Church history is likely to interest the scholars, but there is a lack of that something which in a formulary to be learned by heart catches hold of the mind and acts upon the conscience. What we mean is

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that the study of the Prayer Book and the teaching of Church history are apt to become almost entirely a literary matter, and the amount of dogmatical truth may be reduced to almost nothing; whereas a few questions and answers learned by heart and turned over in the mind, as the positive teaching of the Church, will make all the difference between a serious Christian and a clever student. It is a matter of common observation that very few children, even of the better educated classes, are able to give an intelligent account of the teaching of their Church. In proportion to the length of time during which the two classes of children attend school, and taking into account the character of their respective educational advantages, the child of the artisan and cottager is better instructed in the Christian faith than the son or daughter of the nobleman and squire. This is partly due to the lack of an authorized handbook of Church teaching in advance of the Church Catechism.

(iii) In dealing with inquirers from Protestant Dissent or from Romanism the Clergy have the greatest difficulty in saying what the teaching of the Church of England really is. The varying schools of thought within the Church make this difficulty greater. While one party explains away Baptismal Regeneration, and another sees no difficulty in accepting Transubstantiation or recommending the Invocation of Saints, there must be very great difficulties in assuring inquirers that the Church of England is orthodox, yet without being either Calvinistic or Romanizing. The position of the Church of England is constantly being misunderstood by those who are outside her communion, because she lacks that positive teaching which attracts unstable minds, and ignorance breeds in them, if not dislike and suspicion, at least reluctance. To these groups of persons, in dealing with whom the clergy experience the hardship of having to make bricks without straw, may be added the difficulty of meeting objections put forward by Churchmen themselves. 'What is the teaching of the Church on this point?' asks some intelligent layman; and before the clergyman can answer him, he has to consult this book and that book and to quote this divine and that, and perhaps, after all, fail to make the point clear. Such an experience was realized some years since when Dr. Farrar published his volume, entitled *Eternal Hope*,[1] which called

[1] Dr. Farrar's *Eternal Hope* was published in 1879, and was reviewed in the *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1880. Dr. Pusey published his *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* in 1880 (Parkers: Oxford). Dr. Farrar replied in *Mercy and Judgment*, 1881. This latter

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forth an answer from Dr. Pusey and others, and the author, who had written under a strong revulsion of feeling from the rigid Calvinism of a former generation, seemed surprised to find that the Church of England did not hold the doctrine which he had attributed to her. It would have saved a very painful controversy and some bitter words if the Church of England had been able to show what she really held in regard to Everlasting Punishment.

II. *The Material already available.*—It may be objected to what has been written, that the Church of England has provided her clergy and members with certain formularies, by the study of which it ought to be possible to meet the difficulties which have been alleged. It will be therefore necessary to examine these formularies from this point of view.

First, there is the Church Catechism itself, intended (as we have seen) to be learned and understood by those who are to be presented for Confirmation. Its history is simply this, that the divines who drew up the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.'s reign (1549) inserted the 'short Catechism' in the Order of Confirmation, and so it remained until the last revision of the Prayer Book (1662), with the addition only of the last portion, concerning the Sacraments, at the Hampton Court Conference (1604). The author of the original Catechism is not known for certain, but it has been attributed by various writers to Poynet and Alexander Nowell,[1] though the claims of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, to be the author, seem to be stronger than theirs: the latter part was, without doubt, drawn up by Overall, Dean of St. Pauls. Its contents, which are thoroughly good, so far as they go, leave much to be desired. The Baptismal Covenant, the Christian Faith, the Christian's Duty, the Christian's Prayer, and the doctrine of the two Sacraments, are all that it affords. We look in vain for any detailed teaching upon Repentance and Faith and Grace, for any instruction about God's Word, the Church, the threefold Ministry, and other ordinances. It is quite clear from the many attempts made both in Edward VI.'s reign and that of Elizabeth to authorize a 'longer Catechism' for the use of schools, that Churchmen felt the insufficiency of

was reviewed in the *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1881, when the writer said, 'Dr. Farrar, while speaking of his book as "in form a reply to Dr. Pusey," claims that in reality his conclusions are "almost identical with his," and "finds himself entirely in accordance with Dr. Pusey in every essential point."'

[1] Compare J. H. Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (7th edit. 1876), 'Introduction to the Catechism,' p. 242.

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'this short Catechism'[1] for making well instructed members of their communion, but the difficulties and controversies of those times precluded any authorized manual of religious knowledge, and perhaps we may congratulate the Upper House of Convocation upon its rejection of Poynet's or Nowell's Catechism in 1562–3 and 1570, for to have sanctioned a formulary 'of a Calvinistic and Puritanical cast'[2] would have been a serious drawback to the general teaching of the Prayer Book.

Secondly, there are the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, coming to us in their Latin and English forms from the Convocations of 1562 and 1571, though being earlier (1553) in their original form. Some persons would refer us to the Articles for the definite teaching of the Church of England, but a careful consideration of their fitness to be regarded as a standard of Catholic doctrine would soon dispel such a notion. They are most valuable and helpful up to a certain point, especially in their statements of the doctrine of God, the Scriptures and Creeds, viz. Articles I. to VIII.; but their whole tone is controversial, negative rather than positive, and approaching nearer to the Confessions of the Reformed bodies on the Continent than to the teaching of the Catholic Church. In some Articles (*a*) there are grave inconsistencies, and (*b*) some are open to historic objections, while (*c*) others are wholly insufficient as definitions or definite statements of Christian doctrine.[3] The Articles of Religion are profitable enough for the clergy, or for candidates for Holy Orders, to study as an historical record or as a standard of orthodoxy in relation to the Romanist (*Romanensium*) position and the novelties of foreign Protestantism; but they can scarcely be recommended as a text-book for schools, nor as a full and

[1] This phrase may be employed in a technical sense (Rubric 3 after the Catechism) as implying a 'longer Catechism' to be issued presently. The phrase came down from Rubric 1 of the Order of Confirmation in the English Prayer Book of 1549, and the issuing of an advanced Catechism 'by the King's Majesty's authority' in 1553 (*The Liturgies, Primer, and Catechism set forth in the Reign of King Edward VI.*, Parker Society, 1844) supports this view. Also it is significant that 'the Shorter Catechism' of the Scottish Kirk 'agreed upon by the assembly of Divines at Westminster' in December 1646, had such a reference to a 'Longer Catechism' to be provided for the use of those who were not 'of a weaker capacity.'

[2] Compare Perry's *History of the English Church*, vol. ii. p. 280 and note.

[3] For examples of (*a*) see Articles ix. and xii. where the Latin differs from the English, and in the former case the title 'de peccato originali' is not identical with 'peccatum originis' in the Article itself; of (*b*) see Articles vi. xix. and xx.; and of (*c*) Articles xix. and xxv.

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complete statement of what the Church teaches positively. Moreover, they are too much concerned with forgotten controversies, or at least theological positions which are not recognisable in our times: as, for example, the tenets of the Anabaptists or the Scholastic definitions.[1]

Thirdly, there is the Book of Common Prayer itself, which certainly sets forth the doctrine of the Church 'by divers portions and in divers manners' (Heb. i. 1, R.V.) A thorough knowledge of its history and contents, and its theological position during its successive revisions in 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604, and 1662, would probably meet every difficulty which might arise as to the standpoint of the English Church, but in incompetent hands the study of the Prayer Book may easily mislead. For example, one who had not studied the whole subject might suppose that the Church of England meant primarily by 'Confirmation' the confirming of one's baptismal vows as in Protestant Germany, or might regard Regeneration in Baptism as 'a charitable presumption,' or might take 'Oblations' to exclude the bread and wine, or might infer that the Church did not countenance any petition for the faithful departed.[2] These are points upon which the student needs guidance, both from the history of the Prayer Book itself and from the teaching of those 'ancient authors' to which the Church of England appeals.[3] Reasonably, too, an intelligent study of the Office for Holy Communion should follow the learning and repetition of the Catechism before any person is confirmed, or at least before he is admitted to the Lord's Table; but every parish priest knows how very difficult it is to secure the attendance of the great bulk of his Confirmation candidates at subsequent classes of instruction when once they have been presented to the bishop for that holy rite. A weak spot in our English system is this lack of

[1] Compare Archdeacon Hardwick's *History of the Articles of Religion*, where the notes and illustrations attribute Articles vii. ix. xvi. xviii. xxiii. xxvi. xxxviii. xxxix. to Anabaptist questions, and Articles ix. xii. xiii. xiv. xv. xxii. xxxi. to Scholastic positions.

[2] The late Dr. J. B. Mozley, in his lectures as Regius Professor of Divinity in the Latin Chapel (Christ Church, Oxford) in the Lent term 1874, speaking of Baptismal Regeneration, argued that the Church frames her services on a rule of 'charitable presumption,' and declared that the word 'regenerate' in the Baptismal Service 'could not be taken literally,' but is said 'potentially.' For the other points see Dean Howson's *Before the Table*, which was reviewed in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1876, and an Article upon 'The Church of England and Prayers for the Departed,' which appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1880.

[3] Preface to the Ordinal.

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an intelligent use by the lay people of the offices of the Prayer Book. Still it is scarcely practicable, owing to the comparatively late age at which Confirmation is ordinarily administered in England, to retain those who have been confirmed under systematic instruction in Church principles; and unless the clergy have some book to put into their hands, and use the same as the basis both of their pulpit utterances and of their public catechizings, they are likely to go on seeing those whom they have once taught drifting away from the Church towards Dissent or Romanism, or an irreligious indifferentism. Before Confirmation there is barely time to teach the most necessary things, because the preparation is all too short, and the candidates, who have gone on saying the Church Catechism year by year in school and at church, henceforth regard themselves as free to do as they like. We are convinced that, from the lack of something of the nature of a 'Longer Catechism,' to follow upon and supplement the Short Catechism of the Prayer Book, we are losing numbers of those who ought to become loyal children of the Church.'

III. *Remedies already attempted.*—The teaching of the Church Catechism has been supplemented in two ways, viz. (A) by authority and (B) by private enterprise. Both the Bishops' Book (1537) and the King's Book (1543)[1] were intended to meet the wants of elder scholars, and both were produced under the same careful hand (Archbishop Cranmer's) which afterwards translated the Catechism of Justus Jonas (1548) and inserted the 'short Catechism' in the Order of Confirmation for the First English Prayer Book (1549).

(A). (i). In 1553 *A Short Catechism or Plain Instruction, containing the sum of Christian learning, set forth by the King's Majesty's authority for all Schoolmasters to teach,* was provided, with the injunction that it was to be taught in schools 'immediately after the other brief Catechism which we have already set forth.'[2] It was an expansion of certain points in

[1] Mr. Lacey (p. x) says: 'We have here the calm deliberate teaching of the Church of England, pure and uncontaminated, uttered with no uncertain voice, and published to her people while she was still mistress of herself, not yet overrun by foreign sectaries, or hampered by the falsities and prejudices of miserable controversy. Let us hear her voice and obey.' We wonder whether those who are responsible for the republication of the King's Book, 1543, have seriously considered the effect of making this manual the standard of Catholic doctrine for the Church of England. It is valuable, indeed, in regard to Holy Orders, but it approves of Communion in one kind, creeping to the Cross on Good Friday and kissing it, and the invocation of the saints.

[2] *The Liturgies, Primer, and Catechism set forth in the Reign of King Edward VI.*, pp. 485–525 (Parker Society, 1844).

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the earlier Catechism, was published both in Latin and English, and has been ascribed to Poynet or Nowell. This Catechism fell through with the English Prayer Book upon the death of King Edward and the accesssion of Queen Mary, but the matter came up again under Queen Elizabeth. The Catechism of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, published in Latin in 1562–3, and translated into English by T. Norton, was presented to the Convocation of Clergy in that year, and again in 1570, but was rejected.[1] Indeed, it was hardly suitable for the purpose, even if it had not been Calvinistic in its tendency; for it was long and heavy, and not altogether edifying for the class of persons for whom it was intended. It forms a strange contrast to the simplicity and intelligibility of the Church Catechism.

(ii) The failure of Nowell's Catechism to secure authoritative recognition caused the Puritan party to agitate for further instruction for the young; and at King James I.'s accession a presentment was made of the grievances which were felt about religion, and among the things demanded was an enlarged Catechism. The Hampton Court Conference (1604) was appointed by the king to consider the grievances alleged, and one of the few concessions made to the Puritan demands was the addition of the last portion of the Catechism, dealing with the two Sacraments, which has been commonly attributed to Overall, Dean of St. Paul's and Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, upon the authority of Cosin.[2]

(iii) The need of a longer Catechism was felt again in 1689, when King William III.'s commissioners were making proposals to improve the Book of Common Prayer with a view to the comprehension of Dissenters. Fortunately for the Eng-

[1] Nowell's *Catechism* was republished at Oxford in 1835, and again by the Parker Society in 1853.

[2] Bishop Cosin (*Works*, vol. v., A.-C. Library, 1855) says: 'The addition was first penned by Bishop Overall (then dean of Paul's) and allowed by the bishops' (*Notes on the Book of Common Prayer*, 3rd series, p. 491). Cosin had been Overall's chaplain: he refers to 'my Lord Overall's teaching' (1st series, p. 155). These Notes were written in 1619, 1638, and 1640. Mr. Blunt (*Introduction to the Catechism*, p. 242) says: 'It is also pretty well established, from internal evidence, that Overall translated them from some Latin formula, probably from an ancient *A.B.C. with the Catechism* of unknown authorship, which was used in St. Paul's School, and of which there is a reprint dated 1687,' and he would trace this Catechism to Erasmus and Colet. However, Dr. J. H. Lupton's *Life of John Colet* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887) gives Colet's 'Catechyzon' in Appendix B, but there is nothing in it which at all resembles the Church Catechism.

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lish Church their recommendations never came before Convocation, and therefore remain only as a record of what the Prayer Book might easily have become in the hands of incompetent revisers, especially if they were actuated, as these commissioners were, by a revolutionary spirit. For our purpose, however, it is necessary only to note that in the Catechism, after the summary of the Creed, three questions and answers were added concerning the Church: (1) as to its foundation by Christ, (2) as to its universal character, and (3) as to the privileges afforded within it, being the last four clauses of the Creed amplified. The only other proposals were to break up the Duty towards God and one's neighbour into questions and answers according to the Ten Commandments, and to treat the 'I desire' in a similar way.[1]

No further attempt was made to alter or add to the Church Catechism until our own day, when two proposals were made to compile additional questions and answers dealing with the Church, the ministry, and the Sacraments. (*a*) The first proposal was made by Bishop Charles Wordsworth of St. Andrew's, and received synodical sanction from the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1878. This consisted of nine questions and answers relating to the Three Orders of the Ministry and their several functions, to Confirmation and admission to Holy Communion. They are useful and sound in doctrine, being founded chiefly upon the language of the Prayer Book, but they are awkward in form: they attempt too much in a small space, and lack rhythm. Those treating of Confirmation are specially heavy and cumbrous.[2] (*b*) The second proposal came from the Lower House of Convocation (Canterbury) in 1886, the present Dean of St. Paul's having moved for a committee 'to prepare a few Questions and Answers on the Church, which may be used as supplementary to the Catechism.' Great pains were taken to draw up twelve Questions and Answers which would be worthy of the high standard of the Church Catechism, and at length, in July 1887, they were agreed upon in the Lower House. Next year (April 27, 1888) the proposed supplement was laid before the Upper House, but the bishops, 'while acknowledging the pains which the Lower House had bestowed on' the work, declined to consider the Questions and Answers on the ground that 'formularies professing to set forth the

[1] Compare Robinson's *Church Catechism Explained*, Note E, pp. 166-7, and Proctor on *The Book of Common Prayer* (2nd edition, 1856), p. 154, 'Alterations proposed in 1689.'

[2] Compare Robinson (*ut supra*), Note F, pp. 168-9.

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doctrine of the Church . . . ought to proceed from the Upper, and not from the Lower, House.'[1] It is much to be regretted that the Upper House adopted this attitude of *non possumus* in regard to the proposals of the Lower House, and has done nothing to remove 'the existing ignorance respecting the Church of England and her claims on the allegiance of the baptized members of her communion.'[2]

(B). We pass on now to consider briefly some of those Private Catechisms which have been drawn up by Churchmen of various schools to supplement the authorized teaching of the Church. The number of them is excessive and daily increasing, but so far none has appeared which entirely meets the want of the parish priest, although he may be able to compile for himself from them that 'body of divinity'[3] in which he judges fit to instruct his flock. The consequence is that there is no uniformity and no certainty in the catechizing of the young; the parish priest is 'a law unto himself,' and the Church suffers from this lawlessness. Not that there is any lack of sound teaching to be found in the best Church writers, but that there is a great neglect of certain parts of the Church's teaching, because this or that subject may be distasteful to the individual priest, which a duly authorized manual would tend to remove, and the laity would look to have it taught in full. It cannot be necessary to speak of

[1] Compare Robinson (*ut supra*), Note G, pp. 171-2.

[2] The subsequent history of these Questions and Answers is as follows. When the Upper House resolved that a subject of this kind should not be initiated in the Lower House except by way of petition, the Lower House acquiesced dutifully, and then petitioned the Upper House to take the subject into consideration, and to prepare such Questions and Answers, 'in order that the existing ignorance respecting the Church of England and her claims on the allegiance of the baptized members of her communion may be removed.' The Upper House agreed to appoint a committee of its own, and in July 1889 Bishop Ellicott, representing the committee, informed the Upper House that the committee had agreed on a general form, and hoped that a complete draft would be ready next year. That 'next year' (1890), however, passed, and so did the first half of 1891; but on June 30, 1891, the same prelate announced in the Upper House that the committee felt it was not desirable to formulate any Questions and Answers. It was proposed, instead, to 'compose a general declaration relating both to the Church at large and to the Church of England.' But this plan has never been carried out, so far as we can discover.

[3] Compare George Herbert's *A Priest to the Temple*, chap. v. 'The Parson's Accessory Knowledge.' 'The Country Parson hath read the fathers also, and the schoolmen, and the later writers, or a good proportion of all, out of all which he hath compiled a book, and body of divinity, which is the storehouse of his sermons, and which he preacheth all his life. . . . This body he made by way of expounding the Church Catechism, to which all divinity may easily be reduced.'

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works upon the Church Catechism so well known and of so elaborate a kind as those of Bishop Andrewes, of Beveridge, of Hammond, of Ken, of Nicholson, and of Secker.[1] They are of the greatest value as books of reference, and have been employed by every writer of notes upon the Church Catechism, but they would not serve the present need, being too lengthy and complex for a child to learn by heart or to be used as text-books in schools, and being couched in language which is not easily understood by young people. The clergy do well to go back to them for illustration and minute analysis, and may derive from them great help in preaching and catechizing.

(i). There were, however, two works in the sixteenth century, which may be appealed to as indicating the form, if not the substance, of a Longer Catechism. Both are strongly Calvinistic, and by no means attractive to the modern student, but there is a certain excellence in the order of subjects and a completeness of treatment in both works which may suggest such a course of instruction as is at present needed.

The first of these is the Catechism of Thomas Becon,[2] in which the subjects treated of are: 1. Repentance. 2. Faith, including the Creed. 3. The Law. 4. Prayer. 5. The Sacraments. 6. The Officers of all degrees (temporal and ecclesiastical), including the Christian ministry. 7. Social relations (*e.g.* husbands and wives, parents and children, etc.). This list of contents is suggestive, because, while it follows the lines of the Church Catechism, it largely supplements it, and indicates the kind of teaching necessary for elder children. The second is Bullinger's monumental work, called the *Decades*;[3] it is far too elaborate and too exhaustive for these times, but as a book of reference, particularly upon the Decalogue, it is very valuable. In the matter of analysis it is suggestive, and there can be no doubt about the learned character of it, but it is strongly Calvinistic, and has been cited here only for its general contents. A manual of Christian doctrine would do well to follow Bullinger's list of subjects, although his teaching may not be the same as ours. Churchmen are well advised to learn from those with

[1] J. H. Overton's *Life in the English Church*, 1660–1714, pp. 267, 268, may be referred to in respect of Catechisms; and for a useful list of works on the Church Catechism, see E. J. Boyce's *Catechetical Hints and Helps* (S.P.C.K. 1869–1888).

[2] His Works were published in 1560, and republished by the Parker Society, 1844, large 4to. The Catechism occupies 400 pages.

[3] Published by the Parker Society in five volumes, 1849–1852.

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whom they cannot altogether agree. Methods of instruction are not the monopoly of any one party. The *Decades* contain the following heads of instruction: 1. The Word of God. 2. Faith and the Creed. 3. The Law (including the Decalogue, Ceremonial laws, &c.) 4. Sin. 5. The Gospel of Grace. 6. Repentance. 7. Doctrine of God in Three Persons. 8. The Spirit World (Angels, &c.) 9. The Church and the Ministry. 10. Prayer. 11. Sacraments. 12. Church Institutions, Discipline, &c. This is a comprehensive list, but there is not one subject of which any well-instructed Christian ought to be ignorant, and yet how little authoritative teaching an English Churchman has on these points![1]

(ii) On the other hand a reference to the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which was produced in the same period, may not be out of place to show how much better the Roman clergy are provided for than the English. An outline of the contents may serve for a guide in anything similar which might be undertaken for the English Church. Part I. deals with the Twelve Articles of the Creed; Part II. with the Sacraments (seven); Part III. with the Decalogue; Part IV. with Prayer. But the whole Catechism is so well arranged, and so explicit in its subordinate parts, that the English Churchman may well long to have some such book to refer to in doubt, and the suggestive plan, set forth in the Preface, for a course of instruction during the Church's year, makes it still more valuable to the parish priest.

(iii) We pass on to our own times, to inquire what books have been provided of the kind which we desiderate. The number of books which could be mentioned is beyond the limits of this article and the scope of our inquiry, but we may mention certain works which in the experience of a parish priest have been found helpful for purposes of public catechizing and private instruction; for both these sides of the subject should be kept in view.

(*a*) There is a Catechism which some years since had a good reputation among English Churchmen, and was deservedly popular for the purposes of public catechizing. Dean Ramsay, of St. John's, Edinburgh, was a clergyman of wide influence, and famous for his catechizing. His little

[1] Bullinger's *Decades*, like Calvin's *Institutes*, 'were thought worthy of being made a text-book for students in the Universities.' The Southern Convocation, as late as 1586, recommended them to the younger clergy for help in preparation for preaching. Compare Archdeacon Hardwick's *History of the Reformation*, ch. iv. pp. 240, 241, and note (4th ed. 1874).

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Catechism reached an eleventh edition in 1869, and covered a range of subjects which any parish priest might well adopt. Parts I. and II. deal with the Church Catechism, with an Appendix of twenty more advanced lessons on subjects springing out of it. Part III. treats of Prophecy; Part IV. of Confirmation; Part V. of the Church; Part. VI. of the Liturgy. It is a Catechism by questions and answers; perhaps a little heavy and too elaborate for these days, but still suggestive to the teacher, even if burdensome to the scholar.

(*b*) It is scarcely necessary to do more than enumerate certain books which are to be found in many clerical libraries: *e.g.* Norris's *Rudiments of Theology* (an admirable handbook for beginners), which deals first with Fundamental Doctrines, such as the Existence of God, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Comforter, the Church, the Sacraments; and afterwards with the scheme of Salvation. The notes also and indexes are valuable.[1] Sadler's *Church Doctrine Bible Truth* is well known (we hope) to every parish priest, and nothing could be more powerful in making those who would come over to the Church from Protestant Dissent acquainted with the principles of the Church's system. Unfortunately, it is not attractive in style, and it is not easy to find one's way about in it for lack of clear divisions and a good index. Mason's *Faith of the Gospel* is excellent in its arrangement, being broken up into short sections. It is rather too wide in its scope for our purpose, and too deeply theological in some parts, while its doctrinal standpoint leaves much to be desired, especially because of its advocacy of the Scotist view of the Incarnation. The table of contents is full and clear, but an index would be a great gain. Again, Vernon Stanley's *The Catholic Religion* is in form the kind of book that Churchmen require. Its arrangement is admirable, but its contents would not meet with approval by Churchmen generally. Its theology leaves much to be desired; it is of a very different standard from that of the Church Catechism, and the student experiences a painful sense of exaggeration in many of its statements. It has a good index, and there are portions of the book which in the hands of a careful reviser might become such a manual as is needed. There are, besides these, two

[1] The same author's *Manual of Religious Instruction for Pupil Teachers* (Prayer Book) may be commended for elder scholars. And J. H. Blunt's *Household Theology* (Rivingtons, 1865) is quite a *multum in parvo*, but not always trustworthy.

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other books of which we should like to speak appreciatively: one is *Outlines of Church Teaching*, and the other is *The Missionary's Foundation of Doctrine*. The former is quite the most suggestive work we know for a scheme of catechetical teaching, and would provide the catechist with Courses of Instruction for a number of years. The latter is a handbook of Theology which would thoroughly repay the study by the parish priest at home as well as by the Colonial clergy, for whom it was written. (1) The Incarnation, (2) The Church Catholic, (3) The Sacraments, and (4) Things after Death, are the main divisions. The whole tone of it is reverent and persuasive; the theology is thoroughly sound; its only drawbacks are the lack of a clear arrangement by numbered sections and an index of subjects. Probably the combination of the principal features of these two books, with an enlargement of certain points and a curtailment of others, would produce a satisfactory handbook for the use of the clergy and students.

The Catechism of the Orthodox Eastern Church, which is authorized by both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in the kingdom of Greece, is the last book which must be mentioned as suggesting the kind of manual which English Churchmen require. It is brief and simple, and contains just enough to enable a child to give an intelligent account of his faith. Part I. is dogmatical (the doctrine of God in Three Persons, the Church and the Sacraments, the Life that is to come). Part II. is moral (the Decalogue). It is arranged in short sections, and the teaching is positive, not controversial.

In conclusion, from what has been written it will be gathered that the 'Longer Catechism' should consist of two parts: viz. first, Questions and Answers, in advance of the Church Catechism, for the use of elder scholars and Confirmation classes; secondly, a manual of Catechetical Instruction, dealing briefly with the several points touched upon in the first part. Perhaps Sadler's *Church Teacher's Manual* may be regarded as a model for this shorter and longer arrangement; and Mason's *Faith of the Gospel* for short illustrative sections; but both books are far too long and too minute for the purpose which we advocate.

Next, the following subjects would find a place in the contents of such a manual: viz. 1. Doctrine of God (Holy Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, Justification, Sanctification). 2. Faith (Creeds, Bible). 3. Repentance (Sin, Forgiveness, &c.). 4. Grace (Sacraments). 5. The Church

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(Constitution, laws, privileges, marks, discipline). 6. The Ministry. 7. Worship. 8. Social Duties.

Lastly, there comes the question, Who shall draw it up? Here we have the precedent of our Church Catechism to go by. It was the work of one man—perhaps, originally, of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards of Dean Overall. In our days there are many trustworthy divines who are quite capable of producing such a draft 'Longer Catechism' as might be accepted by the Convocations, and authorized with only a few minor alterations. We should avoid, if possible, a prolonged discussion, such as took place over the Twelve Questions and Answers on the Church in 1886–87. The choice of a compiler might well be left to the Upper House of Convocation, and a small committee might prepare the draft Catechism for acceptance in its entirety by the whole clergy.

ART. VI.—CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

International Theological Library.—Christian Institutions. By ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, U.S.A. (Edinburgh, 1898.)

THE 'International Theological Library' is an important series to which we wish a useful career. It promises to focus for us the light of scholarship from many lands and Churches. It attempts that hospitable free-trade and storage of the productions of various lands which comes, one may say, by the laws of nature in science and literature, but in theology meets many difficulties if it has many advantages. For if writers may treat impartially of matters which have brought no controversy in their own sphere, it is also possible that in treating of far-away subjects they may fail in realizing the importance of knowing things as they actually were. They may content themselves with those generalities which perhaps may fill the uncritical appetite of those who just want to think they know all about matters, but which do not give the true account of things. International theology will be but a poor possession if it contents itself with propagating the views which satisfy the multitude in places and times far away from the facts.

Professor Allen has, no doubt, enriched the series with a work of great ability, which we have read with benefit. It

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is full of originality, all directed towards the promotion of charity and largeness of view; and it is written in so excellent a style that many passages might be quoted for their beauty. But it will be a delusive guide to those entering upon the subject.

Professor Allen is, we must presume, an Episcopalian. This is well; for a writer upon Christian Institutions ought to be persuaded that the Institutions of which he is about to treat are Christian; and that would indeed be a meagre list of Institutions which should omit the Episcopate and its accompaniments. But the author extends almost the same kindly recognition to other forms of Church government. He has a liberal desire to make everybody comfortable all round. We must not complain: the width of his sympathy is no discredit to his spirit. But it requires many historical omissions and assumptions. And for our own part we confess that, being old-fashioned, we cannot help ascribing some amount of error—not, we hope, uncharitably exaggerated—to those who forsake the Institutions which deserve the title of Christian.

We must own that the preliminary statement with which the Professor opens the great subject of the organization of the Church startled us by the anticipation of even greater disagreement with him than we actually found in the sequel. He there (pp. 1–3) lays down that there are two epochs in the history of the Church which have 'stamped themselves upon its external features.' One is the period in the second century 'when the process began of translating Christianity into terms which should be intelligible in the Roman Empire.' The second is 'the rise of Protestantism,' in which 'the effort was made to separate the purely Christian motives from those forms of Catholicism which had become unintelligible and unprofitable to the new age.' In respect of the latter period many will ask whether this is really the ruling motive of Protestantism. But it is more important to turn our attention to the first, and to inquire whether the epoch of the New Testament was not itself the first of those which have 'stamped their features on the Church'.

We should suppose from the opening paragraphs that our author conceives the contribution of the New Testament to Church organization to have lain merely in the spirit, while the form was impressed by the desire of the Church to be intelligible to the Roman Empire. Such a conception would be extremely erroneous. There are, no doubt, questions as to the organization of the New Testament Church. But even if we were to go so far as Mr. Gwatkin in the new *Bible*

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Dictionary,[1] and say that the question of the origin of bishops is best left undecided, that would be a very different thing from saying that the first age handed on to its successors only a spirit, and not also a form, whether or no we are able to trace this form with exactness. We can understand, indeed, that a body of people so free from selfishness and conceit as the Christian would imbibe with the best effect the lessons of order which the great empire in which they lived could afford. We are perfectly willing to recognise the suggestion of titles for the officers of the Church from Jewish, Greek, or Roman sources.

But we are persuaded that it is a great exaggeration to suppose that any of these sources, or any desire of the Church to make itself intelligible to the empire, was to be compared for efficiency in moulding her form to the authoritative traditions of the age of Christ and His Apostles, handed down, not by word, but by continuity of fact. Let it be granted that the bishop was the manager of the money affairs of the Church. Dr. Hatch[2] himself points out how sacred was the charity of Christians in the early ages. St. Paul himself was the bearer of it from the Gentile Churches to the saints at Jerusalem, and thanks God for it as an unspeakable gift. It was offered, if not wholly, at least chiefly, at the Holy Eucharist. And therefore it is really out of the question to maintain that so much mixture with the outward world as the management of moneys imparted to the bishop's office infused into it any tinge of secularity, especially when we consider that the ministration of Baptism and the celebration of the Eucharist is known and confessed to have belonged to him at the first, and to presbyters only in his absence. The presbyter's office, according to Dr. Hatch, was at first 'disciplinary and collegiate.' They did not teach, or minister the sacraments.[3] They were the council of the bishop, but all the most sacred duties of the ministry belonged to him. If he rose from their ranks we cannot see any probability that he did so without special appointment and Apostolic authority. And if in the eyes of the heathen he appeared in the light of a secular president or secretary of a guild, that is no reason why he should take this secular character in his own view or in that of his church.

There was, in fact, nothing that was secular in the primitive Church. It was a special point with St. Paul that the same Spirit divided to every man as He would, and that the ascended Lord gave some apostles, some prophets, some

[1] Art. 'Bishop.' [2] *Bampton Lectures*, p. 40. [3] *Ibid.* p. 69.

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pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints and the edifying of the Body of Christ. So that when seven men were chosen and ordained to serve tables, two of them, at all events, immediately devoted themselves to the preaching of the Gospel. We do not find it easy to believe that the presbyters were at any time so divested of all share in the duties of worship as Dr. Hatch depicts them; but even more difficult do we find it to accept the notion that the bishop's office was ever in any degree less spiritual than theirs. Dr. Hatch himself cannot be said to have 'pointed out the character of the episcopate as essentially an administrative office' (p. 18), unless we could suppose him to have imagined that the disposition of the funds of the Church was more essential than the celebration of its Eucharists.

The Epistles of Ignatius will ever be considered a stronghold of episcopalian teaching, and Professor Allen treats them as such, but finds in them an element which we must confess had not hitherto presented itself to us—namely, that of authoritative prophecy.

'In urging upon the churches the monarchical episcopate, Ignatius disclaims for himself any Apostolic authority. He deprecates the possibility that he may be regarded as some great person issuing his orders to the churches. . . . Whence then comes the authority with which he speaks? The only answer is that he speaks through the Spirit as possessing the gift of prophecy' (p. 67).

But we submit that there is another answer, and one which seems to us more probable: that the demand of submission to the bishop which the saint presents in such exalted and even hyperbolic terms was nothing so new as Professor Allen supposes. The claim to be uttering the message of the Spirit as a prophet is in no wise a humbler claim than that power of apostolic command which the saint disclaims; and if the writer had been taking under his advocacy an office which had hitherto exercised no such power as that which he demands for it, he would certainly have been setting himself in no slight degree beside SS. Peter and Paul. But if the bishop had already in the Church a distinct and powerful position, we may very well allow that Ignatius might, without undue arrogance, aim at raising him further still. The circumstances of the time—the example, if you will, of strong Roman government in the secular sphere—would demonstrate more and more every day the value of the unity and order which a strong episcopal rule could give. It seems

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to us the most natural account of the vehement language of Ignatius that he fully perceived this teaching of the times, and as in his progress through so many churches to the scene of his martyrdom the perception forced itself upon him, and the opportunity was presented of urging it upon others, it became with him a fixed idea.

And the same supposition accounts for the acceptance which his strong episcopalianism met with in the Church. The prophetic utterances of poor Ignatius could hardly have secured such compliance or spread so far as to make a general constitutional change in the Church at large. But if his enthusiasm was evoked in favour of an office which already had a firm standing ground on the basis of primitive establishment and apostolic sanction, and the value of which time was demonstrating, we can well understand that the affecting words of the martyr would help the rising tide, and the constitution he advocated would maintain itself and grow in vigour even where his influence was unknown.

Dr. Hatch[1] seems to think that there is something essentially more probable in the supposition that the superiority of bishops grew without special institution. We do not quite feel with him. It is certain that some form of Church government was handed on from the apostolic age, though it may be difficult from the New Testament alone to prove what it was. But it seems to us more probable that the office which a few years afterwards we find in such vigour had an apostolic institution, than that its rise as well as its progress was due to the tendency of things in the second century. But we have no desire to deny the tendency of events and experience. On the contrary, it seems to us that modern criticism, as in the example of Ignatius, sometimes ascribes to the writings of individuals more than they could really have effected, and takes them to have been the cause of things which they only witnessed to or assisted.

We do not find that Dr. Hatch supports Professor Allen's theory that Ignatius's episcopalian utterances claim to be prophetic messages. On the contrary, he states that the most exalted of them—namely, the comparison of the bishop to Christ and the presbyters to the Apostles—seems to go back to the beginning of Christian society.[2] But there is a theory propounded by Dr. Hatch which seems very liable to the objections we have stated. He conceives[3] that the idea of fighting Gnosticism by the authority of a Catholic Church

[1] *Bampton Lectures*, p. 99.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 89, 106.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 97.

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whose bishops, especially in the apostolic sees, agree as to the doctrine which has come down from the first, was one which arose in the mind of Irenæus and spread from him. And doubtless the authority of such a writer was great. But we are sufficiently sensible of the subjection of Church history to the common laws of human society to doubt the competency even of an Irenæus or even of an apostle to procure the acceptance of such a principle if it had not been thoroughly reasonable, deeply impressive, and level to the comprehension of the mind of the Church.

Professor Allen speaks of the bishop as 'president' of the Holy Eucharist. The word has so many associations derived from modern life that it imperfectly denotes the celebrant at a solemn religious service, the representative of the Lord Himself at a reproduction of the scene of the Last Supper. We do not know his authority for taking the view that the Holy Eucharist grew in the reverence of the people and gained a dogmatic significance throughout the second century (p. 84) which it did not possess when St. Paul waited for a week at Troas for the brethren to come together to break bread, or when he wrote to the Corinthians upon the consequences of profaning the Eucharist. Certainly it is not correct to quote Bishop Lightfoot as the authority for the statement that 'in the earliest administration of the Eucharist' it was 'still an *agape* or evening meal,' when the Bishop's own words are that the Lord's Supper was 'a name originally applied to the combined Eucharist and *agape*, but afterwards applied to the former when the latter had been separated or abolished' (p. 82).

Nor do we find any proof in the early records that the time ever existed in which 'the presbyters held the highest place,' and 'it would be highest title of honour belonging to the bishop that he belonged to the presbyterate.' St. Peter's declaration that he also is a presbyter does not imply that a presbyter was higher than an apostle. We cannot find Professor Allen's authority for ascribing to the presbyters as an order the duty of being 'a link with the past as vouching for the *ipsissima verba* of Christ and His Apostles' (p. 84). It is insufficiently proved by the statement of Irenæus that the tradition which is of the Apostles 'is guarded by the successions of Presbyters in the churches:' for that expression must be taken in combination with the appeal which immediately follows to the succession of bishops.[1]

It seems to us common sense to suppose that in a council

[1] Irenæus, b. iii. chap. ii. iii.

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of presbyters, whose business was discipline and teaching, with a bishop their head to whom belonged the functions of worship when he was present, though they could exercise them in his absence, every one in his degree and measure would have a share in maintaining the tradition of the faith. In relation to the Church at large and its testimony in the great world the bishops would be the spokesmen of their churches. But within the diocese itself bishops and priests, as occasion came, would bear their witness. There is therefore no need to suppose that any transference ever took place of the duty of witness from the presbyterate to the bishop (p. 87), nor did either the one or the other become a 'new office' in the second century; nor is there, so far as we can see, any ground for saying that the mind of Irenæus vacillated between two methods of certifying the genuineness of the Revelation—the aged presbyter who vouches for the tradition, and the bishop who in his official capacity guarantees the canon of New Testament writings or the rules of faith (p. 93). Irenæus in his own experience had been acquainted with aged presbyters who had peculiar opportunities, through their intercourse with St. John, of testifying to the facts stated in the New Testament. But these personal opportunities did not pass to the body of the presbyters in the Church, and were perfectly consistent with the existence of a tradition in the various churches jealously guarded by the heads of each, and consisting both of the books in which the faith was recorded, and of the living lessons which passed from teachers to hearers in every day of the Church's work.

It must surely be considered more probable to suppose an orderly development in which primitive elements of Church government act under changing circumstances according to their original powers; and to dispense with the supposition of revolutions of which no record is preserved. Why should we suppose, unless the records forced us to it, that 'since the time of Ignatius the churches have been organised on the basis, for the most part, of one bishop as the head of the community, and the presbyters have become his delegates to perform those functions which had hitherto belonged to the bishop alone; but the bishop has also changed, for he has absorbed the presbyters' commission of handing down or guaranteeing the Christian tradition' (p. 97). As we conceive the matter, the presbyters had always the power of discharging those functions of worship in the bishop's absence which properly belonged to him when present, but as the Church grew and bishops came to include many congrega-

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tions in their flocks, these functions of worship became the constant duty of presbyters, and were discharged by them in more numerous cases than by the bishop; while, on the other hand, the guardianship of the Church's tradition was always the work of the bishop along with his presbyters, but fell more prominently into his hands when the Church grew larger, and testimony to the faith became a Catholic rather than a diocesan duty.

'The Catholic Church,' says Professor Allen very truly, 'was tending consciously or unconsciously in its primitive process during the second century towards what is called the principle of solidarity, the fusion of the individual into an organized body, where the interests of the few are subordinated to the well-being of the whole' (p. 100). And he is right, we suppose, in taking Montanism to have been a protest against this process, and an attempt to maintain individualist religion in opposition to Catholic. 'The Montanists rose up in protest and rebellion, invoking the spirit of the prophet and of the Holy Ghost who speaks by the prophets to stem the tide of secularism which seemed to be sweeping away the Church from its ancient moorings' (*ib.*).

This contrast between solidarity in the Church and the rights of individual religion, with the ascription of secularity to the former tendency, are very ruling ideas in Professor Allen's conception of the history of Christian Institutions. No doubt the two tendencies exist, and have been in frequent contest; wherein solidarity, as generally having force on its side, has received the most discredit. But which has done most spiritual harm we shall only know hereafter. The fact is that the two tendencies exist so truly that it is impossible to exclude either of them from any attempt to form the very smallest sect. And it has constantly happened that the principle of solidarity has operated in its most tyrannical forms in communities pretending to exist for the liberty of individual conscience. It seems to us a chief defect of this clever volume that the author should suppose particular communities throughout the ages to be exclusive representatives of one or other of these tendencies. St. Paul certainly desires that the Church should represent both. For, he says, 'ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.' And there may be quite as much secularity in self-assertion as in oppression. We perceive with but a slight inquiry into the true inwardness of things that the promise of liberty on the one side is apt to be as deceptive as the promise of deliverance from responsibility on the other. And we find

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that many a man subjects himself to the Roman Church in the most defiant spirit of self-determination, while his neighbour is provided by his Protestantism with the fullest opportunity of tyrannising over other people's free will, or submitting his own private judgment either through laziness or through cowardice.

It is a pity to regard every Christian institution as stamped from the first with a particular tendency; for in the first place they all ought to include a due measure of the influence of the individual on the society, and of that of the society on the individual; and in the second place they all do include both influences whether duly measured or not. Englishmen well know that in politics to set the solidarity of the general body in opposition to the free development of the individual is the temper of anarchists or despots, and that for themselves they know the principles which St. Paul maintains in the Church to be true in the State: that the aims of liberty and order are so far from being at variance that true union cannot be had by stunting individual growth, nor true freedom at the expense of obedience.

We cannot recognize in the 'Cyprianic method of administration' the variation from previous rules of Church order which Professor Allen seems to suppose. What we discern is a man of clear sight and strong faith applying to the circumstances of his time the recognized principles of the past. He cannot be said to have invented the necessity for unity which is as plainly stated by our Lord and by St. Paul as ever it was by him. He cannot be said to have discovered episcopacy as the apostolic rule, for by the admission of everybody it was well established before his time. He did not originate the idea of succession, which was not only thought of but put in practice when St. Paul ordained Timothy and bade Timothy ordain others. He did not assert for bishops any claim of an exclusive power of ordination which was not made and carried into universal practice long before his time. But he lived at a period when the Church appears in history as well diffused, and when the consolidation of her system, though none of it was new, makes a grand impression on the reader, like the union of multitudes of scattered bands into a great army.

The reader cannot help learning from the page of errata that Professor Allen had committed himself not only to a statement that St. Cyprian had taken part in a consecration to the episcopate without laying on of hands, but also to the still more important error that Apostolic ordination consisted

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merely in the recognition of an antecedent Divine call and qualification. Further reflection has led him to withdraw this interpretation of the laying on of hands in New Testament ordinations. Probably the consideration not only of the passages in Acts vi. and xiii., but also those in 1 Tim. iv. 14 and 2 Tim. i. 6, has led the Professor's candour to the revisal of his first thoughts. We could wish that he had at the same time withdrawn the similar interpretation of the Anglican Ordinal which will be found on p. 247, and which is beyond a doubt equally unfounded.

Professor Allen compares Cyprian's very just argument that our Lord teaches the unity of the Church by depicting it as taking its rise from the individual St. Peter, with the Roman idea of the unity of the empire secured by its one imperial ruler. We could almost conceive that he accepted as genuine the Romish interpolations in the same chapter. Certainly there is no similarity between St. Cyprian's Church unity and the unity of the empire unless you suppose that Church unity not only rose from St. Peter, but was maintained under rulers who represented him: for in that fashion was the unity of the empire upheld. But it is well known that any sentences which favour such a supposition were forced upon the Benedictine editor by the Ultramontanes. We have before us the Cyprian of 1726 bearing the plain traces that the sheet with these interpolations was inserted after the book had been bound. But we cannot suppose that Professor Allen is so anxious to press his idea that the Institutions of the Church were assimilated to those of the empire, as to desire us to believe that the Church like the empire had then a ruling head at Rome.

Through the whole history of Christian Institutions as related by our author there runs the supposition of a deep-seated grudge of the presbyterate against the episcopate for an infringement of rights, which he does not indeed call by the hard name of usurpation, but enables us to understand that very plausible ground exists for such an accusation. The first conspicuous appearance of such a feeling he discovers in the well-known letter of St. Jerome,[1] which, however, by no means bears the weight which he lays upon it. 'He qualifies for himself and his companions the duty of obedience, "refusing to serve under compulsion beneath the shadow of episcopal authority men whom we do not choose to obey."' We do not find these words in the Epistle. There is no qualification of the duty of obedience to the bishop. The

[1] *S. Hieron. Op.* ed. Bened. iv. 802.

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letter is wholly devoted to curbing the ambition of the deacons, and the mention of the original equality of presbyters and bishops is not meant to humiliate the latter, but to exalt the order of priests for the due humiliation of the deacons. Elsewhere[1] he says that 'among us the bishops hold the place of the Apostles.' He does not cast the slightest doubt upon the sole title of bishops to ordain. He places the subjection of presbyters to bishops upon the very same ground of Church authority which sets the bishop above the presbyters.[2] And if, as Professor Allen rightly records, the saint preserved his solitude even at the expense of leaving his presbyteral functions unused, that fact is a testimony not of his exaltation of the presbyterate, but of his maintenance of his monachism at the expense of all Church offices alike.

We hope that we shall not be considered uncharitable if we suspect that in the following passage Professor Allen is unconsciously influenced by the desire to provide some ground in Church history for the Presbyterian position.

'It [St. Jerome's argument] is, in other words, the familiar argument that while bishops may be necessary to the well-being of a church they are not necessary to its existence. And such remained the motive of monasticism throughout its history in Western Christendom. It never lost its inner mood of antagonism to the episcopate; its history is a record of conflicts with the bishops, of rivalries and jealousies, of defeats and of victories, till it finally issued, in the age of the Reformation, in organised churches which had no bishops, where prophecy or the preaching of the word was placed above the gift of administration' (p. 141).

There is, so far as we are aware, nothing in St. Jerome to indicate that the idea ever crossed his mind that episcopacy was necessary not for the being but for the well-being of a church. Some clearer proof than any which the author has given will be necessary before he is at all justified in ascribing this familiar form of words to St. Jerome. And we equally desiderate some proof beyond mere assertion that the equality of presbyter and bishop was the motive of monasticism through its history. Had it been so the fact would furnish an overwhelming proof of the recognition of episcopal claims on the part of the enemies of episcopacy. For what could demonstrate this more clearly than the absence through a thousand years of monasticism, plentifully filled with quarrels and differences with the bishops, in most of which the omnipotent Pope took the anti-episcopal side, of any record of an

[1] *S. Hieron. Op.* ed. Bened. iv. 65.

[2] See the passage quoted by Professor Allen, p. 139, *n.* 3.

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attempt to deny the abstract right of the bishops' rule or of any hint at the possibility of performing ordinations without them? The monks and the friars fought much with the bishops as the nearest foes to the independence of their communities, but not as the usurpers of presbyteral rights. But they fought quite as much with the secular priests as their nearest rivals in the affections of the people.

We scarcely suppose that our Presbyterian brethren will care very much for such a cloud of witnesses to their cause as the monks. But even if it displeased them we should be obliged to maintain that to find in monasticism any preparation for the conception of a Church without bishops would present an idea not less surprising to John Calvin than to John Cassian. Professor Allen finds yet another point of view in which monasticism displays for episcopacy 'an antagonism so deep, so radical, and touching all the relations of life—it was the conflict generated between those opposite poles of all human thought and activity,' the same which we have met and treated of above—'solidarity and individualism.'

'The Montanist, the Novatian, the Donatist were all alike in this respect, that they did not believe that salvation depended on adherence to the Catholic Church, that church out of which there was no salvation, as Cyprian had maintained and as Augustine at a later time asserted with equal emphasis. In this conviction monasticism also shared, putting the conviction into practical form by fleeing to the desert or the cell in order to cultivate the religious life and attain reconciliation with God' (p. 142).

We must be excused for saying that it is an aggravating way of writing history to ascribe to great communities sympathies and opinions which they would have repudiated with all their might. Any monk of any order would have contradicted with vehemence one who declared that he was in agreement with Montanists, Novatians, and Donatists; and in what opinion? The opinion that salvation did not depend upon adherence to the Catholic Church. They fled, it seems, into the desert and into the cell, not from the world but from the Church. They never said that this was their object.

Professor Allen lives in a vast continent, and vast generalizations seem very congenial to him. But he lays them down far too confidently. The most vehement and fanatical adherents of the belief that submission to the Church was requisite to salvation were ever the monks. The professor himself in a later passage remarks with great truth that the bishops made very poor inquisitors. But the monks were relentless. They were, whether in their cells or in the desert,

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more intense Churchmen than even the bishops themselves. And in truth the whole conception of monasticism as representing individualism against episcopacy which represented solidarity is erroneous. The wild monks of the desert of Nitria (though they too had their solidarity) are not to be classed with the cloistered monks of Western Europe. When Cassian introduced monastic rule from the East into Gaul, his very meaning and intention was to construct a solidarity more solid than that of ordinary Catholicity. And the idea was too congenial to the Roman mind, with its reverence for constitutions and law, to fail in prospering. Nowhere does one find individualism more rigidly suppressed and solidarity more strong than in a great monastery?

It is true that the position of a bishop brought him more universally into contact with the powers of the world than was the case with the monks. And grand work he did in the world. The municipalities, in which liberty and order were kept alive and the heritage of the great empire which had broken up was handed on to posterity, would have never remained without the bishops.[1] And their power with kings in the times of the formation of Europe was as thoroughly religious as that of any monk. St. Remigius in the court of Clovis and St. Eligius in that of Dagobert possessed a religious character as distinct in its way as that of St. Martin. This was not so in the middle ages nor in the court of Louis XIV. But then monasticism also was obliged to mix with the world. The heads of great monasteries such as Abbot Suger and Peter the Venerable had their distinct worldly relations. The management of a great establishment absolutely needed a vigorous organizing mind: piety did not suffice. The readers of *Past and Present* will remember in how practical a spirit and with what a strong sense of the reality of earthly affairs Abbot Samson buckled to work. And when monks with such aptitudes were drawn into connexion with kings and statesmen they were as masterful men of the world as any bishop.

There is, moreover, very little similarity between monastic individualism such as it was and that of Protestantism. The one was ascetic, the other is intellectual. While the monk needed for the salvation of his own soul some different method than the simple confidence in Church rites which contented his neighbours, the last thing he thought of was intellectual doubt or question. His very call to asceticism arose upon the ground of his intense belief in the doctrines

[1] Guizot, *Civilisation en France*, leçon iii.

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of the Church. There was plenty to do in his daily round of service and devotion without intellectual inquiry besides; and the more he fasted and prayed the more committed he was to the belief which was the basis of it all. What resemblance was there in the monastic mind to the Protestant whose individualism begins in doubts about the truth of what it has been taught?

We find in Professor Allen's view of the middle ages very many a passage full of truth and beauty. And we do not deny the justice of many of his remarks upon episcopal life. But of all the bishops who mingled with the world the most worldly was the Pope, the assured friend of the monastic orders, and the cause and source of worldliness among the bishops, partly by leading them that way and partly by so repelling them through his exactions and his tyranny that he drove them into the arms of the kings. And when the Reformation came, and monks, as Professor Allen remarks, were often found among the Pope's opponents, monasticism had long lost its original character. Luther ought never to have been a monk. He and his friends were no true successors of the mediæval orders. And what had Erasmus to say about monasteries? That cool observer, living in Reformation times, had but little notion that monasticism was the forerunner of Protestantism. Jesuitism is the true successor in modern times of the monasticism of the past. 'With the rise of the Jesuit order,' says Professor Allen, 'the history of monasticism may be said to have come to an end' (p. 170) But it has not come to an end so long as the Jesuit order continues to exist. And if Jesuitism and Protestantism are alike the descendants of monasticism, these relatives agree but poorly between themselves.

Professor Allen conceives the Reformers in general to have held 'the ideal, the vision of a higher unity of the spirit which bound men together in the Church which was invisible. That unity they believed was more real than any scheme of visible homogeneous organization, because it existed in the Divine mind to be reproduced in this lower world' (pp. 233–4). We are afraid we cannot quite grasp the meaning of this passage. For when the invisible unity which exists in the Divine mind is reproduced in this lower world, what form can it assume except that of a visible unity? Even if the unity were to consist in the agreement of a number of varying sects to maintain a mutual understanding and a friendly intercourse, that would be a visible unity so far as it went, however unsatisfactory. But we cannot allow that this ideal was universal

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among the Reformers, if it existed at all. It would have been a very hard task to convince Servetus under sentence, or the Scotch clergy when they were harried, or the Puritans when they were fined for nonconformity, or the Episcopal rectors driven from their homes in the Great Rebellion, that the Reformed Christians who smote them had no desire for an earthly unity, but only for that unity which is invisible and heavenly.

The doctrine of justification by faith meets as a matter of course with Professor Allen's strong concurrence, since it made an end of the mediæval principle that salvation was aided and pardon more easily secured by gifts to the Church. Many may think that it reversed this principle so thoroughly that the spoliation of the Church was thought a more favourable preparation for heaven than her enrichment. Noble as is the influence of justification by faith as St. Paul taught it, there is not a doubt that as it was accepted by the courtiers of Edward VI., and by the pampered nobles of Germany, it was even more demoralizing than the mediæval teaching itself. Nor is it fair to treat all mediæval giving as tainted with the purpose of bargaining with God. There was giving in those simpler times which in its generous self-forgetful spirit may well compare even with the noblest charity of our times. There is a power in the act of giving, over him who practises it to purge his motive even when faulty, as there is a power in selfishness to taint generosity even when it pretends to be purest. And when we view the self-complacency with which the Christian world spends its wealth upon itself, we are tempted to wish that it did still believe that heaven could be purchased by gifts.

But in respect of the direct spiritual tendency of mediæval and Protestant doctrine, there is a passage in Professor Allen so admirally expressed, that we cannot help quoting it, though the conclusion we draw from it is different from his.

'The principle of the *opus operatum*, however irrational in its presentation of the Sacrament of the Altar, yet represents the groping after a spiritual truth demanded by the inmost necessities of the religious life. It stands for the conviction that God is responsible for human salvation, that the burden rests primarily upon Him rather than on the individual soul, that He voluntarily assumes the burden and Himself supplies the soul with the food of life; or as the Psalmist has said of the whole animal creation, "These all seek their meat from God; when Thou givest them they gather; Thou openest Thine hand and they are filled with good;" or, again, the words of Christ, 'The birds of the air sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns, yet your heavenly Father feedeth them."

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At the moment then when the Reformation made its protest against the penitential system of the Roman Church which kept the soul in uncertainty and anxiety about its salvation, burdening it with petty exactions and routine methods; and when also the counteractive principle in the *opus operatum* of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had lost its force and meaning, Luther came to the rescue with his doctrine of justification by faith only, and Calvin with his doctrine of sovereign election by divine decree—convictions which alike threw the burden upon God, and set man free from the harassing exactions of a diseased and morbid conscience, made diseased by an unnatural effort which was defeating its own end' (pp. 423–4).

The author appears to mean by the *opus operatum* the Sacramental system. It is quite a mistake to describe this system as leaving man content with a work of God done merely for him. And when we take it as giving confidence and support to a work of God done in us, when we receive not merely the *res sacramenti* but also the *virtus sacramenti*, how excellently the words just quoted describe the blessing and benefit which come from belief that the Sacraments are real signs of grace to which God Himself is pledged. Luther and even Calvin perceived the admirable use of the Sacraments, and strove to combine it with their system. Luther thought that baptism was a sign of God's fatherhood, of which faith could take hold, and the message of which it could recall whenever in after life it came back to Him for forgiveness. And everyone knows how he could not bear wholly to part with even the material expression of the Presence in the other Sacrament. Calvin taught sacramental doctrine which might be truly described as very high if we did not remember the depressing condition which lurks behind it, and confines all its meaning to the elect few. And when the sacramental doctrine of the Catholic Church is surrendered, it is sadly found (and we might almost suppose Professor Allen to feel it) that Protestantism has nothing to supply the void. For how often has the question, 'Have I true justifying faith?' or the other question, 'Am I elect?' brought into action all the harassing exactions of a diseased and morbid conscience in still more dreadful power than the people of the middle ages were ever wont to endure it?

Elsewhere the author describes justification by faith as 'standing by the strength of a righteousness which is not our own except in so far as our longing after it makes it our own.' It is an extremely beautiful description, and if we could only believe that Luther's doctrine of justification meant that, we should have much fewer misgivings about it,

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But we fear that it meant, and still means to multitudes, a resting upon Christ's finished work which has not in it the element of longing to make it our own.

We have digressed, however, to later pages of the work than those of which we were treating. The reader will find some suggestive thoughts concerning the English Reformation on page 265, in which the author describes the nationality and the strong concurrence of bishops and king which marked that movement. 'Among the bishops there was practical unanimity of conviction and of action when after the long preparation of centuries a king arose, who, as the representative of the national will, stood ready to sever the connexion between the English nation and the Bishop of Rome.' Here that idea which frequently meets us in the book, of a mutual attraction of bishops and kings, meets an application which seems very just. We cannot, however, agree also with the author's introduction into the English Reformation of another tendency of the bishops of which he is equally observant—namely, their enmity to the monasteries: 'It is in the treatment of the monasteries that the peculiar features of the English Reformation most distinctly appear' (p. 266). We earnestly hope that this may not be the case; we have no desire to trace our peculiar features in any transaction so discreditable as the treatment of the monasteries, which becomes more repulsive the more it is known.

But we presently discover the object of putting forward as a peculiar feature of the English Reformation the attack upon the monasteries, which was really but the determination on the part of the secular power to rob the communities which, partly by their own fault, were the most friendless. It is for the purpose of establishing a connexion between the monasteries and the Puritans: inimical as both were to the bishops, and objects of their persecutions. 'There was mustering in England the preparation for a great schism—the severest ordeal through which England had ever been called to pass—the motive of which was no other than the ancient hostility of the monastic presbyterate against the secular episcopate' (p. 267). To find in the Puritan the lineal descendant of the monk seems to us one of those endless genealogies in which some inquirers please themselves, but which are scarcely better founded than some heraldic pedigrees. But the ingenious author before us is not content to trace a general resemblance. He professes to give us the particular sects which represent the great orders:

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'In the Lutheran Church may be traced the spirit of the Augustinian order, with which its origin was so closely connected. . . . The Reformed Church has points of affinity with the Dominican order. . . . The Methodist Church is almost a reproduction of the Franciscan order, and Wesley, as it were, the successor of Francis of Assisi. . . . The Church of England perpetuates more distinctly the Secular Church of the Middle Ages, but in its capacity as a National Church has included more than one variety of monastic attitude. In the High Anglican school may be seen the reproduction of the spirit of Clugny with its doctrine of Church authority and its love of a rich elaborate ritual or its devotion to an imposing architecture; or on the other hand, in the Low Church party, as it is called, we catch the tone of Bernard of Clairvaux. . . . The Congregational Church . . . appears like a reversion to the earlier and simpler organization of the Benedictine order. . . . It would be impossible to enumerate them all, but the Baptist Church may be mentioned with its logical insistence upon what theories imply, with its endeavour to secure a more complete discipline and realization of all that a Protestant Church involves, with its recognition in an emphatic way of the significance of the Old Testament in its relation to the New . . . in this attitude there is a suggestion of one of the larger but more rigid monastic orders, the Carmelite' (pp. 275, 276).

We hope the reader, whatever his opinions may be, will find himself classed to his satisfaction, and provided with an ancestry to his mind in this comprehensive list. For our parts we confess to finding it rather fanciful. It seems to us that both the characteristics ascribed to our various religious bodies and the selection of mediæval orders to represent them are superficial enough.

But at least we are highly satisfied with the admission that the Church of England represents the Church of the middle ages. For in truth that was the Catholic and Apostolic body which finds a place in the Creed, and represents the fellowship of the first ages. Her bishops had their defects, but to call them secular is but to say that they took for their ideal the life of their Founder in the midst of the world, not that of John the Baptist in the desert. She was able to make room more or less willingly for various orders of religious people who dwelt in her without schism. The hackneyed quotation from Macaulay's review of Ranke contrasts the Church of England with her in this respect, and with some justice. Yet surely there is room and welcome within the English Church for many differences of mind. If the Lutherans only wanted an Augustinian theology, and the Reformed only a Dominican love of preaching, and the Methodists only a Franciscan love of souls, and the Congregationalists only a

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love of independence and devotion to Christian literature, and the Baptists only a recognition of the Old Testament in relation to the New—they could all enjoy these tendencies to their hearts' content without breaking the Unity of the Church. But Professor Allen is so extremely good-natured that he seems to think Dissent a Christian Institution—a position which we can by no means assign to it.

We must unwillingly pass over the sections on the Creed to come to those upon the Sacraments in the last book. Professor Allen has laid down his sense of the meaning of a Christian institution in the second sentence of his book. 'By the word institution is to be understood the outward form or embodiment which the spirit of Christianity assumes, corresponding to some inward mode of apprehending the Christian faith.' We cannot profess to understand how this definition can be brought under the conception of a revealed religion, in which surely the inward apprehension must attend upon a divinely given embodiment. Holding this notion, however, Professor Allen naturally shrinks, as we noticed at the beginning, from recognizing any revealed form of Church government. But when he came to treat of the Sacraments, which occupy his third book, we are really surprised that he did not discover the impossibility of applying the definition to them. For the catechism of the American Church, like our own, lays down that a sacrament is 'an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, ordained by Christ Himself.' We shall not waste the reader's time by drawing out the contrast between this definition and Professor Allen's.

The duty of the scholar in this question exactly corresponds with that of the believer. In neither character should the theological scholar or the believer in the Sacraments as Christian institutions neglect a careful examination of the commands from which the observances issued; they are ever authoritative. In the forefront of his sacramental treatise, if it is to be satisfactory, he must place the question of the meaning and intention of the words and acts by which the Lord originated them. It is His Institution that gives them a title to be called Christian Institutions, and has secured for them that high place which the Professor concedes to them of being 'features or institutions of Christianity which more than any others reveal its meaning and purpose' (p. 399). But we know not that we ever came across a treatise upon these Christian institutions which so completely as the present ignored the commands of the Lord Himself in which they are supposed by ordinary Christians of every

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sort to have found their origin. Apparently Professor Allen cannot think so. 'Curious minds,' he thinks, 'may seek to antedate the origin of these venerable rites, carrying it back into pre-Christian ages.' 'But we must learn to outgrow the fallacy that the origin of an institution neutralizes its validity.' The principle of Evolution has taught us better. And 'if Jews or heathens can be shown to have anticipated such rites as these it only confirms their significance' (p. 400). Quite true, and a valuable argument against the impossible notion that the Sacraments grew by evolution out of pre-Christian times. But surely the institution of the Lord makes these observations wholly irrelevant. We should, indeed, be sorry to misrepresent Professor Allen, but it seems to us that he passes in the case of each sacrament into the Church use of it without even a mention of the Lord's command. 'The doctrine of baptism in the early Church is exalted and positive in its tone' (p. 401). 'In order to measure the extent and the depth of the transformation of the Eucharist it is necessary to dwell for a moment on the worship of the early Church in the first three centuries. The Lord's Supper was at first organically related to an institution known as the Agape or Love Feast' (p. 517). Strange that we Catholic Churchmen should have to call the attention of Protestants to what Chillingworth supposed to be their religion; and strange that we should have to remind a writer who is nothing if not scientific of his omission of so important a portion of his induction of facts as the Scripture record of the institution of the Sacraments.

But there is still another point in which Professor Allen's method of treatment turns from the distinctly Protestant method and adopts that which it has most vehemently opposed. His disregard of the Scripture record upon the Sacraments draws with it the consequence of regarding them in an entirely ontological light instead of as gifts personally delivered to individuals and making an appeal to them. We know indeed to what excesses the latter view has been carried by Protestantism; such excesses as condemn attendance at the Blessed Sacrament on the part of those who do not at the time communicate, and deny the Real Presence or any sacramental gift except what makes itself plain in actual results. Far be such thoughts from us. But still we must remember that 'Take, eat' and 'Drink ye all of this' are parts of the sentences of Institution. It is, as Archbishop Whately might have said, a printer's fallacy to place, as the Roman Missal does, the 'This is My Body' in capitals and the 'Take,

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eat' in common type. Whatever we do about worship we must recognize communion as the crown and end of the institution of Christ. Even the Council of Trent seems to do so (sess. xiii. caps. 2 and 5); but for many a century of the best times of Christian worship this was far better felt. For that reason the manner of the Presence never then presented itself as a difficult physical inquiry, like the inquiries into the composition of bodies which philosophers pursue. It was answered for the soul by the Lord Himself, and the words in which the primitive divines ventured to express it were ever of the most moderate and most spiritual kind.

All this period in the history Professor Allen omits. The doctrine of the Eucharist of which he first takes note, after the brief retrospect which we have quoted, is merely the first physical speculations on the physical nature of the elements that he can find—which, indeed, in the meaning of its first propounders, were not intended to be physical speculations at all. Tertullian may have shown a disposition to identify the symbol with the thing symbolized. St. Cyril of Jerusalem calls upon his hearers to regard the elements of bread and wine as the Body and Blood of Christ. St. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the mysteries which cleanse both body and soul (pp. 481–2). But it is really impossible to determine satisfactorily what such expressions meant or to trace any progress of doctrine through them, if you determine to consider them without reference to the commands and revelations of the Lord, of which, as none can doubt, their authors were constantly thinking. Professor Allen is able to comprehend matter as having a natural physical effect or as being the symbol or illustration of a spiritual change. But he seems absolutely not to be able to understand the phraseology of the Catechism, by which the material thing is made the sign of the presence of the inward thing, and received as the token and pledge of that inward thing's reception. We suppose that the language of the Catechism seems to the Professor 'sacramental phraseology where it is impossible to say whether the writer means to be understood literally—whether there is an objective reality and efficacy in the sacred symbols, or whether they represent some process in the regenerated mind' (p. 483). And again, 'While the symbolism of material things might be suggestive and impressive yet it seems like a long step to reach the conclusion that the external application of water or oil could have any part in the inward purification of the spirit. But for this step the

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Catholic Church was making preparation from an early moment in its history.' We do not believe that the Catholic Church ever prepared for or ever made any such step. Even Transubstantiation cannot be fairly described as teaching that there is an objective reality and efficacy in the sacred symbols, though it comes dangerously near to that assertion. But St. Gregory of Nyssa laid down the true Catholic doctrine when, in words which Professor Allen quotes without apparently taking in their meaning, he declares that it is not the outward element, but the command of God and visitation of the Spirit connected with it which gives the inward light (p. 481).

But we must proceed to the summary with which this interesting if not scientific work concludes (p. 564). 'It has been said that worship is one of the lost arts;' 'but if so it is not to be found by compressing the spiritual wealth secured by the Protestant Reformation in the providence of God into the moulds of ages inferior to our own.' Undoubtedly. But ages which possessed the secret of worship cannot have been in that respect inferior to our own, if it be true that we have lost it. Bishop Jackson of London, however, said that the Church movement had restored the secret of worship. Many a congregation among us witnesses to the fact. And we cannot see that the Protestant world could do better than come in and join us while it is 'waiting for the manifestation of its full content in a consummate act of worship.' We hope we are engaged about something more serious and permanent than 'spasmodic attempts to escape the uncertainties of the hour by restoring ancient forms not without their charm for the passing moods of the soul.' Yet even this would be better than the condition of Protestantism waiting for

'a future yet to be revealed, as it has also resources of whose significance it is hardly yet aware. What remains to be done is to gather up in one inclusive act of sacrifice all that these modern ages have contributed to the knowledge of God, to consecrate and transfigure in His sight all that the heart and the reason hold as inestimably dear and precious. From this sacrifice cannot be withheld any contribution made by the human mind toward the solution of the mystery of existence. The sacrifice will include every department of human interest and inquiry—music, art, and poetry, as well as science, philosophy, and theology. It will include the life of the whole Church in every age. It will be a Christian sacrifice, for Christ Himself will be the supreme offering of humanity to God—He in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily' (p. 564).

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This is indeed a glorious ideal, and we hail the man who conceived it as a brother in the Church of Christ. Only we wish that instead of finding excuse for everything that has ever happened in the Protestant world, he had proclaimed to all that everything he dreams of could be accomplished in the Christian Institution of the Eucharist if only all would come in to that great Christian Institution, the Church of God, and celebrate one grand Communion, offering self, soul and body, with all the best that each has done, or can do, in Christ the Supreme Sacrifice, to God.

ART. VII.—THE LETTERS OF ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Edited with Biographical Additions by FREDERIC G. KENYON. With Portraits. In Two Volumes. (London, 1897.)

SINCE the death of Mrs. Barrett Browning in July 1861, considerably more than a generation has passed away. It is well, therefore, that the picture of what she was in her lifetime should be drawn for the benefit of those who neither knew her personally nor can remember the first publication of her works. This want has been satisfactorily supplied by Mr. F. G. Kenyon in the present issue of two volumes of her *Letters*, to which he has added all that was needed in connecting links of narrative, together with dates and editorial foot-notes, short and to the point. This series, on the whole, surpasses in interest any similar collection of late years. The *Letters of James Russell Lowell* gave a good insight into the mind of that lively and clear-headed writer; while more recently we have had set before us, in the *Correspondence of Lord Blachford*, edited by his nephew Mr. George Marindin, a very powerful and keen-sighted intellect, but its range was somewhat limited by official restrictions, and the interest of the volume was mainly political. Matthew Arnold's *Letters* again were a little disappointing. They threw less light than might have been expected on the workings of his genius, though they gave a charming revelation of his home life, and of serenity and kindliness unbroken by incessant and irksome calls of daily routine.

In the *Letters of Mrs. Barrett Browning* there is still less

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incident than in any of these, for as she herself pathetically says in 1843:

'As to stories, my story amounts to the knife-grinder's, with nothing at all for a catastrophe. A bird in a cage would have as good a story. Most of my events, and nearly all my intense pleasures, have passed in my *thoughts*' (i. 3).

Nor can these *Letters*, as the editor remarks,

'lay any claim to make a new revelation of her genius. On the other hand, perhaps because the circumstances of Mrs. Browning's life cut her off to an unusual extent from personal intercourse with her friends, and threw her back upon letter-writing as her principal means of communication with them, they contain an unusually full revelation of her character. And this is not wholly unconnected with her literary genius, since her personal convictions, her moral character, entered more fully than is often the case into the composition of her poetry' (Preface, p. x).

The supreme merit of letters, where the writer is interesting, has been described by Mr. Henry James[1] as being 'the absolute natural.' Using less abstract language, we may say that the depths of an ardent and highly gifted spirit are transparent in this series of letters, which were the familiar outpouring to intimate friends of whatever most readily suggested itself in conversation, without the slightest idea of their ever appearing afterwards in print.

The life of Mrs. Browning divides itself naturally into three periods, the first of which extends to the year 1838, the date of her first serious appearance before the public in her own name as a poet; the next includes the eight years' interval before her marriage with Robert Browning in 1846; while the last comprises the fifteen years of married life, and, for the greater part of it, of Florentine residence.

1. The family of the father of the poetess had been connected for some generations with Jamaica, and owned considerable estates there. By a curious coincidence Robert Browning was himself in part of West Indian extraction, as was also John Kenyon, the lifelong friend of both the poet and the poetess, through whom the two were first introduced to one another. Elizabeth Barrett Browning was born on March 6, 1809, the birth-year of so many celebrated characters, at Coxhoe Hall, in the county of Durham. But while she was yet an infant her father, whose original name was Moulton, removed to the estate of Hope End, near Malvern, which he had newly purchased. Here were spent the first

[1] *Literature*, April 16, 1898.

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twenty-one years of her life. Even the close of this early period is separated from us by two generations. We therefore naturally expect in any allusion to it some indications of very different conditions of society from those enjoyed at the present day. We hear for instance of the constant use of leeches; while a visit to town from the neighbourhood of Reading was a luxury rarely to be thought of. 'Miss Mitford' (we more than once read) 'visits London at long intervals, and lives thirty miles away' (i. 55). But still the world went very well then, and there was plenty of mental activity and intellectual enjoyment; though to its more highly favoured successors a world without railroads and telegraphic communication, without anodynes or antiseptics, or electric light, may seem to have been a world shorn of so many essentials as to have been scarcely worth living in.

Allusions to this first home occur in several of Miss Barrett's earliest essays in poetry, *e.g.* in 'Hector in the Garden,' the giant figure wrought by the child's spade; while the Herefordshire scenery tinges much of 'The Deserted Garden' and 'The Lost Bower.'

> 'Malvern Hills for mountains counted,
> Keepers of Piers Plowman's vision through
> The sunshine and the snow.'

It was at Hope End that she laid 'the foundations of that omnivorous reading of literature of all sorts and kinds, which was so strong a characteristic of her tastes and leanings' (i. 3). There, as she told Mr. Horne, 'she read Greek as hard under the trees as some of your Oxonians in the Bodleian; gathered visions from Plato and the dramatists, and eat and drank Greek and made my head ache with it' (i. 4). It is not necessary to do more than barely mention as instances of her precocity 'The Battle of Marathon,' written at the age of ten, which her father from pride in his daughter would have printed, and the didactic poem 'The Essay on Mind,' afterwards put away by her with other childish things as having been written in very early youth, 'when flippancy of language was too apt to accompany immaturity of opinion' (i. 94). It was at Hope End that her first illness occurred, where she met with so serious an injury to the spine that for years she lay upon her back; the cause being either a fall from her pony or more probably a strain incurred whilst she was tightening the girths. During these years she was 'absorbing literature rather than producing it, or if producing it, still mainly for her own amusement and instruction rather

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than with any view of appealing to the general public.' But in 1832 this home was broken up by the sale of Hope End, and with the 'removal thence we seem to find her embarking definitely on literature as the avowed pursuit and occupation of her life. Sidmouth in Devonshire was the place to which the Barrett family now removed, and the letters begin henceforth to be longer and more frequent, and to tell a more connected tale' (i. 9). The first-fruits of this change of residence was the translation of the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus, a sufficiently ambitious enterprise for a lady of her age. With this she was so dissatisfied that subsequently she did all in her power to suppress it, and seven years later wrote another version which she substituted for the earlier one in the collected edition of her poems in 1850. Little of interest is connected with this sojourn at Sidmouth, which was never intended to give a permanent home to the Barretts. The move to London in 1835 was of great importance in two ways to the poetess. On the one hand, it brought to a climax her weakness. From this point, under the influence of town atmosphere, she became a chronic invalid. On the other hand, it was the beginning both of her closest friendships, *e.g.* with John Kenyon and Miss Mitford, and of a much fuller correspondence, limited however at first to Mr. Hugh Stuart Boyd, the blind scholar commemorated in the 'Wine of Cyprus,' and in three fine sonnets on his blindness, his death in 1848, and his legacies; and to Mrs. Martin, her old Malvern friend. Her contributions to magazines, such as *Colburn's New Monthly*, edited at that time by Bulwer (the first Lord Lytton), in which 'The Romaunt of Margret' and 'The Poet's Vow' appeared, date from the same period.

In 1836 she meets Wordsworth and Landor for the first time, and felt (she says) the difference between great genius and eminent talent. The former she heard recite a translation of a sonnet of Dante by Cary, whilst from the latter she received two Greek epigrams, which he had lately composed. Her study of this language, to which allusion has already been made, was extraordinarily keen, and her knowledge of its literature embraced a very wide range—from Homer to the Greek Fathers—including writers so little studied as Synesius, John of Euchaita or John Mauropus,[1] Nonnus, Paulus Silentiarius, and Pisida; but it had no academical flavour. She had in fact received no regular training, and the only persons with whom we hear of her studying Greek

[1] These are not two distinct writers, as they are made to be in the index, but two designations of one and the same person.

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are Mr. Boyd and Mr. MacSwiney, her brother's tutor. Her self-education and power of attainment deserve all admiration; but under such circumstances it was not strange that she did not always steer clear of mistakes, writing, for instance, of Constantine for Constantius (i. 103), speaking of 'apolyptic' where she meant apocalyptic (i. 73), and inquiring in a curious passage whether she had been wrong in making Eternity feminine. 'I knew that the Greek word was not feminine, but imagined that the English personification should be so'! Her writing of the language is always 'lady's Greek,' guiltless of accents and breathings.

To those who read between the lines, not a little autobiography bearing on her own youth, and on English life in the latter part of the thirties, can be traced in *Aurora Leigh.* The education of girls long before Girton and Newnham were dreamt of is brought back to us by the long catalogue of useless accomplishments:

> 'I learnt my complement of classic French
> (Kept pure of Balzac and neologism) . . . .
> I learnt a little algebra, a little
> Of the mathematics—brushed with extreme flounce
> The circle of the sciences . . . .
> I learnt the royal genealogies
> Of Oviedo, the internal laws
> Of the Burmese empire . . . .
> I learnt much music, such as would have been
> As quite impossible in Johnson's day,
> As still it might be wished' (bk. i. l. 399).

The first dawn of true poetic feeling, darting on the awakening spirit, the passionate heart-throbs, the tentative beginnings, the barren effete results, judged so severely in the fuller light of after-day—all this is happily drawn from her own experience in such lines as

> 'I wrote
> False poems like the rest, and thought them true,
> Because myself was true in writing them.
> I peradventure have writ true ones since
> With less complacence' (bk. i. l. 1023),

and in many others.

And then the advent of womanhood, the stirring of noble aspiration, the opening of the perfect flower—

> 'I felt so young, so strong, so sure of God!
> So glad, I could not choose be very wise' (bk. ii. l. 13).

In the year 1838 her father removed from Gloucester

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Place to 50 Wimpole Street, the home more than any other in London associated with his daughter's memory. May of the same year witnessed the bringing out of *The Seraphim and other Poems*, a duodecimo of 360 pages, at the very time when her life was seriously endangered by the breaking of a blood-vessel. This volume on the whole was cordially received, though it did not reach a second edition, and though the poem whence it took its title was regarded by her six years later as a complete failure. Some of the criticism she resented, such as that of being perversely obscure, of quaintness and mannerisms, and above all, as with good reason she might do, that of undue Tennysonian influence, which, if it existed at all, was very slight—a charge repeated on the issue of her second volume. In the autumn of the year which saw her first venture in the literary world she was ordered imperatively to Torquay, where she was just able to live. But of correspondence there is little, and at Torquay she was forced to remain during the summer as well as the winter of the next three years.

2. To the second period of the three into which we have divided her life belongs her great sorrow, the loss, on July 11, 1840, of Edward, the brother whom she loved most of all, by a boat accident in Babbacombe Bay. It is to this that the exquisitely touching poem 'De Profundis,' which must have brought comfort to many a mourner, refers, though it was not published till after an interval of twenty years:

> 'I sit and knock at Nature's door,
> Heart-bare, heart-hungry, very poor,
> Whose desolated days go on.'

The blow struck so deep that it was felt very long after, while its immediate effect seemed to hold out the prospect of but a few months of lingering life. She bore up, however, wonderfully. With the desire to escape from the dreadful associations of Torquay she gained strength to accomplish her wish, and was brought in September 1841, on a specially constructed invalid carriage, to London, which she never left again till her marriage. One poem was suggested by Torquay, that on Napoleon, 'Crowned and Buried.' It contains some fine passages, and several rugged rhymes. The *Bellerophon* at the time when it was written was lying in the bay opposite the windows of her sick-chamber. Looking back on this sad time three years later, she writes to Mrs. Martin: 'I do believe that I should be *mad* at this moment if I had not forced back—dammed out—the current of rushing recollections by work,

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work, work' (i. 84). Many projects were formed; among those completed were a series of papers on the Greek Christian, and another on the English Poets. She also co-operated with her friend R. H. Horne, the author of *Orion*, in his enterprise of the *New Spirit of the Age*, a serious estimate of contemporary writers, to which, while she supplied no separate essay, she contributed anonymously an expression of opinion on several of the authors noticed.

But the principal event in this part of her literary career was the production of her two volumes of *Poems* in 1844. The title was originally to have been taken from the 'Drama of Life,' which then was a favourite with its authoress, though the critics did not take kindly to it, while curiously enough 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship,' most of which was dashed off at a single heat—nineteen pages being written in one day, to meet the printer's needs—received more attention than its due. To this volume belong several of her most popular poems, *e.g.* 'The Cry of the Children,' wanting, she admitted, in melody, but a subject which weighed much on her mind, and prompted by her friend Horne's Report on children in mines and manufactories; 'The Vision of Poets;' 'The Sleep;' and 'The Dead Pan,' the inexactness of rhyme in which was defended by the poetess as being a deliberate experiment in the extended use of assonances instead of strictly dissyllabic rhymes. The eager kindness with which the Americans recognized the genius of Miss Barrett from the first caused her particular gratification. They prepared a separate edition with a separate preface for themselves. Edgar Poe sent her his poems and tales. Lowell corresponded with her, and throughout her life some of her best friends were Americans. The same was true also of Robert Browning, whose volumes were highly prized in the United States before they had any sale to speak of in England. Readers of the correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle will remember the same kindly interchange of warm literary appreciation, and how much the growth of the popularity of the new author in England was due to the persistent efforts of the Sage of Concord. 'All the life and strength which are in me seem to have passed into my poetry. It is my *pou sto*—not to move the world, but to live on in' (i. 178). So she writes to Mr. Boyd in the month of the publication of these two volumes. It is a pathetic but stimulating picture that we have of the poetess, condemned to lie on the sofa, but with the mind ever actively at work. Miss Mitford thus describes her a few years before: 'Of a slight, delicate figure, with a

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shadow of dark curls falling on either side of a most expressive face, large tender eyes, richly fringed by dark eyelashes, a smile like a sunbeam, and such a look of youthfulness' (i. 66). Her dog, her constant companion, her friend, her amusement, to whom she wrote the rhymes 'To Flush, my Dog,' is always at her feet, 'lost and won' on one occasion when stolen by thieves—the subject of many humorous allusions in these letters, destined to live on many years, and buried at last in the vaults of Casa Guidi. Among other correspondents she receives letters from Carlyle and Miss Martineau (in her replies to the latter we must take exception to the somewhat tedious iteration of the subject of Mesmerism), and it is now that she forms her lifelong friendship with Anna Jameson, the authoress of well-known works on sacred art. The prominent elements in her character shine through all she wrote at this period, her large-minded sympathy with all suffering, and all sincerity in thought and religion. To Mr. Boyd she says:

'I think the world wider than I once thought it, and I see God's love broader than I once saw it. To the "Touch not, taste not, handle not" of the strict religionists I feel inclined to say "Touch, taste, handle, *all things are pure.*"' 'We are not, as Christians, called to the exclusive expression of doctrine, either in poetry or prose. All truth and all beauty and all music belong to God—He is in all things; and in speaking of all we speak of Him. In poetry, which includes all things, "the diapason closeth full in God." I would not lose a note of the lyre, and whatever He has included in His Creation I take to be holy subject enough for *me*' (i. 243, 247).

She cannot but repine a little at times at her lot, particularly when the plan of wintering in the South of Europe, which seemed so near its realization, had after all to be abandoned; but on the whole she preaches from her couch many lessons of genuine resignation.

'It is but dreary work, this undoing of my Penelope web in the winter, after the doing of it in the summer; and the more progress one makes in one's web, the more dreary the prospect of the undoing of all these fine silken stitches.' 'I am thrown out of life, and of the ordinary sphere of its enjoyment and activity, and made a burden to myself and to others' (i. 267, 269).

This was addressed to Mrs. Martin in the autumn of 1845. To Mrs. Jameson later in the same year she writes:

'The angel of the summer has done more for me even than usual, and till the last wave of his wing I took myself to be quite well and at liberty, and even now I am as well as any one can be who has

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heard the prison door shut for a whole winter at least, and knows it to be the only English alternative of a grave' (i. 273).

One more passage may be quoted from the end of this period. It belongs to the early part of 1846. 'A friend of mine—one of the greatest poets in England too—brought me primroses and polyanthuses the other day, as they are grown in Surrey! Surely it must be nearer spring than we think'[1] (i. 277). The last passage together with a few of the same tenor shows that we have almost reached the close of the second and the opening of the third and most important stage in Elizabeth Barrett's life. A few notices of Robert Browning in the *Letters* up to this time may here be grouped together. The earliest seems to be her mentioning to Mr. Boyd, in 1842, that Mr. Browning had approved of her *Christian Greek Poets*. In 1843, when she did not yet know him, there occurs in a letter to Mr. Cornelius Mathews a warm expression of sympathy with him and a defence against the charge of taking pleasure in being enigmatical. The first letter actually received from him, early in 1845, threw her into ecstasies, and soon afterwards we read, 'I am getting deeper and deeper into correspondence with Robert Browning, poet and mystic, and we are growing to be the truest of friends. Study is peculiarly necessary to understand him.' She admits in herself 'the sin of Sphinxine literature,' and admits it in a still greater degree in Browning.

'He cuts his language into bits, and one has to join them together, as young children do their dissected maps, in order to make any meaning at all, and to study hard before one can do it. Not that I grudge the study or the time. The depth and power of the significance (when it is apprehended) glorifies the puzzle. With you and me it is so; but with the majority of readers, even of readers of poetry, it is not, and cannot be so.'

'The consequence is, that he is not read except in a peculiar circle very strait and narrow. He will not die, because the principle of life is in him, but he will not live the warm summer life which is permitted to many of very inferior faculty, because he does not come out into the sun' (i. 254).

One may remark here, once for all, on the obscurity so often alleged against both these writers, that it did not arise from confusion or poverty of thought. As in the case of Frederick

[1] Compare with this the lines in the 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' (xliv.):

'Beloved, thou hast brought me many flowers
Plucked in the garden, all the summer through,
And winter, and it seemed as if they grew
In this close room, nor missed the sun and showers.'

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Denison Maurice there was always thought in the background of the dark utterance: Browning did not sufficiently sympathize with the ordinary reader. He gives a result without an explanation of the antecedent steps that have led to it, and without which it is unintelligible. He does not supply the previous moves to show how the game has arrived at the state of the problem presented. In Mrs. Browning the habit grew, and it can hardly be matter of surprise that it should have done so under such influence as his.

There is no need to relate in detail the story of their friendship ripening into love and marriage. It is a story more full of excitement and interest than many romances: how he put aside the objection of her precarious state of health; how she shrank from burdening him with such a life-burden; how terribly the course of love was impeded and complicated by the wrong-headedness of her father, whose consent it would have been utterly useless to ask, and by whom any marriage of any member of his family, as shown afterwards in those of two other children, was regarded as filial treachery, acting on him as the proverbial flag to a mad bull; how, finally, September 12, 1846, Miss Barrett was married to the poet without the knowledge of her family in Marylebone Church, and a week later left her home—never to return to it—with her husband, the faithful Flushie accompanying them, travelling first to Paris, and then after a week's rest to Pisa. Mrs. Jameson, a friend indeed, who did all in her power to smooth their path, writes thus from Paris:

'I have here a poet and a poetess—two celebrities who have run away and married under circumstances peculiarly interesting, and such as to render imprudence the height of prudence. Both excellent; but God help them! for I know not how the two poet heads and poet hearts will get on through this prosaic world' (i. 285).

It was probably a unique instance of the union of a poetess of any mark with an original poet. The long letter (it occupies over ten pages) from Pisa, October 20, 1846, written by Mrs. Browning to her old friend Mrs. Martin gives a full account in this crisis of her life. We extract from it the following characteristic passages:

'So then I showed him how he was throwing into the ashes his best affections—how the common gifts of youth and cheerfulness were behind me—how I had not strength, even of *heart*, for the ordinary duties of life—everything I told him and showed him. "Look at this, and this, and this," throwing down all my disadvantages. To which he did not answer by a single compliment, but

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simply that he had not then to choose, and that I might be right or he might be right, he was not there to decide; but that he loved me and should to his last hour. He said that the freshness of youth had passed with him also, and that he had studied the world out of books and seen many women, yet had never loved one until he had seen me. That he knew himself, and knew that, if ever so repulsed, he should love me to his last hour—it should be first and last. At the same time, he would not tease me, he would wait twenty years if I pleased, and then, if life lasted so long for both of us, then when it was ending perhaps I might understand him and feel that I might have trusted him. For my health, he had believed when he first spoke that I was suffering from an incurable injury of the spine, and that he never could hope to see me stand up before his face, and he appealed to my womanly sense of what a pure attachment should be—whether such a circumstance, if it had been true, was inconsistent with it. He preferred, he said, of free and deliberate choice, to be allowed to sit only an hour a day by my side, to the fulfilment of the brightest dream which should exclude me, in any possible world. . . . At last I said, "If you like to let this winter decide it, you may. I will allow of no promises nor engagement. I cannot go to Italy, and I know, as nearly as a human creature can know any fact, that I shall be ill again through the influence of this English winter. If I am, you will see plainer the foolishness of this persistence; if I am not, I will do what you please." And his answer was, "If you are ill and keep your resolution of not marrying me under those circumstances, I will keep mine and love you till God shall take us both." This was in last autumn, and the winter came with its miraculous mildness, as you know, and I was saved as I dared not hope; my word therefore was claimed in the spring. . . . All the other doors of life were shut to me, and shut me in as in a prison, and only before this door stood one whom I loved best and who loved me best, and who invited me out through it for the good's sake which he thought I could do him. . . . I never saw him out of the Wimpole Street house; he came twice a week to see me—or rather, three times in the fortnight, openly in the sight of all, and this for nearly two years, and neither more nor less. . . . My sisters did, indeed, know the truth to a certain point. . . . I would not suffer him to tell even our dear common friend Mr. Kenyon. I felt that it would be throwing on dear Mr. Kenyon a painful responsibility, and involve him in the blame ready to fall. And dear, dear Mr. Kenyon, like the noble, generous friend I love so deservedly, comprehends all at a word, sends us *not* his forgiveness, but his sympathy, his affection, the kindest words which can be written' (i. 289, 291, 293, 294, 295).

3. The happiness that her marriage brought to Mrs. Browning was very great. The change in her health, though it remained always weak, and liable to sharp and sudden prostration, and her power to bear fatigue in travelling were marvellous. Love and the air of Italy are in truth very

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potent regenerators. Exile from her native country, which others would have felt keenly, lay lightly upon her. She revisited it four times, but it was only for the sake of being with her sisters, to enjoy a little of the best literary society by meeting Carlyle, Monckton Milnes, Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, the Procters, and other congenial minds, and to see her books through the press, that she did so. Her visits caused her as much pain as pleasure. Many passages prove this. From Paris she writes:

'I feel here *near* enough to England, that's the truth. I recoil from the bitterness of being nearer, still it must be thought of. . . . It's only Robert who is a patriot now, of us two . . . England, what with the past and the present, is a place of bitterness to me, bitter enough to turn all her seas round to wormwood! Airs and hearts all are against me in England.' 'I wasn't made to live in England, or I should not cough there perpetually.' 'If it were not for some ties I would say, "Farewell, England," and never set foot on it again. There's always an east wind for *me* in England, whether the sun shines or not—the moral east wind which is colder than any other' (ii. 12, 23, 69).

Sometimes the feeling becomes positively morbid, as where she exclaims:

'If I could not get away soon, I should be provoked, I think, into turning monster, and *hating* the whole island' (p. 209).

The short stay at Pisa during the winter of 1846 is noticeable chiefly from the incident connected with the 'Sonnets from the Portuguese.' Written during the course of courtship and engagement, they were intended for Robert Browning's eyes alone. One morning early in 1847, as he was looking out on the street before settling to write, after his wife had left the breakfast-table, he was aware of some one behind him, although the servant was gone. It was Mrs. Browning, who held him by the shoulder to prevent his turning to look at her, and at the same time pushed a packet of papers into the pocket of his coat. She told him to read that, and to tear it up if he did not like it; and then she fled again to her own room.[1] Fortunately for literature, Browning did not keep these precious poems to himself, though they were not published till three years later. The title was suggested by him in half-allusion to 'Catarina to Camoens,' one of his chief favourites among his wife's works. In April 1847 the Brownings left Pisa for Florence. We have amusing accounts of an excursion to Vallombrosa, where they had set their hearts

[1] *Critical Kit Kats*, by E. Gosse, p. 2 (1896).

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on a two months' seclusion in the pine forests.[1] But the monks' jealousy of the approach of women would not suffer them to remain more than five days. After their return to Florence they finally settled at Casa Guidi, almost opposite to the Pitti Palace—the house now dear to all lovers of English literature, which took its name from the Guidi who were connexions of Dante's Ugolino. It is still the property of Mr. R. Barrett Browning, the 'Penini' who is the subject of so many loving allusions, who was born there on March 9, 1849. On its walls is the slab erected by the municipality of Florence, bearing the touching inscription by the poet Tommaséo, which is given on the penultimate page of these volumes. Mrs. Browning often dwells on the advantages they gained from taking a spacious unfurnished house like this; on its coolness in summer and its warmth in winter; and on the economy and comfort of life in general at Florence. 'For three hundred a year one may live much like the Grand Duchess, and go to the Opera in the evening at fivepence-halfpenny inclusive' (i. 373). 'If you take one thing with another, there is no place in the world like Florence, I am persuaded, for a place to live in. Cheap, tranquil, cheerful, beautiful, within the limit of civilization yet out of the crush of it' (ii. 169).

Here was their home, where they enjoyed the society of Frederic Tennyson, of the late Lord Lytton, and a few other English and American writers, and whence they made occasional migrations for a summer retreat in the hot season, to Bagni di Lucca, to Siena, besides longer ones to Venice, to Rome, and to the North. Here was realised Wordsworth's 'plain living and high thinking' to a degree seldom seen elsewhere. And here they witnessed the frequent vicissitudes and disappointments of Italian policy.

It will not be out of place to sketch briefly the state of affairs in Italy shortly before the settlement of the Brownings at Florence. Italian writers of all shades had been quickening the hopes of patriots. For some years past, in prose and poetry, the works of Massimo d'Azeglio, of Alfieri, Giusti, and Manzoni had deeply stirred men's minds. The sufferings of

[1] O waterfalls
And forests! sound and silence! mountains bare
That leap up peak by peak and catch the palls
Of purple and silver mist to rend and share
With one another, at electric calls
Of life in the sunbeams,—till we cannot dare
Fix your shapes, count your number!
Casa Guidi Winaows, part i.

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the provinces subject to Austria were dwelt upon, while on the other hand Prince Metternich and statesmen of his school were resolved to oppose the popular views at all costs. In the South, Ferdinand II. of Naples set himself against all reform. On June 1, 1840, Pope Gregory XVI. died, and the election of the new Pope, Pius IX., whose character was little known, filled the Italians with mixed feelings of fear and hope as to the policy he would pursue. His first act was one that inspired hopes of liberal measures. He issued an amnesty for all persons condemned for political offences, while Cardinal Ferretti, the Secretary of State to the Papal Government, protested against the occupation of Ferrara by Austrian troops. The idea of complete emancipation of Italy from Austrian rule was in the air. In Tuscany the Grand Duke Leopold II. had already granted greater freedom to the press, and a commission was appointed to draw up a reformed penal and civil code. Piedmont, too, had entered on the same path of reform under Charles Albert, with whom D'Azeglio, towards the close of 1845, after visiting city by city a great part of Italy, had a private interview of much importance, in which he put before the king how desperate was the state of Italy and how urgent the need of a remedy. But to return to Florence; in the teeth of Austria's threats to occupy any state that granted such a concession, the Grand Duke conceded a national guard, and on September 5, 1847, a vast procession marched to the Pitti Palace, to thank Leopold, who appeared on the balcony of his palace. This stimulating scene is described by Mrs. Browning, both in *Casa Guidi Windows*, part i., and in a letter to Miss Mitford in this collection (i. 346).

But alas for Florentine fickleness! Mrs. Browning, who at first entertained such a warm opinion of those among whom she had made her home, as is evidenced by the First Part of *Casa Guidi Windows*, written at this time, was not allowed to remain long under illusions about the regeneration of the country. The year 1848 brought little to Italy. It is rather singular how slightly the general course of Italian history at, and immediately after, the French Revolution of February 24 is touched on in these letters. No mention, *e.g.*, occurs of the insurrection of Milan, successful at first, but crushed in a few months by Marshal Radetzky, nor (beyond a passing allusion) of Venice regaining her independence, and maintaining it till the surrender of the city on August 27 of the following year. The close of 1848 was marked by the assassination of Rossi, the chief minister of the Pope,

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who had made himself hated by the reactionists, while the republicans thought he did not go far enough, and regarded him as a *doctrinaire rétrograde*. This foul crime put an end to the hope of establishing free government at Rome, and was followed ten days later by the flight to Gaeta of the Pope, who afterwards invited and obtained French help to restore him. Both the evidence of general demoralization shown in the sympathy given to the murder of Rossi, and the weakness of the Pope, are bemoaned by Mrs. Browning. At the opening of 1849 everything pointed to the triumph of Austrian absolutism. The Pope was 'cured of his leanings to reform and Constitutional Government,' and on March 23 came the decisive victory at Novara (nowhere mentioned in these letters) gained by Radetzky over Charles Albert, who on the same evening abdicated in favour of his son. On the ignominious events in Tuscany, where the Grand Duke was expelled from Florence and recalled by a counter-revolution, we have copious reflections, of which the following extracts are specimens:

'Ah, poor Italy! I am as mortified as an Italian ought to be. They have only the rhetoric of patriots and soldiers, I fear . . . the people wants *stamina*, wants conscience, wants self-reverence' (i. 383). 'The child's play between the Livornese and our Grand Duke provokes a thousand pleasantries. Every now and then a day is fixed for a revolution in Tuscany, but up to the present time a shower has come and put it off. Two Sundays ago Florence was to have been "sacked" by Leghorn, when a drizzle came and saved us' (p. 386). 'If the Leghornese troops had paid their debts at the Florentine coffee houses, the Florentines would have let their beloved Grand Duke stay on at Gaeta to the end of the world. The Grand Duke, too, whose part I have been taking hitherto (because he did seem to me a good man, more sinned against than sinning), the Grand Duke I give up from henceforth, seeing that he has done this base thing of taking again his Austrian titles in his proclamations coincidently with the approach of the Austrians' (p. 406).

'I despair of the republic in Italy, or rather of Italy altogether. The instructed are not patriotic, and the patriots are not instructed. Still, it is not all over; there will be deliverance presently, but it will not be now' (p. 416).

From September 1851 the centre of interest shifts to Paris, where the Brownings settled for about nine months. They had thus a full opportunity of witnessing the making of history in the circumstances attendant on the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851. Her opinion of Louis Napoleon previous to that event went through some changes, which we can trace in the following expressions, which belong to the year of

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revolution and to the succeeding one. She sneers at the election to the presidency of such a man simply because 'C'est le neveu de son oncle.' In April 1848 she writes: 'Louis Napoleon is astonishing the world, you see, by his firmness and courage; and though really I don't make out the aim and end of his French republicans in going to Rome to extinguish the republic there, I wait before I swear at him for it till my information becomes fuller' (i. 400). Seven months later she speaks of him as having 'shown himself up to this point to be an upright man with noble impulses,' while three weeks before the crisis in Paris she insists on his honesty, though she confesses to some qualms about his ambition. And then we have a series of justifying and laudatory sentences, after the *coup d'état*. Had she seen the actual horrors, the street-fighting, the storming of the barricades, the cruel slaughter of many hundreds of peaceable citizens on the boulevards, we can hardly think that with her gentle and humane disposition she would not have found reason for modifying her opinion of the act and of its author.

The latter had acted again the part of the Greek despot of old, and his rule, Mrs. Browning feels, can only be justified by success. Having sworn to be faithful to the Republic, at the end of the third of the four years for which he had been chosen president, he seized upon the government, with the help of the army, as his uncle had done before him. He dissolved the National Assembly by force, when it passed a vote to depose him, and besides[1] killing the victims of December 4, transported others to the unhealthy colony of Cayenne. In December the following year he called himself emperor, proving himself again 'a true nephew of his uncle.'[2] It should also be remembered that the success of December 2

[1] 'Although the acts of slaughter were not all of them specially ordered, they were, every one of them, caused by the brethren of the Elysée' (Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. i. ch. xiv.).

[2] Another English voice raised in defence of the *coup d'état* was that of the late Walter Bagehot. He, too, was in Paris at the time it took place, and wrote seven letters to *The Inquirer*, which are published with his *Literary Studies*, 'with a vast deal of truth in them and no end of ability,' as his biographer Richard Hutton says. But he admits they are 'light and airy, and even flippant, on a very grave subject.' Bagehot is silent on Napoleon's perjury, and as to his severity and cruelty observes merely that 'some things are more demoralizing than death, and among them the sickly apprehensive suffering for long months of an entire people.' In fact, the pith of his defence of Louis Napoleon's ruthless measures is, that they delivered the French from the danger of extreme and perhaps lasting calamities.

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was due quite as much to the dread and hatred inspired by socialism as to any belief in the personal merits of Napoleon.

It is really strange to see the judgment so warped as to consider such a career not only pardonable but enlightened and beneficent. In Mrs. Browning's ignorance of the facts and in her hopes of a deliverance for Italy must the explanation be sought. How else can we account for such effusive sentences as the following, among many similar ones which space forbids us to quote?—

'I would not have missed the grand spectacle of the 2nd of December for anything in the world' (ii. 32). 'The situation was in a deadlock, and I don't see for my part what better could be done for the French nation than to sweep the board clear and bid them begin again. With no sort of prejudice in favour of Louis Napoleon . . . I yet hold him justified *so far*; that is, I hold that a pure patriot would be perfectly justifiable in taking the same steps which up to this moment he has taken. . . . He has broken certainly the husk of an oath, but fidelity to the intention of it seems to me reconcilable with the breach' (p. 35).

The end, it is evident, quite justifies the means with her:

'As to the repressive measures, why, grant the righteousness of the movement, and you must accept its conditions' (p. 37).

She is indignant at the misstatements and suggestions made in England, scoffing at the idea of obtaining 'facts from the *Times*'! and insisting (in which she was right) that there was no restraint or censorship imposed by Louis Napoleon on books, but only on pamphlets and newspapers. 'I am not a Buonapartist; I am simply a "democrat," as you say. I simply hold to the fact that, such as he is, the people chose him, and to the opinion that they have a right to choose whom they please' (ii. 53).

As time goes on her faith in him grows, and in March 1858 she even says: 'I think he is the only great man of his age, speaking of public men' (p. 278), and again in February 1859, 'he is the only great-hearted politician in Europe' (p. 307). Within the first ten days of that year (1859) two ominous utterances were made: one, that of Louis Napoleon on the bad relations existing between France and Austria; the other, that of Victor Emmanuel, who declared in his speech at the opening of the Piedmontese Parliament that he would not be deaf to the cry of suffering that came up to him from so many parts of Italy. The ultimatum of Austria demanding instant disarmament precipitated war on April 23. The Brownings, who had been wintering at Rome, on their

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return to Florence heard with exultation the news of Magenta and Solferino. Mrs. Browning speaks of the feeling of profound gratitude to Napoleon among the Florentines. But their hopes and hers were rudely dashed to the ground by the armistice on July 8, and the sudden and inglorious peace of Villafranca concluded on July 12, by which Austria gave up Lombardy but kept Venetia. Cavour vehemently denounced the whole proceeding and immediately resigned. The conduct of England, whose sympathies throughout this difficult crisis had been with Italy, is most bitterly censured by Mrs. Browning. Nevertheless it would seem that the terms arrived at were even less advantageous for Italy than those which Lord Palmerston had declined to accept as not respecting the wishes of the Italians themselves. Still her faith in Louis Napoleon does not fail, though for one day she would not let her boy wear his Napoleon medal. 'Observe,' she says (ii. 323), 'I believe entirely in the Emperor. He did at Villafranca what he could not help but do.' His hand, she maintains, was forced by 'all the selfish, inhuman, wicked nations of the earth' (p. 320). It was 'a blow on the heart,' and two months later her frail health had not recovered from the shock.

At the close of the war Napoleon had declared that 'Italy was henceforth mistress of her destinies.' The Italians took him at his word by the fusion of Tuscany and Piedmont, the provisional governments of the various duchies placing themselves at the command of Sardinia; and by taking other steps, which it is needless to describe in detail, through their own efforts, more than through French help, they established for themselves a northern kingdom, which led them on at last to realize a united Italy.

Another blot in her hero's character which Mrs. Browning had to lament was the annexation of Savoy and Nice. She extenuates it by two defences: first, that there was nothing to object to in it, so long as Piedmont and Savoy agreed to it (though she admits there was indecent haste in the introduction of French garrisons into Savoy before the popular conclusion was known); and secondly, because the Savoyards, she held, had a leaning towards France for many years previously.

Again, she says in 1860: 'I can see that an Italy in unity, a great newly constituted nation, might be reasonably asked by her liberator to shift her frontier from beyond the Alps' (ii. 373). But the wound evidently rankled in her mind, as when she writes, 'Oh, Savoy has given me pain; I would rather not

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hear Robert say, for instance, "It was a great action, but he has taken eighteenpence for it, which is a pity"' (p. 385).

We have dwelt at some length on this political crisis, which heralded one of the greatest movements of our age, because her view of it colours so deeply the sentiments of Mrs. Browning as expressed in her letters of this time. As their editor with true feeling remarks:

'It is also right to bear in mind the failing condition of Mrs. Browning's health. The strain of anxiety unquestionably overtaxed her strength, and probably told upon her mental tone in a way that may account for much that seems exaggerated, and at times even hysterical, in her expressions regarding those who did not share her views. Her errors were noble, and arose from a passionate nobility of character, to which much might be forgiven, if there were much to forgive' (ii. 306).

Her long expatriation accounts for Mrs. Browning's vehement partisanship, and perhaps to some extent excuses her denunciations of her native country in the *Poems before Congress*, published in 1860. This, the last of her poems (if we except the verses on 'The North and the South,' written two months before her death), was received in England unfavourably, as indeed the authoress herself expected. But the charge of want of patriotism was grossly exaggerated by a reviewer in the *Athenæum* having unfortunately mistaken the *Curse for a Nation* to refer to England instead of to American slavery. She looked at foreign politics from quite a different point of view from the insular and narrow one, as it seemed to her, from which our statesmen regarded them. The claims of individual Frenchmen or Italians always weighed much with her. A strong appeal in favour of Victor Hugo in his exile in Jersey was drawn up by her to the Emperor Napoleon, though the letter (a facsimile of which is given) was eventually not sent to him. With Cavour, 'that great soul, which meditated and made Italy' (ii. 449), she was in thorough, and with Garibaldi, 'that grand child' (ii. 441), in partial sympathy; while she was brought into personal acquaintance with Mazzini, 'a noble man and an unwise man,' in 1853, but five years later 'a man of unscrupulous theory,' who rouses her indignation; and also with Massimo d'Azeglio, for whom she expresses the warmest admiration.

Mrs. Browning, however, was not prevented by the adoption of Florence as her home, and the transference of her attachment to Italy, from carrying out a long-cherished plan of composing an English novel in verse—'a poem comprehending the aspect and manners of modern life, and flinching

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at nothing of the conventional' (i. 204). This she had contemplated as far back as the year 1844. In May 1855 she writes to her friend Madame Braun: 'We go to England in a week or two or three, and we take between us some sixteen thousand lines, eight on the one side, eight on the other, which ought to be ready for publication. I have not finished my seventh thousand yet; Robert is at his mark' (ii. 195). Her own work was *Aurora Leigh*, that of Browning was his *Men and Women*. Early in 1856 she writes thus to Mrs. Jameson of her poem: 'Oh, I am so anxious to make it good. I have put much of myself in it—I mean to say, of my soul, my thoughts, emotions, opinions' (ii. 228); while in the dedication to John Kenyon she describes it as the most mature of her works, the one into which her highest convictions upon life and art had entered. The principal scenes lie in England, but embedded in the poem are magnificent pictures of Paris, of Florence, of the approach to Genoa, in which last occur the following lines:

> 'I sate upon the deck and watched the night
> And listened through the stars for Italy. . . .
> I felt the wind soft from the land of souls;
> The old miraculous mountains heaved in sight,
> One straining past another along the shore,
> The way of grand dull Odyssean ghosts,
> Athirst to drink the cool blue wine of seas
> And stare on voyagers. Peak pushing peak
> They stood: I watched, beyond that Tyrian belt
> Of intense sea betwixt them and the ship,
> Down all their sides the misty olive-woods
> Dissolving in the weak congenial moon
> And still disclosing some brown convent-tower
> That seems as if it grew from some brown rock,
> Or many a little lighted village, dropt
> Like a fallen star upon so high a point,
> You wonder what can keep it in its place
> From sliding headlong with the waterfalls
> Which powder all the myrtle and orange groves
> With spray of silver. Thus my Italy
> Was stealing on us' (bk. vii. ll. 457, 467).

This is genuine poetry, with which *Aurora Leigh* abounds. Very graphic are the descriptions of St. Margaret's Court, and of the scene with the expectant and baffled multitude in St. James's Church. Very fine is the prayer—

> 'Alas! long-suffering and most patient God' (bk. vii. l. 1026).

which we have not space to transcribe. And then how

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powerfully do many single lines and phrases affect the mind, in spite of—perhaps in consequence of—a certain ruggedness of expression and occasionally faulty rhyme:

'Get work, get work;
Be sure 'tis better than what you work to get' (bk. iii. l. 167).

'Serene and unafraid of solitude . . .
I worked with patience, which means almost power'
(*ibid.* ll. 169, 204).

'Whoever fears God, fears to sit at ease' (bk. viii. l. 716).

How fine is that simile!

'Starting up
He strode from side to side about the room,
Most like some prisoned lion sprung awake,
Who has felt the desert sting him through his dreams'
(bk. iv. l. 1050).

How vividly she brings before us that house in the suburbs of Paris, so like one in *Les Misérables*:

'A meagre, unripe house' (bk. vi. l. 534).

The success of *Aurora Leigh* was immediate. And although the allusions to the socialism of Fourier may be out of date, and the very meaning of the term 'phalanstery'—the gigantic associations he advocated with a common dwelling and a common stock of capital and labour—may be unintelligible to modern readers, still the sale of the book has been steadily sustained, and the number of editions of the poem as a separate publication now amounts to twenty-two.[1] But the satisfaction its authoress must have felt at the reception of her masterpiece was darkened by the death of Mr. Kenyon on December 3, 1856. During his lifetime he had allowed the Brownings 100*l.* a year, and in his will he left them 11,000*l.*, thus relieving them from the pecuniary pressure they must at times have felt.

No Life of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the greatest poetess produced by England, existed before the publication of these *Letters*, which, with the links of narrative judiciously inserted by the editor, have a distinct biographical value. Events in such a quiet literary career there could not be of any number or importance. The residence of the Brownings at Casa Guidi was broken only by their rare visits to England—four in fifteen years—and by the usual *villeggiatura* during the extreme heat at Bagni di Lucca, or in the silence and repose

[1] It has also been reprinted many times in the collected editions of Mrs. Browning's works.

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that reigns among the vineyards and olive-grounds around Siena. They saw just as much society as they desired to see, and the bringing up of their boy was a perpetual source of interest and happiness. We like to think of the poet and his poetess wife in their active consistent devotion to a high ideal. They refrained from reading each other's work while it was going on. Six books of *Aurora Leigh* were shown to Browning while they were at Paris, of which he had never before seen a line. No doubt they encouraged each other in their idiosyncrasies, and in the enigmatical style which for the general reader so often requires an interpreter. But the bulk of what they wrote, when they were at their best, will remain a fixed landmark above the ebb and flow of opinion.

We can trace but two differences that existed between them, and neither of these ever reached such an acute stage as to disturb the harmony of their lives. One of these was as to the character and career of Louis Napoleon, on whose conduct on the matter of Savoy we have already quoted an expression of Robert Browning, while his general opinion of the Emperor is reflected in 'Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau.' The other turned upon their views on the question of spiritualism. Mrs. Browning admits in one place that 'mediums cheat certainly' (ii. 356), and she had to modify very much her belief in the notorious Hume, or Home, her '*protégé* prophet' (p. 280), who was the prototype of Mr. Sludge. But though she grants that the subject lends itself to ridicule, she holds that ridicule is not disproof; and on the subject of communication with the unseen world there is much (some readers may consider too much) in these volumes. She regarded the interest taken in the question as a strong reaction from the materialism of the age, and something more than a mere human reaction. The phenomena of spiritualism she held to have been foreseen by Swedenborg, to whose religious system her mind had a decided leaning. On the whole, while she is very earnest on the subject, and confesses that she cannot 'prophesy smooth things' at moments of strong conviction, there is, if we except some bitterness towards Faraday, self-restraint and consideration for the opinions and feelings of others when she approaches the topic. What strikes her most is the probability of there being communications at all with the world of spirits, and the fact that the whole theory of spiritualism tends so much to confirm revelation (see ii. 422).

There was nothing narrow in Mrs. Browning's religion. She disclaims any sympathy with either Calvinism (on this

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we would refer to an interesting letter, i. 115) or with Unitarianism: 'I should throw up revelation altogether if I ceased to recognize Christ as divine' (ii. 156). On the use of Christian phraseology in verse, and on the future development of the poetry of Christianity, she speaks with great directness and sincerity (i. 127, 129), while at the same time she avows her belief that all truth and all beauty and all music belong to God. These letters reveal to us a mind deeply imbued with the strongest conviction on such vital points as the efficacy of prayer and the divine allowances made for our wanderings in it, 'the unbroken continuity of an active *human* life beyond the grave' (ii. 177), 'and the fact that the suffering of the Lord was necessary in order that we should not suffer, and that through His work and Incarnation His worlds recovered the possibility of good' (ii. 426).

Two long letters to Miss E. F. Haworth (ii. 420–428), written in the last year of her life, illustrate in several particulars both the depth and breadth of her religious opinions. These volumes throughout exhibit a marked feature in her character, the strong attachment to her early friends that she preserved to the last, and her power to return their affection. Considering her fragile health, we wonder how one who for many years had to live by her pen, could find time to pour forth so much excellent correspondence, breathing a spirit of such tenderness that, as the editor says, 'it seems as though she could hardly bring herself to speak harshly of any one' (Preface, p. vii).

It would indeed have been strange if Mrs. Browning had not also endeared herself, as she did, to the people among whom she dwelt so long. They seem, as Browning said, to have understood her by an instinct. She was not indeed destined to see her aspirations realized, that Venetia might become an integral portion of the Italian kingdom. For that crowning consummation to be brought about, five more years had to elapse. But we are glad to think that four months before her death Victor Emmanuel II. assumed the title of King of Italy, at Turin, and that thus she was permitted to witness the regeneration of the country whose fortunes she had anxiously watched since the day of its deliverance began to dawn.

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ART. VIII.—THE NEW DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.

A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., and, chiefly in the Revision of Proofs, of Professors DAVIDSON, DRIVER, and SWETE. Vol. I., A—Feasts. (Edinburgh and New York, 1898.)

'THIS is a great work, sir,' said 'the worthy and respectable Master of Pembroke College' when he found Dr. Johnson one day busy at his Dictionary,[1] and this may fairly be said of the present work, to be completed in four volumes of about nine hundred pages each, the first of which lies before us. Dr. Hastings, however, does not bear such a prodigious burden as the great lexicographer. He is the editor of a collection of articles which have been composed by 135 authors for this first volume; and though he has himself contributed some articles, he does not insert his own name in the author's list. And further, although this is a Bible dictionary, we find no expression on the part of the editor which rises up to that lofty prayer of reverence to which Dr. Johnson gave utterance in connexion with his work, the prayer of a man who walked with God.[2] The Bible doubtless has promoted the sale of numerous grammars and the compilation of enormous dictionaries; but if scholarship is to be the lowly handmaid of divine truth she must breathe the atmosphere of devotion, and be careful not to act as if the spirit of devotion were no concern of hers. We have not found any instance in this work of a writer who is unmindful of the grave responsibility of taking part in the composition of a Bible dictionary, but we do miss in some cases the air of awe which blows round the inspired writings in the Biblical works of Dr. Pusey[3] and Bishop Wordsworth,[4] and, as a matter of

[1] Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 46, 143, ed. Napier. [2] *Ibid.* p. 204.

[3] See especially his 'introductory statement on the principles and object of the commentary' on *The Minor Prophets*, and the passage in the Lectures *Daniel the Prophet*: 'This has been, for some thirty years, a deep conviction of my soul, that no book can be written in behalf of the Bible like the Bible itself. Man's defences are man's word; they may help to beat off attacks, they may draw out some portion of its meaning. The Bible is God's Word, and through it God the Holy Ghost, Who spake it, speaks to the soul which closes not itself against it' (Pref. p. xxv).

[4] We may here again repeat the wish which has often been expressed,

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fact, in the commentaries of the Fathers.[1] We admit to the full that the Dictionary gives us much which is of very great value in a supplementary way for study of the Bible, and we shall have great pleasure in laying some details before our readers to illustrate the fact. But it is only natural to find that the atmosphere of Catholic interpretation is mixed with other elements when we have a company of authors gathered from various quarters, who do not all regard the Church as a divine organization, or her episcopal government as essential, or her sacraments as generally necessary to salvation, or her functions as including the duty of acting as the witness and keeper of Holy Writ.

This Dictionary is published, we are told in the somewhat cumbrous language of the Preface, 'as a contribution towards the furnishing of the Church' for the great work of teaching, or, as it is sometimes called, expository preaching. It includes within its scope the Old and New Testaments and the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the Authorized and Revised English Versions, with references to the original tongues. Articles have been written on the names of all persons and places, on the antiquities and archæology of the Bible; on its ethnology, geology, and natural history; on Biblical theology and ethics; and on the obsolete or archaic words of the English versions. There is a great number of short articles, but there are also in the volume about eighty articles which deal with important and difficult subjects, and extend to considerable length. The editor is to be congratulated upon obtaining so many well-known names in his list of contributors from both sides of the Atlantic. The names of the authors are appended to their articles, and many are a guarantee for orthodox Churchmanship, or for Hebrew scholarship, or for good work in exploration, or for the best available results in some special branch of learning. Without at all attempting any classification of names, and saying nothing for the moment of the value which we attach to their respective views and contributions, it is evident that a vast amount of solid learning may be expected from a list which makes it possible to choose as representative names

that Bishop Wordsworth's Prolegomena may be collected from his Commentary and issued separately, by way of bringing out the spiritual unity of the Bible.

[1] All students of the Bible could read with profit the last chapter of St. Athan. *De Incarn. Verbi Dei*, beginning, 'But in order that we may search into and gain a true knowledge of the Scriptures, there is need of a good life, and a pure soul, and Christian virtue.' Compare *Later Treatises*, p. 196, note [z].

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Professors Lock, Stanton, and Gwatkin, the Revs. A. C. Headlam, A. Plummer, H. A. Redpath, and T. B. Strong, and Mr. Turner of Magdalen; or again, Professors Driver, Margoliouth, Mayor, Ryle, and Sayce, the Revs. G. A. Cooke, S. T. Gwilliam, and F. H. Woods, Dr. Jevons, Mr. Pinches, Lieutenant-Colonel Conder, and Sir C. Warren; or again, Professors Denney, Ramsay, and G. A. Smith. As the communications of these distinguished scholars were sent in they were not only perused by the editor and his assistant, but also placed in the hands of Professors Davidson, Driver, and Swete, and, so far as illness permitted, also of Professor Sanday. Dr. Shearer has verified the Scriptural references, and other scholars have rendered assistance which is duly acknowledged. This revision of the proof-sheets has no doubt led towards uniformity, which must have been difficult to attain when such a heterogeneous company of authors was at work. It certainly may be taken as a good assurance that the work as a whole can be relied on as authoritative, though the readers of the proofs do not hold themselves responsible for errors of any kind. The editor has rightly considered that it is of great importance that the reader should be able to find each subject under its own natural title. To this end, when allied subjects have been grouped together, the careful system of black-lettering and cross-reference enables the reader to find what he wants. We do not complain that a little repetition is found here and there, though not in identical terms, because the reader's time is thereby saved, and he is not annoyed by directions which lead him first to one article and then to another. The spelling of the Revised Version is adopted for proper names, and when the spelling of the Authorized Verson is given there is a cross-reference to the other version. The Hebrew and, where it was thought necessary, the Septuagint of all proper and many common names have been given. The list of abbreviations is not a long one when the size and scope of the work is considered. But there are details in the system adopted which are not quite satisfactory: Apocr. is given in the list as the abbreviation for Apocrypha, but a^{al}, used on p. 123 for apocryphal, is not given. J. is used for Jahvist, and J″ for Jehovah, whereas it would have been much better to use the simple letter without dashes for the sacred Name. In the abbreviations which are used for the literature, *J. Q. R.* is used for the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and the *Church Quarterly Review* is referred to as *Church Quart. Rev.* (p. 403). A simple and uniform scheme of transliterating Hebrew and Arabic words has been adopted,

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and is printed for reference in the Preface (p. ix). The maps, which have been specially prepared by Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, are in this volume three in number: Palestine; Babylonia, Assyria, &c.; and the Sinai Peninsula and Canaan, illustrating the Exodus. The illustrations are confined to subjects which cannot be easily understood without their aid, and the drawings for them have been chiefly made in Syria by the Rev. G. M. Mackie. At the end of the important articles very useful references are given to the literature of the subject which has just been discussed. This is a feature of the work which greatly adds to its value for students.

When we pass from the general description of the Dictionary and turn to its contents we suppose that one question will be uppermost in the minds of the majority of its readers: How far does the work take into account the methods of modern critical investigation, what value does it attach to them, and what conclusions does it accept? Certainly there is much in the Dictionary which lies outside the range of this question, but in the present state of Old Testament study we may fairly be expected to answer this inquiry before we go further. The articles in the first volume which bear upon the point are chiefly, though not entirely, those which may be classed under the head of Introduction or Prolegomena. There are eighteen of these articles altogether under the heads of Acts, Amos, Apocalyptic Literature, Apocrypha, Catholic Epistles, Chronicles, Chronology, Colossians, Corinthians, Daniel, Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, Ephesians, Esdras, Esther, Exodus, Ezekiel, and Ezra. Of these, the articles which are chiefly affected by Old Testament criticism are Daniel by Professor Curtis, Deuteronomy by Professor Ryle, Ecclesiastes by Professor Peake, and Exodus by the Rev. G. Harford-Battersby. It is not difficult to gather the tendency of these contributions. Professor Curtis devotes the section on 'authorship and date' in his article on the book of Daniel to the illustration of the thesis that 'the book *in its present form* must be assigned to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175–163); and there is a growing consensus of opinion that the book as a whole belongs to that period.' The reasons given for this opinion are that minute acquaintance, unexampled in the divine predictions of the Bible, is shown with the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes; that a series of historical statements occurs which implies a misconception of the period of the Exile; that the language, doctrines, homiletical purpose, and external history of the book favour this conclusion. The great objection to this view, that the book

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expressly declares that revelations of the future were given to Daniel during the Exile, is said to vanish when we consider the 'custom of representing present messages as given in the past through ancient worthies.' Among the illustrations alleged are that the law of Deuteronomy is given as though spoken by Moses in the land of Moab, and the legislation of P (that is, the Priestly Narrative) as though revealed to Moses in the wilderness. But it is hardly a satisfactory proof of one assumption to adduce other equally contested assumptions, and we cannot help feeling that Professor Curtis stands before a 'great difficulty,' as he calls it, which makes his conclusion about the date at variance with the evidence of the book of Daniel itself, a conclusion which in his own words 'destroys the historical reliability' of the first six chapters. But here again the Professor thinks that he meets with 'striking parallels' in the Bible and Apocrypha, among them being the book of Jonah. There is a tendency to accept this kind of reasoning in these days, and we consider that it is therefore out duty to point out the great difficulties which its acceptance involves, and the flimsy character of the basis on which it rests. What view of the date of Daniel we have to put in place of that of the Professor is indeed an important question, but it is another and an independent question. Our present point is that there are grave reasons for not accepting too hastily what are called 'conclusions' of criticism, and we trust that the *Church Quarterly Review* has been consistent in the advocacy of this principle of patience. In the details of the article we are surprised to see how little attention seems to have been paid to the arguments and learning of commentators who have supported the traditional view. For one example, let any reader compare what Professor Curtis has to say about angels with the full discussion of the point in Pusey's last lecture.[1] We may complete our comment on this article, and at the same time illustrate the method of the Dictionary, by saying that the remaining sections of the article are devoted to the interpretation of the book, the 'times' of Daniel, the versions, and the literature upon the subject. We pass alphabetically to Professor Ryle's contribution on Deuteronomy, which is so largely indebted to Professor Driver's commentary and articles upon this book of the Bible that we need not say much more than that the Cambridge Professor accepts in the main the conclusions of his Oxford colleague. 'The date to which the composition of Deuteronomy should be assigned cannot,' says Professor

[1] *Daniel the Prophet*, pp. 517–50.

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Ryle, 'be determined with any degree of certainty.' But from the testimony of language, religious teaching and legislation in the book, he infers that it can belong to no very early period in the history of Hebrew literature, and is himself inclined to place the date between the accession of Ahaz and the literary activity of Jeremiah. In place of 'the traditional view that the work in its present form was written by Moses . . . now generally recognized by critical scholarship as impossible,' we are invited to understand the work to be the composition of one who lived in the seventh century, and who sought by a dramatic use of the last words of Moses to recall his countrymen to a holier life and a purer service of Jehovah. The awkward argument that allusions to the Canaanites and Amalekites would be both unintelligible and unnecessary at so late a period is explained by saying that the writer made Moses refer to these incidents as a natural part of the effort to represent him as speaking in the plains of Moab. When we notice that Professor Ryle seems to have no hesitation at all in offering this explanation of the contents of a book of Holy Scripture we can see how far he and those who think with him have travelled from the atmosphere of the traditional position. We need only refer to that eloquent passage in the last sermon which Dr. Liddon preached before he was withdrawn from the evil days to come, beginning with the statement that the Holy Spirit cannot 'take into His service literary fictions which trifle with the law and the sense of truth,' and ending with the reiteration that 'the Book of Truth cannot belie either the laws of truth or the Spirit and Source of truth.'[1] We do not attach much importance to Professor Peake's article on Ecclesiastes, and only refer to it as an illustration of overweening boldness of tone. This contributor is not content with the simple statement that 'the objections to the Solomonic authorship are overwhelming,' or that the 'critics who deny the Solomonic authorship . . . are unanimous in assigning the book' to one of two periods after the Exile, either in the later years of the Persian period which came to an end in B.C. 332, or in the Greek period about B.C. 200; he must add that these critics are all 'who need be taken into account.'[2]

[1] *The Inspiration of Selection*, pp. 15–17.

[2] Professor Peake does not take Dr. Pusey 'into account,' but see *Minor Prophets*, p. 248. Compare Liddon's *Univ. Serm.* i. 19, 2nd ed. The late date of Ecclesiastes was discussed in a notice in the *Guardian* of April 13, 1887. The speeches on 'Vanity of vanities' by the Solitary in Wordsworth's *The Pastor* may be consulted by the student of what Bishop Butler called these 'reflections' upon human life and human

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The article on the book of Exodus by the Rev. G. Harford-Battersby may be called the fullest illustration of the modern mode of minute literary criticism in the volume. The writer is concerned, not with proofs, but with 'results,' and refers for proof of his assumptions to the article on Hexateuch, which is, we understand, to be written by the Rev. F. H. Woods, in the second volume. The book of Exodus is called 'the second division of the great composite work which contains in one complex whole all that has been preserved of old Hebrew writings about the origins of the Hebrew people.' It is also assumed 'that it is generally possible, if not to distribute the material among four distinct documents, at least to assign it to one or other of four differing schools of writing.' Under the three heads of Israel in Egypt, from Egypt to Sinai, and at Sinai, a summary, an analysis, and comments are given to show what belongs to Jahwistic, Elohistic, Deuteronomic, and Priestly sources, 'with a condensed account of the chief grounds' on which the analysis rests, which is in numerous details unconvincing and extremely fanciful, so much so as to be frequently ridiculous. A section on the Laws of Exodus follows, admittedly containing 'conjectures' to show 'how the present state of the text might have arisen.' The paragraph on the Literature of Exodus is very meagre, and concludes with the regret that 'we still wait for a good English commentary' upon the book. The student of the Bible who follows the guidance of the English Church and reads the ancient Fathers as guides in the interpretation of the Pentateuch has rich sources of assistance which the contributor of this article does not feel called upon even to mention;[1] and yet the exposition of the Fathers reminds us of the use which the New Testament makes of the Old, and the analysis of this modern critic does not even profess to do so. From what has now been said, it will be clear that the Dictionary takes a view of the Old Testament which will not satisfy anyone who is not prepared to accept a good many far-reaching demands of modern criticism.

nature and 'the constitution of things' (*Sermons*, 'Upon the Ignorance of Man'). Bossuet (quoted in M. Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, p. 123) said that in this sacred book 'on trouve au fond de tout le vide et le néant,' and Bishop Westcott (*Epistles of St. John*, p. 338 note 1) says that the book illustrates from many sides the truth that man cannot find rest in the finite. Professor Peake's section on the 'contents and thought' of the book contains passages which we think are the best parts of his article.

[1] See the list of Fathers given by Bishop Wordsworth, *Old Test.* vol. i. pref. p. xxi.

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Before we leave the articles which come under the head of Prolegomena, we must refer to four which are all admirable, and may be consulted with the greatest advantage by Bible students. They are: Acts, by the Rev. A. C. Headlam; 1 and 2 Corinthians, by the Rev. A. Robertson; Ephesians, by the Warden of Keble; and what is perhaps the most elaborate contribution to this volume, Chronology (New Testament), by Mr. C. H. Turner. The articles on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Ephesians are all that such articles ought to be. Mr. Headlam makes short work of some critical theories about the composite character of St. Luke's narrative, and gives an excellent analysis of the whole. Mr. Robertson's treatment of the two Corinthian Epistles is a masterly and complete piece of work. Dr. Lock's article is the ripe fruit of a lifetime of Pauline study, and the neglect of patristic literature which we have had to notice in some other articles cannot be laid at his door, for he tells us that St. Chrysostom 'remains still the best commentator, for his combination of exegetical, doctrinal, and spiritual power, and for sympathy with the writer's mind and character.' We are pleased to see that he recognizes both the value of the doctrinal treatment of the Epistle by Dale and Findlay, and also that these two writers 'fail to rise to the writer's conception of the Church.' The whole article is full of interest and thoroughly up to date. We must pass by Professor Curtis's consideration of Old Testament Chronology, because we feel bound to say a word or two on Mr. Turner's comprehensive and accurate article on the Chronology of the New Testament, parts of which will be already familiar to our own readers.[1] The subject is considered under the two heads of the Gospels and the Apostolic Age. We have not space to mention or to criticize in detail all Mr. Turner's conclusions, but we may confidently refer to this piece of work as containing most careful matter on the many interesting points which the subject suggests. Perhaps the gem of this article is the lucid discussion of the number of Passovers mentioned in the Gospels.

On antiquities and biography there are about twenty important articles in this volume, the chief being Abraham, Agriculture, Alphabet, Arabic Versions, Architecture, Ark, Armenian Version, Ashtoreth, Astronomy, the Day of Atonement, Azazel, Baal, Balaam, Bible, Cosmogony, Cyrus, and David. Professor Ryle writes on Abraham, and is, we believe, to undertake Genesis in the next volume. He summarizes the narrative, indicates the portions which critical

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1892, pp. 390–415.

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analysis assigns to separate sources, notices the chief difficulties of the narrative, and gives considerations which modify the acceptance of its 'uniform *literal* historicity,' concluding with the use made of the history in the Bible and in Jewish tradition, and a paragraph on the name of Abraham. The article on Architecture, by Professor Flinders Petrie, is interesting, but shows how much there still is to be discovered in many branches of the subject, in spite of the work already done by distinguished excavators. Mr. Pinches has compressed a large quantity of materials into his article on Astronomy and Astrology, but we do not find, what we naturally expect, anything about the Star of Bethlehem. The Day of Atonement is a joint article by Professor Driver and Mr. H. A. White, and the allied article on Azazel is undertaken by Professor Driver, as is the very full and learned treatment of Ashtoreth. Professor Peake's article on Baal does not call for special comment. Mr. F. H. Woods splits up the story of Balaam by the application of modern methods of critical analysis, and gives us a higher and a lower Balaam, anticipating our regret at the destruction of 'an instructively composite character.' But he tells us that the narrative of the lower Balaam supports nearly the whole of Bishop Butler's great sermon, which he most justly so calls. The article 'Bible' has been written by Dr. Stewart, who has considered his subject in its internal and external relations. The names of the inspired collection, its original languages, its division and arrangement, the formation of the canon, the history of the text and versions belong to the first part of the article. A short history of the growth of modern critical analysis is also given. The second part takes into account the literature of other religions and the relation of the Bible to it as the vehicle of a divine revelation and as the product of inspiration. On the whole the article fulfils very well the writer's design of gathering up the information of the Dictionary, and it conveys an idea both of its blemishes and its good qualities. The article on Cyrus is appropriately written by Professor Sayce, and Mr. White supplies the very full discussion on David, which of course involves an examination of the sources of a large part of the First Book of Samuel. We may add here that there are interesting articles on Crimes and Punishments, Education, and Feasts and Fasts, the last containing a useful synopsis.

The chief articles on geography and archæology are about nineteen in number, and many of them contain very good work. They will be found under the headings of Arabia,

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Ararat, Argob, Ashtaroth, Assyria, Babylonia, Bashan, Bethany, Bezer, Canaan, Carmel, Corinth, Damascus, Dead Sea, Egypt, Ephesus, Ethiopia, and the Exodus from Egypt to Canaan. Professor Margoliouth and the Rev. R. H. Charles divide the chief articles connected with Ethiopia between them, including the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and an account of the Ethiopic Version. Professor Margoliouth is also responsible for Arabia, and under this head writes upon the country itself and the allusions to it in the Bible out of a full store of knowledge. Professor Driver takes the articles on Argob, Ashtaroth, and Bezer; Bethany is the work of Lieut.-Col. Conder, and Corinth and Ephesus are fully treated by Professor Ramsay, who has done so much to make the large amount of literature connected with those two places to a great extent antiquated. Mr. Cooke applies the results of his critical studies to the history of Bethel, and Professor Sayce embellishes the article on Canaan with his great knowledge of Assyriology.

The remaining articles in the Dictionary to be noticed are connected with Biblical theology, if we give a loose signification to that term. Under this head there are about twenty-four important articles, which range over a wide area. Their headings are Abomination, Abomination of Desolation, Angel, Anger, Apostle, Ascension, Atonement, Baptism, Bishop, Cherubim, Christology, Church, Church Government, Communion, Conscience, Covenant, Cross, Decalogue, Demonology, Election, Epistle, Eschatology, Ethics, Faith, and the Fall. Professor Driver carefully examines the Hebrew terms involved in Abomination and the Abomination of Desolation, and also shows how difficult it is to speak with confidence of the precise sense in which our Lord made use of the prophet Daniel's phrase. There is a great amount of learned labour both in Professor Davidson's article on Angel and Professor Ryle's on Cherubim, but neither of these writers gives a reference to the very complete survey of the subject to which we have already alluded in Dr. Pusey's *Daniel*, and Professor Davidson does not mention Bishop Bull's two great sermons on the nature and office of the holy angels,[1] which contain some valuable expositions of passages of Holy Scripture. Such a reference was all the more necessary because the Professor gives an exceedingly feeble account of the New Testament. We cannot too strongly object to the inclusion of St. Matt. iv. 11 and St. Luke xxii. 43 in a list of passages which are said to show that angels 'minister to the saints.'

[1] *English Theological Works*, pp. 194-241.

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No one who believes that our Lord Jesus Christ is the eternal and consubstantial Word can consent to this Nestorianizing way of reckoning Him among 'the saints.' The whole section of the New Testament part of the subject really ought to be recast in the light of the Incarnation to bring out, first, that the infant Saviour is the Creator and King of the Angels; secondly, that when the angels ministered unto Him they bore adoring witness to the reality of His Manhood; and, thirdly, that they minister unto us as the members of Christ's mystical body. A less but still a considerably important point is that in the section on the angel of Jehovah we are indeed told that we are probably to see 'a self-manifestation of God,' but we are warned that the older theologians went 'beyond the Old Testament, or at any rate beyond the understanding of Old Testament writers,' when they founded 'on the manifestation distinctions in the Godhead.'[1] We confess that Professor Davidson's contribution seems to us very shallow beside the spiritual insight of many of those 'older theologians,' and as to 'the understanding of Old Testament writers' Professor Davidson should remember the far-reaching words of St. Peter when he is speaking of the prophets, 'unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister.'[2] In his article on Anger we are glad to see that Professor Orr refers to Dale's eighth lecture on the Atonement, but he has fallen into current cant when he says that 'the divine anger or wrath is not to be weakened down or explained away, as is the fashion among theologians (*e.g.* Origen, Augustine, Turretin), into a mere anthropomorphism,' and he also sinks into extreme thinness and brevity when he passes to the New Testament part of his subject. He does not even think it necessary to quote the cases in which the divine anger was manifested through the human nature of the Incarnate Word, and he does not appear conscious of the existence of the luminous antithesis which speaks of the wrath of the Lamb.[3] Why is there this falling off in the New Testament sections, if the writers really believe that

[1] For the old Testament theophanies the student of the Bible will do much better to refer to Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 51 (ed. 8), and he may also consult, with caution as to certain parts of the book, Ottley's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, i. 41.

[2] 1 St. Peter. i. 12; comp. also Acts ii. 30–1.

[3] Perhaps nothing could so thoroughly convince any reader of the inadequacy of Professor Orr's New Testament section as the perusal of Dean Church's sermon on Sin and Judgment, *Human Life and its Conditions*, p. 97. But see also Hooker, *E.P.* vi. 5, 4; Trench, *Parables*, p. 145 (ed. 2), on the unmerciful servant; Liddon, *Easter Sermons*, ii. 186, on our Lord's severity and tenderness.

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the Only Begotten Son reveals the character of the invisible God, and that the light of the knowledge of the glory of God shines forth from the face of Jesus Christ? Is the life of the Incarnate Lord the only part of revelation which is to receive incomplete attention in a Bible dictionary?[1] Professor Denney in his article on our Lord's Ascension omits St. John iii. 13 when he is referring to St. John's Gospel, and considers that the 'theological significance' of the Ascension 'cannot be distinguished from that of the Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ.' This will seem a strange remark to Churchmen who connect Ascension Day with specially precious thoughts of the prophetical, sacerdotal, and royal offices of their Lord and Saviour, and of their eternal home, and who are familiar with the teaching of Bishop Pearson.

Mr. Murray's article on Atonement contains a passage which needs explanation, but the writer himself provides at least in part the necessary qualification of his words. He says that 'God is never brought before us as Himself needing to be appeased or reconciled,' and these words require some recognition of the fact that sin as such is necessarily an objective barrier between God and His creatures, and that reconciliation is primarily associated by St. Paul with forgiveness of sins and deliverance from wrath, and only secondarily with man's change of heart. Mr. Murray does not ignore this great truth, for he speaks of the 'estrangement' between God and man, and says that on God's side it is the direct consequence of His holiness and love. The literature of the Atonement at the close of the article is, we regret to see, confined to English and German works.[2] For its Scriptural character and its almost complete freedom from technical theological terms, no work deserved mention better than the *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei* of St. Athanasius. The article on Cross by Professor W. A. Brown of New York is mainly occupied with an account of the modes of crucifixion, and the Pauline use of the cross in a theological sense is briefly discussed in the concluding paragraph. Dr. Alfred Plummer's article on Baptism goes very thoroughly into the matter both as regards the Bible and the early teaching of the Church. But it contains only a mere allusion to our Lord's Baptism, and does not give sufficient weight to the fact that the burden

[1] Another striking instance of the same defect is to be found in Professor Davidson's article on Covenant.

[2] For a singularly comprehensive and characteristic treatment of the Scriptural doctrine of the Atonement the reader may consult Dr. Bright's paper on 'the efficacy of Christ's death' in *The Law of Faith*, p. 170.

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of proof lies on those who object to infant baptism. We are glad to see in the article on Confirmation that Professor Adeney frankly recognizes that the laying on of hands appears in the New Testament 'in association with the gift of the Holy Spirit to disciples by Apostles subsequent to baptism.' The second great sacrament of the Gospel is treated, so far as 1 Cor. x. 16, 17 is concerned, in Professor Robinson's article on Communion. Professor Agar Beet's article on Christology is a valuable piece of apologetic work,[1] glowing with a loyalty to the central truth of the Faith of Christendom, and pushing the argument well into the enemy's country by pointing out how impossible is even the easiest alternative to Catholic belief and by observing that 'they who deny the Divinity of Christ have done very little to carry the Gospel to the heathen, to rescue the perishing at home, or to help forward the spiritual life of men.' The general drift of the teaching of St. Paul, the Synoptists, and St. John, is shown to be in complete harmony, and this is done rather by avoiding the chief texts which are usually regarded as crucial in this inquiry and calling attention to passages in which our Lord's supreme claims are involved. One remark of Dr. Beet's strikes us as specially valuable in connexion with the argument *non Deus, non bonus*. If Christ Himself was in error when He claimed to be the Son of God in a unique sense, 'the Light of the world was, and they to whom He has been the Light of life are, in deep darkness.' That is to say, it is not merely that the moral character of Jesus of Nazareth cannot be perfect if His claims are not true, but also that there is no longer any perfect Character to be held up before the eyes of men. If He be not the Son of God, He is not good, and if He be not good, there is no other human life that has ever even claimed so to be. We must regard it as a defect in this admirable article that the crucial passages are not all included.[2] The three articles on Apostle, Bishop, and Church Government, are written by Professor Gwatkin. This is a question which is too large for detailed discussion in this part of our review, but we may express a hope that students of the subject will look below designations into the facts which underlie them, and that they will bear in mind that in the last resort the only crucial question is, Did our Lord when He founded His Church appoint any order of men to give to His children

[1] We have previously examined Dr. Beet's theological position in more detail than is now possible. See the *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1896, p. 432.

[2] See Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 310 (ed. 8).

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their portion of meat in due season?[1] Professor Gwatkin's contributions contain much useful information, but he would have strengthened his references to literature by including Dr. Liddon's *A Father in Christ* and some of the numerous works on the ministry which are quoted in the notes appended to the second edition of that great sermon. The readers who regard episcopacy as an essential and not an expedient part of Church government will not accept several of Professor Gwatkin's statements without considerable qualification. For example, he says that 'the apostle is not a regular ruler in the same sense as a modern bishop, but an occasional referee like the visitor of a college, who acts only in case of special need.' As to the origin of bishops he thinks that 'the question is best left undecided,' but he rightly regards the inquiry 'how soon an episcopate was developed' as 'very much a question of words, if the development was from below.' He is inclined to take the angels of the Apocalypse as 'personifications of the Churches,' but at the same time he supposes that 'episcopacy must have originated before the Apostles had all passed away, and its early strength in Asia cannot well be explained without some encouragement from St. John.' Dr. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*[2] appeared too late to be of use either to Professor Gwatkin or to the Rev. S. C. Gayford, who contributes the long article on Church, and also that on Christian. Mr. Gayford's treatment of the Church is very elaborate and in his section on functions and organization he traverses much of Professor Gwatkin's ground. In the section on public worship Mr. Gayford places Baptism and Ordination under the head of 'occasional' ceremonies, and strangely enough includes the instances of laying on of hands in Confirmation in the term Ordination. To the literature on the Church we should like to add the works of Field, Palmer, and Blunt,[3] but we should be unjust towards both these articles by Mr. Gayford if we passed them by without praising his careful efforts to make them as complete as possible. In an article on the Decalogue Professor Paterson introduces us to three theories which are 'widely represented in modern criticism' in opposition to the traditional conception of the Ten Commandments. Beside this we may place the careful article in which the Rev. T. B. Strong

[1] St. Luke xii. 42 is the heart of sacerdotalism.

[2] See *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1898, p. 312.

[3] Field, *Of the Church*; Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ* (3rd edition, revised and enlarged, 1842); Blunt, *History of the Church during the first three centuries* (3rd edition, 1861).

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has treated the difficult subject of Ethics in the Bible. He has set forth the ethical ideas which underlie the sacred writings as far as possible without reference to the literary history of the books, following such order as the subject itself seems to require, and the result is a very masterly and comprehensive survey. We commend it not only for its value upon its main theme, but for a remark which Mr. Strong makes by way of apology for not entering upon critical discussions. He says that, 'speaking generally, we may say that the Bible has had its effect very largely as it stands.' That is true and significant. The article contains a lucid passage on Faith, Hope, and Love, and the first of this triad is considered at great length in Professor Warfield's exhaustive article on Faith. Mr. Murray's article on Election will be useful to the student of the Epistle to the Romans; and Mr. Bartlet's general article on Epistle is an introduction to the study of allusions to letter writing in the Old Testament as well as to the Epistles of the New. The article on Demonology by Professor Whitehouse under the head of Demon, Devil, does not call for special comment except that it does not deal with our Lord's temptation, and that we do not think that it is a proper way of speaking about our Lord to say that anything 'exercised a profound and enduring influence' over His mind. It is characteristic of the times in which the new Dictionary appears that more than twenty pages should be devoted to the subject of Eschatology. Professor Davidson discusses the eschatology of the Old Testament under the two heads of 'the People' and 'the Individual.' In the first of these he inserts a long section on 'the day of the Lord,' and in the second he inquires carefully what is the state of the soul in Sheol. The whole article gives a very fair account of the general conceptions which the Old Testament contributes to Christian Eschatology. An article by the Rev. R. H. Charles follows on the Eschatology of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature, which has been much neglected. The writer is thoroughly at home in his subject and fully discusses the authorities, the chief conceptions, the historical development, and the systematic exposition of later Jewish eschatology. Professor Salmond is also thorough in his treatment of the subject in the New Testament. But he has not dwelt with quite sufficient detail on some passages of St. Paul, for example on the great text in 1 Cor. xv. which is connected with the name of Marcellus of Ancyra, and with 'Whose kingdom shall have no end', in the later forms of the Nicene Creed.

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And not one of the three writers on eschatology refers to the great work of Bishop Dahle on *Life after Death and the Future of the Kingdom of God*.[1] It would also have been well to point out, for the benefit of younger students of the Bible, that Bishop Pearson is less clear in this branch of his exposition of the Faith than is usual with him. The last article which we propose to notice is Dr. J. H. Bernard's contribution on the Fall. He rightly observes that to discuss all the topics which arise out of the third chapter of Genesis would be to write a treatise on Christian Theology. He sets himself to consider the character of the record and its relation to other early accounts of man's primitive state, the influence of the story upon Hebrew belief, the New Testament inferences, the interpretations of St. Paul's teaching, and the bearing of modern theories upon the general doctrine. He is led by the evidence to conclude that the Biblical record of the Fall is a purified form of a legendary narrative which was widely current among Semitic peoples, which conveys great religious truths under mythological disguise in the unique fashion of Holy Scripture. He then points out that the idea of sin, so conspicuous in the Old Testament, was definitely connected with the story of the Fall in the later ages of Hebrew national life, and illustrates this also from the Apocrypha. In the New Testament he finds that the doctrine of the Fall is explained and relieved by the facts of the Incarnation and the Atonement, and that St. Paul's theology is inextricably bound up with the doctrine of the Old Testament narrative. When Dr. Bernard passes to the consideration of the meanings which have been given to St. Paul's language great questions throng round him on all sides: the state of man before the Fall; the relation of the Fall to the Incarnation; Pelagianism; and the modern theories of heredity and evolution. Dr. Bernard does not refer to Bishop Bull's great essay,[2] nor to Dr. Mozley's lectures,[3] nor to Dr. Bright's edition of the *Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine*. We are also sorry to observe that he is favourably inclined towards the Scotist speculations about the Incarnation, which pry into the possibilities of a state of things which is altogether outside the range of human experience, and which seem to ignore the fact that the Fall was as much a

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1898, p. 249. Dr. Beet calls attention to Dahle's work in his eschatological work on *The Last Things* (Hodder & Stoughton), p. 311. This book should now be added to the 'literature' recommended in the Dictionary.

[2] *English Theological Works*, p. 445.

[3] *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 148.

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part of the Divine eternal foreknowledge as the glorious purpose of the Incarnation was a part of the Divine eternal counsel. The section in which Dr. Bernard exposes the logical conclusion of Pelagianism is brief but useful, and his treatment of points connected with heredity and evolution is marked by wise caution. It is well for us to remember that the Catholic doctrine of 'originale peccatum' accounts for all that comes within each man's personal experience of the Fall, without forcing us to destroy the freedom of the will or to adopt the other excesses to which Ibsenism leads, and Dr. Bernard himself, if he does not mention this, is careful to point out that evolution may be a word which expresses well the results to which scientific investigation has attained without being the final word of science as to the laws of growth. 'The law of continuity is not a fetish . . . it is nothing more than a convenient working hypothesis.' And on the profound problem of the origin of evil he reminds us that 'according to the Bible, the origin of evil is to be sought outside human nature.'

We can summarize our views of the value of this great Dictionary in a few words. For the most part the articles are admirable which deal with antiquities, geography, archæology, and Hebrew scholarship: that is to say, with the earthworks which surround the citadel of Holy Scripture. On doctrinal matters, and subjects which demand spiritual insight on the part of the writer, the Dictionary is a mixture of very different elements, some very good—some, indeed, well-nigh as good as they can be—and some very far from satisfactory. In many cases the writers fail to give references to important works on their subject because they have only compiled their list of the literature from English and German sources. And in the very weighty matter of Old Testament criticism the originators of the Dictionary have been so anxious to be level with the most recent 'results' that they have given an undue prominence to writers who have accepted modern critical methods and theories with their whole heart. There is much which is, and also much which is not, in harmony with the attitude of the Catholic Church towards those 'awful pages, in which so many stricken hearts, in which so many tender and faithful souls, have found comfort under calamity, and refuge and hope in affliction.' [1]

[1] Thackeray, *Pendennis*, end of chap. lviii.

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ART. IX.—THE PRINCESSE DE LAMBALLE.

1. *Madame de Lamballe.* D'après des documents inédits, tirés des Archives Nationales, &c. Par GEORGES BERTIN, Directeur de la *Revue Rétrospective.* (Paris, 1894)
2. *The Princesse de Lamballe.* A Sketch. By SIR FRANCIS MONTEFIORE, Bart. With numerous Illustrations. (London, 1896.)

WE fancy there are many persons who would agree with us in saying that, if our hearts had not been bound by eternal ties of pride and patriotism to the history of England, French history would interest us more. The secret of this supreme fascination lies in the intensely dramatic character of so large a portion of that history. Call to mind an example here and there from the manifold dramas arising out of the glories and the miseries of France. Far back in the centuries that unique episode, wherein our countrymen played but a sorry part, and of which the Maid of Orleans was heroine; the network of plots and counterplots culminating in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew; the Revolt in the Cevennes, which reads like a romance from its startling and unpremeditated outbreak to the last flicker of its dying blaze. While surpassing all in thrilling and tragic interest stands out that unparalleled chapter of events we name the French Revolution. All those whose destiny cast them amid the shocks which wrecked the *ancien régime*—whether Royalist or Jacobin, national deputy or prince of the blood, *ci-devant* queen or citizeness whose republican virtues could not save her from the guillotine—each and all have a story worth the telling, a story which helps to a more complete and vivid picture of the time. She who is the subject of this article has, moreover, a special claim on our attention as being, perhaps, the most devoted and the most unfortunate friend of Marie-Antoinette.

M. Bertin's Life of Madame de Lamballe, founded on a host of unpublished and private documents, departmental archives, &c., produces the impression of a laborious collection of materials relating to his subject rather than a finished biography. Nevertheless, the narrative does not suffer in interest, thanks to its ample details and to the extreme pains the author has taken to distinguish between carefully sifted facts and mere conjecture.

Those who have not read Bertin's memoir, from which a considerable portion of Sir Francis Montefiore's sketch seems

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a free translation, may find much that is new and interesting in the English Life, written in evident sympathy with, and admiration for, its heroine. The style of composition reminds us more of *Little Arthur's England*, or a fireside story told in the children's hour, than anything else we can remember. But where there is no affectation of literary ability, perhaps there should be no criticism. We are more inclined to cavil at the humorously literal translation of certain French letters, and at various inaccuracies in the text of a book designed rather for the boudoir than the library. For example: it seems a pity to retain the French title of *dame d'atours*, and spell it alternately 'atour' and 'attour;' and why should Choiseul in each instance be changed to Choisieul? It is also somewhat confusing to find the marriage of the Counts of Provence and Artois respectively, to two Sardinian princesses in 1771 and 1773, described as the marriage of the king's *brothers* (p. 24), whereas their grandfather, Louis XV., was still the reigning monarch. We must not omit one word in praise of the illustrations to this volume, taken apparently from exquisite miniatures of the period, and forming quite a portrait gallery of the most illustrious personages connected with the French court.

Marie-Thérèse-Louise de Savoye, fourth daughter of the Prince de Carignan, was married by proxy in the Royal Chapel at Turin on January 17, 1767, and left that same day for France to join her unknown bridegroom, the Prince de Lamballe. Parting with her Italian suite, in royal fashion, at the frontier, she was received by the attendants of her father-in-law, the Duc de Penthièvre, and in great state arrived at Nangis, where the Duke and the Prince were awaiting her. Perhaps it may not be superfluous to explain that the Duc de Penthièvre was the son of the Comte de Toulouse, one of the legitimised children of Madame de Montespan. His estates were enormous, and he was universally beloved alike for his munificence and his high personal character. The Duke was delighted to find his son—whose previous conduct had caused him grave anxiety—deeply enamoured of the Princesse de Lamballe from the first moment of their meeting. His attentions to her were most marked during the journey to Paris, and on their establishment at the Hôtel de Toulouse, he devoted himself almost exclusively to her society for a time.

Yet the marriage entered upon under these brilliant auspices proved so complete a tragedy that it might seem as though the miseries of a lifetime had been crowded into the fifteen months of its duration. The Prince de Lamballe, an

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unfaithful husband within five months, plunged more and more wildly into debauchery, and expired amid agonies born of his excesses in the twenty-first year of his age. His wife was a girl of eighteen, pure in heart, graceful and lovely, if not strictly beautiful, of a most tender and affectionate disposition—and she loved him. Is it too much to believe that Madame de Lamballe, awaiting death in the prison of La Force, was less to be pitied than the fair and delicate Italian bride, as her bitter tears were shed for the tardy repentance and intolerable sufferings of her dying husband?

Naturally enough the thoughts of the young widow, in the first freshness of her sorrow, turned to the cloister as a haven of refuge; her vocation was to be far different. The Duc de Penthièvre (of whom it was said years afterwards, 'He is not yet consoled, and never will be consoled, for the death of his only son') besought his daughter-in-law not to forsake him. Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, his only remaining child, was still very young; he felt a father's affection for Madame de Lamballe, and perhaps he divined that she, whose gentle nature had been most deeply wounded, would prove the fittest comforter in his affliction. At Rambouillet, therefore —one of the stateliest of the Penthièvre desmesnes—the Princess passed the first months of widowhood, endearing herself by deeds of benevolence to all with whom she came in contact. Here, by degrees, her natural gaiety of disposition reasserted itself in spite of a nervous malady which, baffling the medical skill of that day, remained a constant trial to her through life.

The presentation at Court of Mademoiselle de Penthièvre (soon to become Duchesse de Chartres) brought Madame de Lamballe again to Versailles, where as a bride she had been much admired, and where she soon found herself the central figure in a curious intrigue. Madame Adélaïde, the king's eldest daughter, conceived the idea of marrying her to Louis XV., recently left a widower, and, for the moment, without any acknowledged successor to the Pompadour. Though at first he showed a marked preference for her society, we are not surprised to learn that Madame de Lamballe exerted no effort to captivate the King, and very shortly the advent of Madame du Barry gave the deathblow to all such projects of marriage.

'But in 1770,' we are told by Bertin, 'a great event was about to take place, the consequences of which were seriously to influence the future of our charming heroine. The Dauphin was to marry the

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Austrian Archduchess, Marie-Antoinette, and the whole Court was invited to assist at superb festivities, of which the brilliancy, it was said, would surpass those of former princely nuptials. Madame de Lamballe now appears at all the functions, and the Dauphiness, to whom she is presented, is most gracious towards her, overwhelms her with attentions—a fact carefully noted by the spectators, more than one of whom already recognised the dawn of a *liaison* which was afterwards to be the cause of so many vexations to both the future friends' (p. 27).

The attractions of the Court, however, apparently had small power over Madame de Lamballe, and it was not until after another interval of retired country life that her relations with the Dauphiness assumed the character, according to Mercy Argenteau, of 'a very special affection.'

Under no circumstances, it has been said, would Marie-Antoinette have escaped yielding to the influence of favourites; what wonder if, under the exceptional conditions of her girlhood at Versailles, she should have sought to enjoy the pleasures of an unrestrained and affectionate intercourse, not forbidden to those of lesser rank. Surrounded, from the moment of her arrival in a new home, by such determined enemies that they eagerly desired to see her disgraced and sent back to Vienna; wearied by an irksome code of etiquette of which she was too young to understand the significance; so injudiciously educated that, in spite of great natural abilities, 'never was there princess who showed a more marked aversion for all serious reading;'[1] debarred alike from the unfettered pastimes of maidenhood and the joys of a happy wife and mother, the sorrows of Marie-Antoinette the Dauphiness were only separated by a few years of brilliant happiness from the more bitter sorrows of Marie-Antoinette the Queen.

The intimacy between Madame de Lamballe and Marie-Antoinette was in no wise diminished when Louis XVI. succeeded his grandfather on the throne. The young Queen, tasting for the first time the sweets of power and freedom, and desiring to establish her friend permanently at Court, determined, in an unfortunate moment, to revive the office of superintendent of her household, which the late queen, Maria Leczinski, had wisely suppressed, judging that its holder exercised an authority over her affairs equally unnecessary and inconvenient. The first faint rumours of this scheme—which remained in suspense for upwards of two years—raised a murmur of opposition amongst the ladies of the Court, each of whom perceived herself about to be defrauded of some

[1] *Mém. de Mme. Campan.*

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one of her prerogatives, and all of whom were indignant at the thought of having a superior thrust upon them. Maria Theresa disapproved, fearing it would render her daughter unpopular; the King and his ministers opposed it on the ground of the extravagant emoluments attached to the office, disastrous to their plans for economy. In the end the Queen —whose impetuous temper was wont to burst forth with alarming vehemence on such occasions—carried all before her, and Madame de Lamballe obtained the appointment.

Our readers may perhaps desire a more detailed portrait than we have as yet given of her whom the Queen delighted to honour. The Princesse de Lamballe was now in her twenty-seventh year, and radiant with all the freshness of youth. Slightly irregular features were redeemed by their sweet serenity and by a form of perfect grace; while the transparent delicacy of her skin, her large blue eyes whose glance was so soft and dreamy as to be judged by some expressionless, and the extreme fairness of the abundant hair which was her crowning beauty, revealed a nature tender rather than strong; amiable but not clever; devoid of coquetry, but devoid also of the wit, judgment, and ability which would have been of such priceless value in her prominent and intricate position. We give, in Mercy's own words to Maria Theresa, his opinion of her character; a testimony the more valuable as he was decidedly inimical to her increasing influence: 'She unites to much sweetness and charm, a most virtuous character, far removed from intrigue *et de tout inconvénient.*'

Again, when confessing to the Empress that—despite all his diplomacy—the office of superintendent has been conferred on Madame de Lamballe, he adds: 'It remains to be seen whether she will maintain in her new post the gentle, quiet, and virtuous disposition which she has displayed up to the present time.'

Madame de Lamballe had hardly reached the zenith of royal favour as superintendent of the Queen's household ere she found cause for alarm in the appearance of a rival, whose star was to eclipse her own until the hour of adversity. Marie-Antoinette's dawning interest in Madame de Polignac, and the wily and successful plot which assured her position at Court is a well-known story.

'She became,' says Sismondi, 'lady-in-waiting, duchess, superintendent of the dauphin's education, and had but the trouble of dispensing amongst her relations the richest posts in Court and Cabinet. The Countess Jules, as she was called, was a woman of

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infinite attractions; she was beautiful, and her beauty that of the most refined order, full of quiet grace and a soft loveliness which was irresistible. She exercised her charming gifts with the most subtle craft. She had so much placidity and so great self-command that it may be doubted whether her heart was captivated equally with that of the queen; but she perfectly understood the fine art of tears and the natural play of the tenderest feelings. Nothing could have been sweeter than her temper and her intercourse. She strengthened the ties of friendship through an affectation of former sufferings, and knew how to quicken good fortune by careless reservations and the most lovable appearance of disinterestedness. By the side of the fair enchantress there existed also, in this fortunate house of the Polignacs, a less seductive but equally potent influence; this was a Circe of a different order, Diane de Polignac, sister-in-law of the countess. The former did not fascinate, she ruled. Diane was plain and deformed, nevertheless hers was the empire in that small company of fair women and brilliant favourites. Her morals were terribly in disrepute, yet she had charge of the chastity of Louis XVI.'s virtuous sister, Madame Elisabeth. The lady-in-waiting was held in dread by the princess, and governed her household despotically. Even the king was afraid of her, and urged submission on his sister. Diane de Polignac usurped the same authority in the queen's circle; she reigned there by means of her sister-in-law, whose charms, in her hands, became weapons of precision.' [1]

We can hardly wonder that Madame de Lamballe's ascendency was gradually undermined by this designing coterie. Mercy, the Austrian ambassador, seems to have taken a malicious pleasure in reporting each new token of the Queen's coolness towards her superintendent. He accuses the Princess, most unjustly as we think, of an insatiable craving for money, and decides that Madame de Polignac is certainly the less expensive favourite. Perhaps the day came when he revised his verdict. 'Mille écus,' cried Mirabeau in after years, 'à la famille d'Assas pour avoir sauvé l'État, un million à la famille Polignac pour l'avoir perdu!'

During the years which preceded 1789, years wherein the first low rumblings of the coming storm gained constantly in volume and menace, Madame de Lamballe became a less familiar figure at Versailles. Her wretched health caused her to be absent on more than one occasion when the duties of superintendent seemed to demand her presence; while at other times wounded affection and, no doubt, a touch of feminine jealousy kept her from the scene, where a triumphant rival played the part of *amie intime*. It is beyond question that the Duchesse de Polignac was sincerely attached to

[1] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, xvii. 460.

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Marie-Antoinette, but which of the rival favourites bore her the deeper and more disinterested affection, who can doubt?

'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law; but Ruth clave unto her.'

The Polignacs were among the earliest of the *émigrés*; Madame de Lamballe no sooner received news of the frightful scenes at Versailles on October 5 and 6, 1789, resulting in the departure of the royal family for the Tuileries, than she set out immediately for Paris on a dark stormy night, impatient to reach the Queen, eager to lavish upon her those treasures of sympathy and love stored up against the day when misfortune should call them forth. There were few now to envy her a post of honour soon to become the post of danger; for, though the tide of emigration was not yet at flood, all mere courtiers were melting away like summer snows, and those who bravely rallied round the throne must have welcomed every reinforcement of their ranks. The curtain act, with its shepherdesses *à la Watteau* and milk-maids garlanded, with its undercurrent of trivial Court intrigue and jealousies, was over, and a tragedy—more sombre by contrast—had begun, wherein Madame de Lamballe, the delicate, frivolous, not too clever woman, was to play a part second to none in heroism.

When some appearance of order had been established at the Tuileries the King and Queen, from motives of policy, continued to maintain as far as possible their customary state; and Madame de Lamballe—who, curiously enough, had been accused, in happier days, of great negligence in the matter of entertainments—gave a series of receptions which constituted a rendezvous for all royalists of note still remaining in Paris. She now rarely quitted her apartments adjoining those of the Queen in the Pavillon de Flore, save for a few days' rest at Passy or a brief visit to the Duc de Penthièvre. The enforced separation from her father-in-law under these altered circumstances would have distressed her deeply had it not been that his daughter (the unhappy wife of Philippe Egalité), completely estranged from her husband and defrauded of her children's affection, was ready to devote herself to his failing health. Thus the last tie was loosed which might have hindered Madame de Lamballe from sacrificing herself unreservedly to loyalty and friendship.

Whilst much is said about the deep, mutual affection between Madame de Lamballe and her father-in-law, we find no suggestion, either in Montefiore's or Bertin's memoir, of the measure in which his society may have helped to the

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strengthening and ennobling of her character. Yet it was surely impossible that she should have remained for many years the frequent and devoted companion of M. de Penthièvre without being strongly influenced by his goodness. Common opinion credited him with extreme melancholy even before the death of the Prince de Lamballe, but, although the sorrows of his private life might well have justified such a tendency, it appears to have been only the grave seriousness of a deeply religious nature—far removed from the spirit of much eighteenth-century society—which gained for him this reputation. The Comtesse de Lâge, lady-in-waiting to Madame de Lamballe, tells us that in the home circle he was gay and cheerful, and not at all exacting. Often when going to Mass, which he attended daily, he would leave the Princess and her companion reading novels, saying, as he passed them: 'Je vous laisse, vous autres, parce que vous êtes des *parpaillottes*;[1] il faut que jeunesse se passe; un jour viendra vous lirés autre chose.' We have already referred to the Duke's munificence, equalled only by his princely fortune, while his tact and judgment when presiding over the States of Brittany in 1774 restored harmony to a province which misgovernment had left ripe for revolt. His regard for the people is best portrayed in his own words: 'I have always thought that the high rank to which I was born constrained me to sacrifice myself for their welfare.'

When the Revolution declared itself, M. de Penthièvre, although an ardent royalist, reaped the due reward of a life-long benevolence. At a time when *châteaux* were flaming and their owners seeking safety in exile, the populace of Amboise, on the verge of insurrection over some local grievance, retired without a word when reminded that the riot might be a means of driving him from the neighbourhood. Even in '93, a few weeks before his death, the volunteers, passing by Bizi, where he was staying, on their way to join the army, stopped to pay their tribute of affection to the dying man, and the Commune of Vernon planted a 'tree of liberty' before his door. In spite of these rare tokens of popularity the Duke's closing days were gloomy enough. Intense bodily sufferings were added to his heartbroken grief at the religious anarchy throughout France, the terrible position of the royal family, and the death of Madame de Lamballe, whom he survived but a few months, and for whose release all his efforts proved unavailing. Even the privilege

[1] *Parpaillottes*, in familiar language *heretics, unbelievers.*

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of being M. de Penthièvre's daughter-in-law could not save the Queen's friend.

To spare her unnecessary danger, Madame de Lamballe was not admitted into the secret of the royal family's intended flight from the Tuileries. Not until the night of their departure did she receive (in her country house at Passy) a message from the Queen advising her to escape with all possible haste and rejoin them at Montmedy, on the Belgian frontier. The Princess lost no time in obeying. Travelling *via* Boulogne and Dover, she arrived at Ostend on June 26—the very day that Louis XVI. and his family were dragged back ignominiously to Paris. This crushing intelligence reached her at Brussels and overwhelmed her in distress. Irresolute how to act for the best, her thoughts ever with the Queen, yet dreading intensely the idea of a return to France, she took up her residence at Aix-la-Chapelle to await the development of events. Both Aix and Spa (where the Princess stayed for a short time) were then crowded with *émigrés.*

'Spa,' writes Madame de Lâge, 'has been more brilliant than ever this year. Seventeen princes or princesses, brothers, sons or nephews, as one might say, of kings—for as to the petty German princes we don't count them, the streets are paved with them—and one king who is worth a thousand, the King of Sweden. . . . It is said to be the only place where the Revolution is forgotten.'[1]

In spite of this brilliant society and its constant distractions, Madame de Lamballe could not forget. She seems to have written more than once expressing her willingness to rejoin the Queen, but the latter would not consent to so great a sacrifice. At length, however, after the acceptance by Louis XVI. of the new constitution, she received an official letter from the Queen, inviting her to resume her duties as superintendent, and also, it would appear, a private message; Marie-Antoinette being no longer able to endure the separation from her friend. From this moment the Princess's resolution was fixed, and all the entreaties of her friends could not prevail upon her to remain. Madame de Lâge, witness of the inward misgivings of her beloved mistress—the last trace of fear or faltering she showed to mortal eyes—gathered comfort from one hopeful reflection: 'Everyone declares that, whatever may happen, Paris will be the safest place in France!'

It is easy to conceive that a generous nature, scorning to desert those friends on whom evil days have fallen, might

[1] Bertin, p. 230.

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calmly face the dangers and uncertainties of its position, and, to go or stay appearing equally hazardous, might look upon safety from a distance almost with indifference. But when—through no selfish motive—escape has at last been decided on and successfully accomplished; when the mind, so long wrought up to heroic pitch, relaxes its tension, lulled by an unwonted sense of security; when old habits reassert their sway, in the midst of constant and familiar intercourse with those whose frivolous gaiety no reverses have power to sober; then, for love's sake, to turn away from ease and safety and embrace perils greater than before, seems to us the sternest test of courage or self-sacrifice.

Many changes had passed over the Court, or rather that pale, melancholy spectre of a Court once so brilliant, during the Princesse de Lamballe's absence. The forlorn and deserted aspect of the Tuileries is thus described by M. de Clermont-Gallerande:

'La cour de la reine n'était pas plus peuplée que celle du roi. Les grandes charges ou étaient absentes ou l'avaient quittée. Il ne restait de princesses que Mme. Elisabeth et Mme. de Lamballe: la duchesse d'Orléans était chez son père, la duchesse de Bourbon n'y venait jamais. . . . Mme. de Chimay, dame d'honneur, avait quitté par religion, ne pouvant plus l'exercer à la cour. La peur avait engagé Mme. d'Ossun, dame d'atours, à aller rejoindre chez l'étranger Mme. de Grammont, sa mère. La duchesse de Luxembourg était à Lisbonne avec son mari. Mmes. de Luynes, de Duras, d'Hénin, de Bergues, de Polastron avaient quitté. Il ne restait à la reine en dames du Palais, que Mmes. de la Roche-Aimond, de Tarente, de Castellane et de Maillé, et Mme. de Lamballe qui, pour ainsi dire, faisait toutes les places, tenait la cour, donnait quelques dîners, quelques soupers par semaine, où la reine venait; c'était le seul délassement qu'elle se permît.'[1]

The history of Madame de Lamballe during the months that followed is the history of Marie-Antoinette. They shared the same anxieties, the same oft-repeated alarms of some impending atttack on the Tuileries. Amid all this horror of suspense the Princess was able to declare: 'Plus le danger augmente, plus je me sens de force. Je suis prête à mourir; je ne crains rien.' June 20 found her at the Queen's side, when the palace was actually invaded by the mob. Hour after hour the little group of women, huddled together in the embrasure of a window, watched the rabble horde stream past with insult and invective; the frail barrier of a table alone protecting them from the foul touch and palpably murderous

[1] Bertin, pp. 253–4.

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intentions of these *poissardes* and *sans-culottes.* She was among the two or three who accompanied the royal family when Louis XVI. made his last, most fatal mistake of surrendering himself to the protection of the National Assembly. With them she, too, entered the Temple, chosen by the Assembly as the surest stronghold wherein to guard these valuable hostages.

'But it was written that she should have only a few more hours of devotion to her friend, for their eternal separation was about to take place. Why this brusque separation? For what motive? Did the Commune, in view of the many loyal hearts determined, in spite of danger, to follow the king to the end, fear to see the establishment of a correspondence from without to facilitate his escape? This hypothesis seems probable, for it was decided that none but strictly necessary attendants should remain with the king and his family.'[1]

In accordance with this decision the Princess was arrested on the night of August 18 and granted but one moment's heartrending farewell to the Queen ere she was taken—together with several others, including Madame de Tourzel, governess to the royal children—first to the Hotel de Ville for the purpose of a short interrogation, and afterwards to the prison of La Force.

We are indebted to the Marquise de Tourzel for an account of the fortnight passed by Madame de Lamballe at La Force before the fatal third of September. By the indulgence of Manuel, procureur of the Commune, Madame de Tourzel, her daughter, and the Princess were permitted to share the same room, to receive a few letters, and to walk daily in the courtyard of the prison. Madame de Lamballe inspired the love and admiration of her companions in misfortune by her courage, gentleness, and patience. The strongest proof of her entire self-forgetfulness lay in the fact that her health had never been better than in this gloomy abode. No more nervous attacks, such as had often driven her from Versailles; nothing but cheerful resignation, a desire to render all 'the little services which were in her power,'

'And a heart at leisure from itself,
To soothe and sympathize.'

The time crept on uneventfully for the three prisoners until Sunday the 2nd of September, when their gaoler told them with some agitation that he could not allow them to take their usual exercise because of the tumults in Paris, oc-

[1] Bertin, p. 288.

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casioned by the approach of an invading army. That same night, after they had lain down to sleep, a stranger entered the cell and bade Pauline de Tourzel rise and follow him without delay. The poor mother, paralysed by grief and terror, seemed rooted to her couch, and it was the Princess who assisted in Pauline's hurried preparations for departure, and then devoted herself with the utmost tenderness to console her remaining companion. In the early morning they received another warning of dangers to come by the entrance of six men, 'armed to the teeth,' who retired after having asked their names. Madame de Lamballe, wishing to learn, if possible, what was happening without, climbed to the window-sill; but immediately on her appearance she was aimed at, and obliged to descend in haste. One glance had sufficed to reveal a dense and howling mob surging around the prison walls. The two women, having commended themselves to God, were tranquilly employed in needlework, when another band of armed men burst in upon them, demanding Madame de Lamballe. Madame de Tourzel, faithful to the Queen's parting injunction: 'Si nous ne sommes pas assez heureux pour nous revoir, soignez bien Mme. de Lamballe,' descended to the courtyard with her friend, ready to share her perils, though she herself had not been summoned. But her loving guardianship could extend no further, and she was spared the agony of the final scene. Not for one moment did Madame de Lamballe's calm courage fail, even in the last embrace ere she was led half fainting before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Well for her that her mock trial—in a crowded room stifling with the fumes of wine and pestilential odours—was very brief. The President's verdict varies somewhat in different versions, but whether the words used were 'Élargissez Madame!' or 'A l'Abbaye!' they were accepted as a death sentence. Yells of triumph from voices hoarse with shouting 'Mort à la Lamballe!' greeted her as she was thrust beyond the threshhold by two blood-stained wretches. Stumbling over corpses at every step, wounded on the head by a sabre cut from behind, the Princess fainted; and in that swoon—it may be trusted—she received the death-blow ere her spirit had opportunity to revive to its hideous surroundings. We are glad that space forbids us to discuss the many conflicting accounts of this brutal murder. Some are doubtless gross exaggerations of the actual facts, but uncertainty hangs over the details of barbarity and insult perpetrated by a rabble drunk with blood. We can only comfort ourselves

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with the belief that these indignities were offered to a lifeless corpse, though nothing could be impossible to the monsters who must needs have the head they carried on a pike, dressed and powdered, and the cheeks rouged with art, that Antoinette might not fail to recognize her friend.

The various trifles found on the person of the murdered victim were carefully inventoried by those good citizens and patriots who assisted at her death-scene, and deposited with due formality at the National Assembly—all save *assignats* to the value of ninety *livres*, for which no receipt was given! Among the rest were a ring sent to Madame de Lamballe by the Queen during her temporary exile, which contained a lock of hair, surmounted by the inscription, 'Ils sont blanchis par les malheurs,' and 'a little book in red morocco, with gilt edges, entitled *The Imitation of Jesus Christ*.'[1]

In dwelling on the circumstances of Madame de Lamballe's tragic fate the question naturally presents itself, Was this a wasted sacrifice? Not by a single hour could it retard the onward sweep of that Revolution tempest which was to involve alike the noblest and the meanest in a common ruin. Nor, since blood whets the thirst for blood, could her death mitigate the insane fury of the populace against 'l'Autrichienne.' Yet who can say how unspeakably precious to Marie-Antoinette must such a faithful friendship have been throughout the troubled years preceding 1792, a time when she was fain to write 'On ne peut se flatter de rien, car je ne vois dans nos amis même que des caractères sans solidité, et qui ne savent tenir contre les moindres violences des méchants'? Not in vain, then, for the Queen this sacrifice; but what of the Princess? For her assuredly the fire of adversity brought far more glorious fruit to perfection than a sunny life of ease and happiness could ever have had power to do. Had Madame de Lamballe been as careful of her safety as was Madame de Polignac, the world would have lacked one more example of the love whereof it is written:

'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.'

[1] Bertin, p. 315.

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ART. X.—S. ANTONINO OF FLORENCE.

1. *Vita di S. Antonino.* By DOMENICO MACCARANI. (Venice, 1709.)
2. *Summa Theologica.* (Venetiis, 1477–80.)
3. *Historialis ven. Dom. Antonini Archiep. Florentini.* (Basileæ, 1491.)
4. *Opera a ben vivere.* Edited by FRANCESCO PALERMO. (Florence, 1858.)
5. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi: May 2.* (Papebroch). (Antverpiæ, 1755, &c.)

THERE are two periods at which the Mendicant Orders exerted a special influence upon the Italian Renascence. The first was when St. Francis inspired Dante and Giotto. It was natural that the poet-saint was the inspirer of art. But the strength of the Brothers Minor was soon wasted by heresy, internal schism, and ignorance. A century and a half later the turn passed to the Preaching Brethren; and, as their founder's purpose was the defence of the doctrine and order of the Church, it was natural that his followers' influence was brought to bear upon dogma and discipline. At the beginning of this period may be set St. Catherine of Siena, a Dominican tertiary, who in 1377 restored the Pope to the Holy See; at the end of it, in 1498, the Dominican Girolamo Savonarola, after teaching Florence to own Jesus Christ as her King, 'passed out in flame.'

Between these Dominican heroes we meet two Dominican saints, the one of whom painted pictures which have forced the world to see and confess the beauty of holiness, and the other, by pure goodness, has acquired a name still the most honoured and beloved in Florence. They were contemporaries and friends; they lived in the same convents; they were alike men in whom gentleness tempered a vigorous spirit: they were Giovanni of Fiesole, called Fra Angelico, and Antonio Pierozzi, called Antonino, Archbishop of Florence.

In attempting to trace the life of the second of these saints we must bear in mind the caution of a great historian as to the 'danger of mistaking hagiology for history. When a man is once canonized, his acts and character pass out of the reach of ordinary criticism. Religious edification, not historical truth, becomes the aim of all who speak or write of one who has been formally enrolled as an object of religious reverence.'[1] This temper is, indeed, inimical to

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 21.

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religious edification, and robs the Lives of saints of that which might be specially profitable. If we want a life of uniform perfection, we have the only such Life in the Gospels. What we have not there, and what the Lives of the saints might supply, is the example of a character growing in holiness, of faults existing but controlled, of failings rectified by self-discipline, of limitations which were not inconsistent with a real love of God. And this is precisely what the Lives of S. Antonino do not supply. All is even perfection, according to the standard of perfection which the writers recognized. There is no development of character, and there is hardly room for it, in the scheme of his most interesting biographer, Maccarani, who, after sketching in a few short chapters the events of the Saint's life up to the time of his episcopate, then deserts the chronological order, and, heading each chapter with a virtue, shows by a series of anecdotes how Antonino exemplified that virtue. Not only does he use no criticism, but he follows no chronology, and we are left ignorant whether a particular event belongs to the Saint's early days or to his maturity. It is not our intention to discuss the credibility of the miracles ascribed to Antonino ; but even if they are true they prove nothing as to the character of the wonder-worker, nor do they serve as incentives or instructions to us who have no such powers. It will be our duty—not always an agreeable duty, but one which will be conducive to the profit which may be derived from a good man's life—to keep open eyes to defects in a character which, with all defects, remains noble and lovable.

The period in which Antonino was born probably seemed to contemporaries in Italy one of restoration rather than innovation. The Pope was back in Rome ; and although a great part of Christendom—France, Scotland, Spain—supported his rival, Clement VII. ; although the tyranny of Urban VI. alienated his friends ; yet he succeeded (after drowning his rebellious Cardinals in sacks) in retaining his power till he died, in 1389, some seven months after the birth of Antonino. From 1378 to 1415, there were always two Popes, latterly three, each claiming to be the one visible head of the Church. We indeed talk of two or three rival Popes, declining to pronounce as to the validity of elections in which force, cajolery and bribery bore a considerable part. But to the Italians of the day there was but one Pope ; his rivals were evident impostors and usurpers. Were they not usually Frenchmen, living at Avignon, received only by barbarians? The authority of the Roman See had seemed to be shaken

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when, for seventy years, the Bishop of Rome never dared, or never cared, to visit his diocese; but it did not seem to be shaken when a Bishop on the Rhone set himself in impudent rivalry against him whose throne was on the Tiber.

Nor was the position of the Pope in Italy much affected by the antipapal Councils beyond the Alps. The Italian temper, for all its sensitiveness, is tolerant of foreign aggression, because it can never bring itself to believe seriously that foreigners fail to respect Italy. A national Council in Paris (1395) might summon both Popes to resign, but neither of them had really any thought of letting France dictate to Rome. The Council of Constance, by deposing three Popes and electing another, might claim for a General Council authority over the Holy See, and for the transalpine nations a voice in the supreme management of the Church; but he whom they then elected was an Italian, *italianissimo*, who paid little regard to the Council which had elected him and to the restrictions which it sought to lay upon him; and his countrymen, taught by experience not to pay much heed to the way in which a potentate gained his power, so long as he possessed it, forgot the Council as they gathered round an undisputed national Pope. Italy had once more outwitted the foreigner. A strange problem is raised when we imagine the Fathers of Constance appointing a German Pope. Would the Church have been divided by another schism? or would it have been reformed, so as not to need the Reformation? or would the tradition of fourteen centuries have drawn even a German Pope into the Italian vortex?

Such a problem was not proposed. The long reign of Martin V. (1417–1431) seemed to be the complete restoration of the Papacy as it had been before the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism. The Pope reigned supreme, with no more difficulties than those caused by the strife of Italian parties and the resistance, seldom effectual, of foreign nations. Schism had failed, and was tried no more. To those who imagined that the course of history ever returns to the point whence it started it seemed as if an evil century had been blotted out, and as if Martin V. was the immediate successor of Benedict XI.

What probably escaped the eye of Italian Churchmen was the very different aspect of recent events in the estimation of northern nations. They had chosen between rival Popes, and despised the rivals; they had joined in deposing and electing Pontiffs; they were sore because their schemes of reform were fruitless. From judging the validity of papal elections the

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step was not long to questioning papal authority altogether. It is significant that a new school of mystical theology in Germany had had its chief representatives—Eckhart, Tauler, Suso—in the Dominican Order. A world of critical and revolutionary thought was preparing to be kindled by a match from Gutenberg's workshop at Mentz less than forty years after the Council of Constance.

But men seldom know whither their principles tend; and religious revolution seemed appeased, not imminent, when Antonino was born, in the quarter of Florence called 'The Gourd,' in 1389. His father was Niccolò Pierozzi, a man of wealth, notary to the Signoria, and four times Proconsul. He seems to have had, besides Antonino, a daughter, named Nicolosa, and, by a second marriage, a son named Ferdinando. The child was brought up in habits of piety. At an early age he took pleasure in prayer, in hearing sermons, in following processions, and chiefly in stopping between home and school to pray before a certain crucifix in the Church of St. Michael in the Granary. He was wont to deny himself by slily casting to the dogs the meat which his mother put upon his plate: a habit which some parents might think wasteful, and some might ascribe to the fanciful appetite of a delicate child, but in which his biographer sees a preparation for the vegetarian diet of the Friars.

At the age of thirteen, in 1402, the precocious child sought admission to the Dominican Order. It is not unlikely that the death of his mother led him to this step. There was already in Florence a Dominican convent, S. Maria Novella; but he preferred another convent of the Order at the foot of the steeper ascent to the hill of Fiesole. Perhaps he was attracted by the tranquillity of a spot remote from the bustling city, which no traffic could pass except on sledges; or, more probably, by the character of the Prior, the Blessed Giovanni Dominici,[1] who was instituting in his new house a strict reform. The Prior was attracted by the zeal of the boyish applicant, yet thought it well to delay his admission till he could say by heart the Decretum—the collection of Canons, Papal Bulls, and comments on them, which formed the law of the Western Church. In a period when the chief controversy turned on Canon Law and the election and authority of Popes, Church Law assumed an undue predominance over

[1] He became a Cardinal about 1406; was sent by Sigismund to convert the Bohemians, and, failing, urged the Emperor to put them to the sword: advice which Sigismund refused, *carnaliter compatiens corporibus illorum* (*S. Ant. Hist.* tom. iii. fol. 215).

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dogmatic theology; yet the Prior's test was a sensible one. Many a pious child would gladly spend hours in devotion. Many an intelligent boy would take a keen interest in the wonders of dogmatic and speculative theology. But for a boy to spend his days in the dry unspiritual study of an ecclesiastical law-book was a proof of three great qualities: a zeal which no unpleasant task could deter from following his vocation; a docility which was ready to engage in the dullest work at the bidding of a superior; an intelligence which could not only undertake but perform within the hardly credible space of a year so arduous a labour. We are reminded of the contrast between the older system of education, in which every boy had to study the same subjects, and the modern system, which encourages each boy to study that to which his bent inclines him. The modern system seems the more plausible, but possibly the old turned out the more solid scholars.

For his noviciate he was sent to Cortona, where also he found a holy guide in Fra Lorenzo of Ripafratta, who had apparently entered Religion at the still earlier age of twelve, and whom, till his death, in 1546, his pupil ever regarded as his *dilettissimo padre.*[1] After a year Antonino returned to Fiesole, and was professed. The death of his father in 1413 left him in possession of a third share of 'much wealth and many books,' and he spent his portion in building the convent to which he belonged.

His conduct as a friar was exemplary for devotion, study, punctuality in the Divine Office, and austerity. He abstained from flesh-meat, and wore an iron chain about his waist. But his life was not without one serious trouble. The Council of Pisa deposed Gregory XII. and appointed to the Papacy Alexander V. The General of the Dominicans[2] submitted to Alexander; but Fra Giovanni Dominici, who was made a Cardinal by Gregory, retained allegiance to him, and carried his convent with him. The General imprisoned the Prior of Fiesole, and the rest of the brethren, leaving their unfinished buildings, migrated to Foligno. Their exile lasted till after the resignation (1415) and indeed the death (1417) of Gregory; for it was not till 1418 that the Bishop of Fiesole allowed them to return, on payment of a large fine, to which the patrimony of Antonino contributed.[3] To his life at Fiesole

[1] Letter to Dominicans of Pistoia.

[2] Tommaso di Fermo, of whom Antonino says no more than that he was *vir magnæ prudentiæ secularis* (*Hist.* tom. iii. fol. 217).

[3] Marchese, *Pittori &c. Dominicani*, lib. ii. ch. 3-5.

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belongs the story of his first miracle. A girl had broken her pitcher in the stream Mugnone. Antonino found her weeping, gathered the fragments, and, by his prayers, reunited them. It affords one of the striking contrasts of Italian history to remember that at the same spot, some fifty years before, Boccaccio's ladies bathed their delicate feet in the stream as they listened to the death-bells in the plague-stricken city and to the licentious tales of the *Decameron.*

The learning of Antonino caused him to be appointed Assistant Theologian to the Council of Florence in 1438. He was not entitled by his position to take a part in the discussions, but in his *History* he gives what is probably the best account of the Council, as his account of it is undoubtedly the most valuable part of his *History.*

To partisans on the one hand (of whom Cecconi [1] may be cited as a recent and candid example) it was a work of the most Christian charity on the part of Eugenius IV. to invite the reconciliation of the Greeks. The scandal of a divided Christendom was bearing its baleful fruit. In the West the Council of Basel was plunging deeper and deeper into revolt against the Holy See; in the East, the City and Church of Constantinople were trembling before the advance of Islam. To deliver the Eastern Rome was beyond the power of the Pope unless the princes of Europe could be led to sympathise with the Greeks as fellow Christians; and a joint crusade against the Moslems might have the blessed result of drawing together all Christians round the one centre of unity. Such writers find no parallel to Eugenius's piety save in the invitation of the Eastern Bishops to attend the Vatican Council.

On the other hand, writers in the interest of the Eastern Churches (of whom Syropulus is an ancient, and Popoff [2] a modern, example) see nothing on the part of the Pope but craft and fraud. He called the East, not to reconciliation, but to submission; chiefly that he might get credit by anticipating the Fathers of Basel in a similar undertaking. He took advantage of the distress of the Emperor to make him barter his ancestral faith for help to hold his ancestral domain; and, having gained the advantage, failed scandalously to keep the promise.

Perhaps Anglicans, having no direct interest in the matter (though, of course, their indirect interest in whatever concerns the Church, and shows the mind of Rome, is great), may judge

[1] *Studi Storici sul Concilio di Firenze*, di Eug. Cecconi, 1869.
[2] *Hist. of Council of Florence*, by B. Popoff, edited by J. M. Neale, D.D.

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the Council with more impartiality. There is no reason to doubt that Eugenius was moved by a genuine desire to save the Church from being dragged back by the Council of Basel to the misery and disorder from which the Council of Constance had rescued her. There was no more effectual way of putting the issue of the relation of the Pope to the Council than that of evoking the Council from its first seat to Ferrara. Those who obeyed his summons would gain the decision of attitude which comes to men who have definitely committed themselves; those who disobeyed would be branded before Christendom as declared rebels. No wiser, if no bolder, step could have been taken than the transference of the Council, whatever might be the subject which the Council in its new home was to consider.

And the state of the East might move a more worldly Pope than Eugenius, just as, a quarter of a century later, it moved the worldly Pius II. to the generous effort which closed his life of selfishness. The East and the West, in spite of bitter dissensions, had never ceased to regard each other as brethren. Popular modern Romanism maintains that that cannot be truly a Church which is not in communion with the Roman See; but in the fifteenth century no man dreamed that the Eastern Church was not really a Church at all. Clement IV. in 1268 had prayed 'the great Corner-stone, who made His Holy Catholic Church one, to assist her rent and divided with schisms,' and S. Antonino used common language when he speaks of the 'Division of the Eastern and Western Church.'[1] No Pope, then, could stand unmoved while a great part of the Church was in danger of extirpation; and least of all a Venetian Pope, whose city was in such close relation to Constantinople.

Again, it is not just to charge Eugenius with packing the Eastern deputation. So far as the documents printed by Cecconi show, he issued no summons to the Eastern Bishops at all. He left that duty to the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople. When the Council was first broached John Palæologus told Martin V. that it was 'needful that all the most holy Patriarchs and all Bishops of our domain should attend the Council;' but the same letter points out the difficulty which made such general attendance impossible—it was too expensive.[2] The Pope, by providing transport for 700

[1] See Ffoulkes, *Christendom's Divisions*, ii. 259, 451. Innocent III, however, doubted 'whether the church of the Greeks was to be considered a true church at all;' and the crusaders acted on this doubt. *Ibid.* p. 260.

[2] Cecconi, vol. i. Doc. iv.

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persons, went far to make a really inclusive representation of the East possible, if only the Oriental potentates had been content to come with simpler state, like the shepherds of Bethlehem, and not (as Gozzoli represents them) like the Three Kings. And, after all, the Eastern deputation was not unfairly selected, seeing that it included such a champion of orthodoxy as Mark of Ephesus. Each of the Patriarchates occupied by the Turks was represented by an envoy; the remaining members, with one exception, were Metropolitans of important provinces. And it is fair to remember that only four of the three hundred Fathers at Nicaea were Westerns; there was no one from the West at Constantinople in 381; only three out of more than 200 at Ephesus; only four out of 520 at Chalcedon. At Florence the Eastern prelates were twenty-three; those of the West who signed the decree were but sixty-eight.

A further complaint is that the Eastern Bishops were starved into compliance. No doubt they said so; but it is not so clear that they were right. There is no trace in Cecconi of an alleged promise of a money allowance from the Pope, for lack of which they were forced to accept a dole of food from Eugenius, and derived no profit from the cheap tariff which had been arranged with the Marquis of Ferrara.[1] But the funds were probably low;[2] and no one who knows Italy would be surprised to learn that the commissariat was mismanaged, or that too much of the money stuck to the fingers of the officials charged with the distribution of it.

Why, then, was the Council of Ferrara-Florence a failure? Because it never deserved success; because it was gathered to promote men's schemes rather than the will of the Holy Spirit. It was very far from fulfilling the excellent purpose of the Emperor, that 'truth being sought without contention, whatever might be revealed by the Holy Spirit in the holy Council should be accepted by both parties.'[3] He was not desirous of 'union simply in adherence to the Church of Rome.'[4] But such a sort of union was precisely what the Pope expected and demanded. He had no thought of considering (for instance) whether the *Filioque* was true, or

[1] *Ibid.* Doc. clxxvii. We call the tariff cheap with some hesitation. If we are right in our rendering of ancient measures and coins, the prices are about half those which are prevalent at the present day. Meat was to cost from 72 cent. the kilogram, oil one franc.

[2] Eugenius 'sempre aveva debito, perchè non servava nulla.' Bisticci, *Vita d' Uomini Illustri* (ed. 1859), p. 17.

[3] Cecconi, Doc. iv.

[4] 'Unionem simpliciter secundum Romanam Ecclesiam.'

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whether the Roman Church had acted lawfully in inserting the phrase in the Creed. Then, as ever, Rome was certainly right: all she could consider was the way in which submission to her could be made most easy. She conceded the use of leavened bread; she might have even conceded the use of the old form of the Creed; what she did not—and, from her history and claims, could not—concede was a confession that she might have acted arbitrarily. The Council was not to be between alienated sisters, but between a lenient mother and her erring daughter. No less than this was betokened by the style adopted by Eugenius—not 'episcopus Romanus' but 'ecclesiæ catholicæ episcopus.'[1] It was not possible that under him the dispute between Rome and the East could be debated with an open mind. The conclusion was foregone. We have had recent exhibitions of the same spirit in 1870, and, in the case of Anglican Orders, in 1895. It is fair to remind ourselves that to Eugenius and Antonino, to Pius and Leo, there was never really any dispute at all. They began with the conviction that their cause was right, and needed not to be justified but to be maintained; and if their arguments seem to those who consider them candidly to be usually fallacious and frequently disingenuous, it is but fair that the charge of unreason and falsehood should be laid, not on the champions of Rome, but on the system of which they are the mouthpieces.

We have allowed ourselves this long digression on the Council of Florence, partly because the Council was a great episode in Antonino's life, and the record of it forms the most important part of his writings; and partly because the character of the Council is precisely the character of the Saint. His works support the account of his retentive memory by showing him the possessor of a vast store of facts, real or fictitious; but they do not show in him any critical faculty, or any originative power. He repeats what his fathers had said, without judging and without expanding. He has nothing of the genius of an Athanasius, an Augustine, an Aquinas. His circumstances did not allow him to illuminate theology like Hooker, or Moehler, or Maurice, or Newman. He is among the compilers of chronicles and handbooks, not among the 'goodly fellowship of the prophets.' He is a man of heavenly temper enmeshed in a system of ecclesiastical worldliness. His statements and his arguments often seem to us disingenuous, but there is no occasion to charge him with lack of sincerity. Starting with the persuasion that

[1] Cecconi Doc. clxx. &c.

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Rome is always right, he is not dishonest when he makes all evidence support Rome, and cannot see the existence of what testifies against his thesis. We need to be reminded that many writers of the present day are not necessarily dishonest when they use disingenuous arguments.

Having won the respect of the Pope at the Council, Antonino was, in 1442, appointed Prior of the Convent of St. Mark in Florence, which Cosimo de' Medici, *Pater patriæ*, was founding [1] with a generosity which the modesty of the friars had to restrain. In his new position the reputation of Antonino deservedly grew. He was supposed to possess the gift of prophecy, though the instances which are given of it seem hardly to surpass the limits of clear discernment. One such case is sufficiently interesting to deserve mention.[2] A certain Piedmontese novice was greatly loved by the Saint, and professed under his own name of Antonino. Being ordained priest, 'moved by frivolity and vain curiosity,' he desired to visit Sicily, and, in spite of the Prior's predictive warnings, obtained permission from his superiors. He was captured by corsairs, sold as a slave in Barbary, imprisoned, and finally apostatized. After four months of apostasy he heard of the death of S. Antonino, and, moved with bitter compunction, professed himself a Christian, and bore a glorious martyrdom by stoning. Again, a certain monk presented himself to the Prior with a letter of commendation; but the Saint, without opening the letter, discerned that his visitor wished to transfer himself to the Dominican Order, and urged him to remain in the Order to which he belonged.

A man who added to so much holiness such discernment was marked out for positions of difficulty; and Antonino was appointed Provincial of the Dominican Order, and called in to reform many convents which had fallen away from the original devotion. On such a task at Naples he had just been engaged when he was called to a more arduous post. In the summer of 1445 Cardinal Zabarelli, the Archbishop of Florence, died: a good man, to be remembered for his kindness at Constance to Jerome of Prague. We hear nothing of any canonical election of his successor, only that the Signoria of Florence petitioned the Pope for a good archbishop. After an unexplained delay of nine months Eugenius appointed Antonino.

Vasari tells a picturesque story, that the Pope offered the

[1] The convent was transferred to the Dominicans in 1436; rebuilding began the next year, and was finished in 1443.

[2] Maccarani, ii. 20.

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see to Fra Angelico, then painting in the Vatican; and that the saintly painter, knowing his own unfitness for the post, urged the name of his friend Antonino. As it stands the story is impossible; for the historian ascribes the appointment to Nicholas V., the Humanist, who might possibly have thought artistic skill sufficient qualification for a bishopric, whereas it was really due to Eugenius, a statesman who was sure to make a more judicious appointment. But it is pretty certain that at the time of the vacancy Fra Angelico had begun his work in the Vatican, and it is likely enough that he suggested to the Pope the friar who had already served him at the Council.

When once the Pope had decided on Antonino he was determined not to let him go. The modest friar took flight, wrote to beg his Holiness not to lay so heavy a burden on shoulders so unfit, and hid himself in a wood near Siena. There the Pope's envoys found him, bringing him an urgent command to accept the office. Instead of the largess expected by the servants for bringing so honourable a message, they were disappointed by receiving all that Antonino had to bestow—his worn-out cloak.[1] Antonino obeyed, returned to Fiesole, and was consecrated there on March 1, 1445-6, being Shrove Tuesday. On the second Sunday in Lent, the morrow of St. Gregory, he entered his city on foot amid the joy of his people. When he reached the street where his predecessor, St. Zenobius, had raised a dead child to life, he removed his shoes and walked to the cathedral barefoot.

His first step was to strip his palace of all splendour. 'In his palace were no tapestries, no gold or silver vessels; and in his court were never seen hounds or horses, or monsters or buffoons or conjurors, or such vain persons.'[2] He would not even suffer curtains to his doors, that he might be accessible to all his people. He soon showed himself no mere recluse. He was watchful and strict in his discipline of the clergy, withdrawing the licence to preach from those whose sermons aimed at tickling ears. When a certain priest persisted in wearing long hair he took a pair of scissors and cut off the locks of the offending Absalom in the open church. Another priest, who was a great gambler, he deprived of his money and distributed it to the poor. But, like Becket, he jealously defended his clergy against secular courts. Two priests were found in a place of ill fame, imprisoned, and sent by the magistrates to the Archbishop bound, and with a trumpet to notify their disgrace. Antonino, 'reflecting on

[1] Bisticci, p. 172. [2] Macc. ii. 8.

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the injustice of the magistrates and the contempt thrown on the priesthood,' considered the culprits sufficiently punished, but excommunicated the magistrates, and only absolved them after public penance at the cathedral door. His fatherly severity extended to laymen as well as priests. He risked the anger of powerful citizens by entering private houses where they were gambling, and taking away their unholy gains. He withstood the common practice of creditors suing out an excommunication to enforce the payment of debts. He insisted, under pain of excommunication, that public elections should be made by ballot, to avoid the risk of perjury; and when the chief men of the state threatened to expel him from his see he laughed and showed them the key of his cell at St. Mark's, which he ever bore about his person: he would gladly return thither, and be rid of a heavy burden.[1] Once, when during Divine Office in the Cathedral a bride entered attended by a flock of young gallants, he called for the whip used to drive dogs from the church and expelled those 'children of Satan' from God's house. Maccarani tells an amusing story. A certain poor gentleman, distressed that he could not provide dowries for his daughters, sought counsel of the Archbishop, who bade him pray daily in the Church of the Annunziata: who knew if God would provide for his need? One morning he reached the church so early that the doors were still shut. Waiting in the porch, he overheard the conversation of two blind beggars, who, unconscious of the presence of a stranger, confided to each other that they had, the one, three hundred gold scudi, the other two hundred, sewn in their caps. Convinced that Providence had led him to this supply of his needs, the gentleman caught off their caps and hurried off to the Archbishop to render thanks for this signal answer to prayer. Antonino summoned the beggars, rated them soundly for their deceit in begging when they were so rich, restored to the one of them thirty scudi, to the other twenty, and gave the rest to the gentleman to endow his daughters. This transaction is told by the biographer in the chapter in which he praises Antonino's justice.

It would be unjust to blame a good man too severely because he did not rise above the habits of his time, but burned a certain foreign physician and necromancer for blasphemy against the Blessed Virgin: an action which is praised by Maccarani for its likeness to the condemnation of Nestorius

[1] Bisticci, p. 180. Most of these anecdotes are recorded by Maccarani.

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by the Council of Ephesus.[1] It is notable that, while the writer of the seventeenth century praises his act as an example of zeal, Palermo, in the nineteenth century, not very ingenuously throws the responsibility on the civil authorities. In fact, not many persons of that age had advanced beyond the Milanese governor who naively boasts that

'A porch he made,
And heretics burned, as duty bade.'[2]

As to his sermons, he is somewhat strangely praised for 'proposing and solving devout and curious questions,' such as: 'To what order belonged the Angel of the Annunciation, in what form he appeared, at what time, and in what place, and what language he spoke.'[3] But we may value more highly the praise that he always spoke so as to be understood. It was, no doubt, with this aim that he resorted to quaint conceits; as when he says that nature teaches temperance by making the mouth so small, or when he makes a Latin acrostic on the *Ave*, as if the Angel had spoken in that language. He seeks to honour the Blessed Virgin by saying that, as the neck bears the head, so she bears the Head of the Church; and that, as intelligence comes to the body from the head through the neck, so all blessings come to the Church from her Head through Mary, who is her neck. He interprets the command 'Be wise as serpents' as bidding us risk the loss of all things rather than the loss of Christ our Head, as the serpent, when attacked, wraps all its body round its head. Moreover, the serpent, when he fears to be charmed, lays one ear in the dust and stops the other with the tip of his tail: so should we close our ears against temptation.

There was no virtue more congenial to Antonino than almsgiving. Nor did he pursue it only in that blind way of giving to every one who asks which is too common in England, and far more prevalent in Italy. During a season of plague he remained at his post, and daily led a donkey laden with food and medicines to the sick and destitute, not neglecting the prisoners; when his funds were exhausted he sold his socks and his boots, and even his spectacle-case, to provide alms. One festival he saw, near St. Ambrose's Church, three angels standing on the roof of a small house. He entered, and found a widow and her three daughters, so poor that they had no shoes in which to go to Mass. He amply sup-

[1] Macc. ii. 8 and 13.
[2] 'Qui solium struxit, catharos ut debuit uxit.'
[3] Macc. ii. 13.

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plied their needs. Some time afterwards, passing the same house, he saw on it three devils, and, entering, found that the occupants had given way to extravagance and vanity of dress. He took away from them a part of the allowance he had made, and so brought them back to good ways. One charitable institution of his is still existing, and still well administered. Mediæval Italy resembled modern America in the suddenness with which fortunes were made and lost. The chances of war as well as commerce, and the love of litigation, not discouraged by a questionable administration of justice, produced a large class of gentlefolk plunged into poverty, unable to dig, ashamed to beg. Such cases are too familiar among ourselves; and, while much is done for the so-called 'poor,' English charity scantily reaches the distressed persons of education, the poor governess, the needy priest and his family, the professional man disabled by sickness. To help such cases S. Antonino founded the Good Men of St. Martin, whose duty it is to search out and relieve unknown misery—*i poveri vergognosi*. It is difficult to obtain much information as to the Society, for secrecy is one of its essential rules, but we have reason to believe that it retains its old excellence in discretion, integrity, and usefulness.

Amid this press of work Antonino, by a rigid economy of time, was able to use his pen. Prayer was his only recreation; he allowed himself little sleep, and even in his dreams discussed theological difficulties. Many of the works ascribed to him are regarded by Palermo, the best critic, as summaries, by other hands, of his genuine works; but there remain, as authentic, his *Summa*, his *History*, a number of pious letters, and a spiritual work, discovered by the last-named writer, called *Opera a ben vivere*.

His *Summa* belongs to the class of handbooks, not of original treatises. The age was one of artistic development, but not of speculative or philosophical energy. The introduction of Plato to Italy by Gemisthus Pletho had not yet had time to work. Half a century had to pass before German audacity should raise questions affecting the accepted bases of the Faith. It would be as unreasonable to blame Antonino for writing in ignorance of the controversies to be raised by Marsilius Ficinus and Erasmus, by Calvin and Servetus, as it would be to blame an English theologian at the beginning of this century for not anticipating Newman and Darwin; yet it must be confessed that the lack of impossible anticipation gives something of the impression of a man stolidly sleeping on the slopes of a volcano. There is juster cause for censure

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in the order which he adopts in his work. A Catholic treatise should surely begin with God, and proceed by way of the Incarnation to man; but Antonino begins with the soul, its nature and freedom, and passes on to sin, its causes and consequences. The second book treats of the Capital Sins; the third of the obligations of various classes of men; and not till these are considered does he touch (and then but briefly) on God, the Divine Unity and Trinity. In the fourth book he treats of Virtues and Graces, and he (or his editor) appends forty-six sermons in praise of the Blessed Virgin. To the specific consideration of the Incarnation he gives no place at all. The order which he adopts fits in with the tendency, too conspicuous among Romanists as among Protestants, to make man's soul the starting-point, and God merely the remedy for man's sin.

The *History* is divided into three sections: from Adam to Silvester, from Silvester to Innocent III., from Innocent to Pius II.; and these again into a number of ages. We cannot refuse admiration to the industry which gathered facts, whether real or imaginary, from every accessible source. There is no country then known of which the history is not condensed. Nor is the work merely that of a compiler or a chronicler. It has many profound remarks on what we should call the philosophy of history. It would be easy to make a collection from these pages of amusing fables, superstitions, errors; but it would not be fair. What is more worthy of notice is that Antonino shows some knowledge of the advantage of comparative chronology, treating, for instance, of the Greek philosophers in the same chapter which tells of the Hebrew captivity.

Of course he accepts the legend of St. Peter's Roman episcopate for twenty-five years. He asserts that St. Peter appointed Clement as his successor, and regards Linus and Cletus, not as occupants of the Apostolic Throne, but as merely coadjutors of the Apostle during his life. He recites the story of Constantine's baptism at the hands of Silvester, and represents the neophyte as ordaining that the Bishop of Rome, like the Emperor of Rome, should be supreme throughout the world; but he is singularly silent as to the secular dominion supposed to have been then given to the Pope. Among Constantine's ordinances it is said that he forbade any building to be erected in a city without the permission of its Bishop.

We cannot pretend to a detailed knowledge of the three folio volumes of this work. It may be indolence in a reviewer

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not to have read the whole of the work on which he comments. The fault which may be laid on us cannot be laid on Antonino. He gathers all sorts of matter from all sorts of sources. We find in his pages detailed accounts of the works of such writers as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Richard of St. Victor, St. Anselm, and others. He naturally devotes a large space to the history of St. Dominic, his Order, and its saints.

Of course the *History* is fullest in the part which tallies with his life, and especially in the account of the Council of Florence, which, so far as we can judge, is (with the limitation mentioned above) candid. It may suffice to say that, if the requisites of an historian are industry, sincerity, and insight, of the first Antonino has a full share; of the second, at least as much as his deference to Rome allowed; if he lacks the third, it must be remembered that the science of history was late in reviving. There was still half a century to wait for Macchiavelli. Many historians who have gained repute were at least as slow as he to see the truths which lie at the root of facts.

The *History* properly ends with the accession of Pius II. in 1458, just nine months before Antonino's death. It is probable that the concluding chapters, containing a history of the Mendicant Orders, were either written by the Saint as a distinct work, or else were added by another hand.

A more interesting work is the *Opera a ben vivere*, discovered in the Palatine Library in Florence by Francesco Palermo, and ascribed to our Saint on the score of the hand-writing and of the tone of its contents. It is a devotional treatise addressed to a young married lady, probably Dianora Soderini, about the year 1450. Compared with a familiar book with a similar title, it has neither the literary splendour nor the knowledge of humanity of Jeremy Taylor. It has not the practical usefulness of the 'Spiritual Combat' nor the steady fire of the 'Imitation.' It belongs to the second rank of devotional books, which may not be the less useful because they are commonplace. Yet its usefulness is marred by a certain lack of precision. It urges us to root out our vices, but it says little about the way in which each vice is to be rooted out. It bids us cultivate virtue, but gives little instruction as to its cultivation. It is, we suppose, a book written hurriedly in the midst of a busy life; for its quotations from Holy Scripture are inaccurate and apparently made from memory; he quotes Malachi as if he were Isaiah, and ascribes the words of a Psalm to an Apostle. But with all defects its simple goodness testifies to its writer's character.

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The first Book is founded on the Psalmist's words: 'Flee from evil, and do good; seek peace, and ensue it.' His pupil has recently 'fled from evil' by making a general confession. She is now urged to 'do good'—to root out the evil habits which remain even in a penitent; she is to 'seek peace' by habitual mortification of her desires; she is to 'ensue it' until, by final perseverance, she attains to the fruition of God. The motive is to be love for God, without which all self-discipline, however severe, is fruitless; and this love is to be acquired by habitual recollection of God's love for us.

The soul is like a garden; and, in the Second Book, he bids his disciple hedge round her garden by living a life as retired as her position permits; and appoint over it a discreet gatekeeper, who will scrutinize all that passes the door of her lips. He urges rightly the dignity of speech, whereby the inspiration of God in the mind can be expressed, the danger of idle words, and of much talking and laughing. There are, he says, but three right uses of speech—to praise God, to instruct our neighbour, to accuse ourselves. While we listen thankfully to his warning against sins of speech, often so dangerous yet so little regarded, may we not question whether there is not a danger of condemning what God allows? Is there no room in His provision of speech for the prattle of a child, the merry talk of a young girl, the earnest discussions of young men, the brilliant conversation of the wit? Is there not a risk of condemning bright things which God has ordained for our comfort; and, inasmuch as even devout persons are not likely always to talk gravely, may they not fall into the sin of doing against their conscience that which conscience better instructed would not condemn?

He urges his pupil to seek some director, holy, and, if possible, learned, and 'to commit all the care of her soul to him, taking no further care of anything, but only anxious to do what he bids, regarding his words as coming from the mouth of God.' To some of us this advice seems to amount to calling him infallible whom God has not made infallible, and condemning to atrophy the reason and the conscience which God has bestowed on each man that he may know truth and right for himself.

In the Third Book he lays down a Rule of Life. His pupil is to fast on Fridays, on Vigils, and in Lent. The fast of Ember Days and Advent is recommended, not enjoined. On other days she is not to fast without his leave. She should make her Confession and Communion at least once a

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month; but, if it would not make her conspicuous, he would be glad for her to communicate every Sunday. He would have her take Discipline on Fridays and Vigils, but not oftener without leave. To give alms she must have her husband's permission, unless she has property over and above her dower. Being a married woman she must not vex her husband by rising in the night for prayer. He says nothing of the use of Holy Scripture, beyond the recitation of certain Psalms; the persistent study of our Lord's life as an example is not suggested. She is to follow the priest's words at Mass. All the prayers he suggests are addressed to God, except the *Ave* and the *Salve Regina* and the Hours of our Lady. On Festivals she is to attend the Office and two sermons if duties permit.

She should attend no entertainments unless her duty to her husband requires her to attend; in which case she must go with the Saint's blessing, trying to bear in mind the dances and the singing of the angels before the Throne. (We are reminded of one of Fra Angelico's loveliest pictures.) She is to be careful of the comfort of her husband and household. At table she is to say an Ave before each mouthful.

She is to accept the service of her maids, not in indolence, but that she may have leisure for prayer and reading; but she will find some bodily exercise help her prayers, for the soul cannot be always praying. There is no reference to indulgenced prayers, nor is there any rule as to intercession. The rule is to be followed discreetly, as occasion serves. Above all things she is to beware of growing cold; she has given her soul to the Lord, and it is His.

The prudence which he shows in this treatise is to be found also in his letter of 'Suggestions on Prayer,'[1] likewise written to a married lady. She is not to aim at reciting the full Office. Religious can do so, because they have everything to help them. In shorter devotions he thinks she will have the help of her husband; but if she aims at too much she is likely to lose all. The desire to recite many prayers may be, not an inspiration of God, but a temptation of the devil. It is pleasant to see ladies of rank so desirous to live a Christian life, and so wisely guided in it. The enormous and flagrant vices of many eminent persons in the Italian Renascence lead too many people to suppose that the nation was radically corrupt.

There is little more to record of Antonino. In the fourteenth year of his episcopate, and the seventieth of his life,

[1] In Palermo, p. 219.

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he was attacked by a fever. He was anxious to die in the cell of St. Mark's Convent, of which he had always carried the key. He received the last Sacraments on May 1, 1459. His brethren surrounded him, reciting the Psalter. He joined in the words, 'He shall pluck my feet out of the net,' and died very early on Ascension Day, which was May 2. He was buried, as he desired, in St. Mark's Church. His canonization was proposed by Leo X., and accomplished by Clement VII., both Florentine Popes of the Medici family.

No saint has won more universal reverence in Florence, and he won it by the power of goodness. We have had to stint our praise of his learning; even his devotional books do not rise above the average; yet after three centuries and a half his name is green in his city. His beautiful transfigured face is conspicuous among the great Florentines in the *loggia* of the Uffizi. His relics are preserved with honour in his now secularized convent. To quote words used by him on his deathbed, he served Christ and he reigns.

ART. XI.—RECENT POETRY.

1. *Selected Poems.* By GEORGE MEREDITH. (Westminster, 1897.)
2. *Poems.* By WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY. Second Edition. (London, 1898.)
3. *The Hope of the World, and other Poems.* By WILLIAM WATSON. Third Edition. (London, 1898.)
4. *Poems.* By STEPHEN PHILLIPS. Second Edition. (London, 1898.)
5. *Porphyrion, and other Poems.* By LAURENCE BINYON. (London, 1898.)
6. *Ireland, with other Poems.* By LIONEL JOHNSON. (London, 1897.)
7. *Collected Poems.* By AUSTIN DOBSON. Second Edition. (London, 1897.)

THE study of contemporary poetry is one of the most fascinating of critical pursuits. There is an element of sport about it which the critic of history, of science, of philology, or of theology necessarily misses. It is true that these latter subjects afford the bloodthirsty critic ample opportunities for all kinds of evil speaking, from the bludgeon work of set controversy to the subtle detractions of faint praise; but if they have more of the temper of the fight in them, they have

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less of the excitement of the chase. Among all the volumes of verse which pour from the press year by year, and almost week by week, some day there will be the Wordsworth or Tennyson, the Keats or Browning, of a new generation; and it is for him that the critic is lying in wait. A proud man will he be who first proclaims the advent of the new poet. The manners of criticism have indeed changed since the early days of this century. Then if the critic watched for the new poet, it was in order to act on the time-honoured principle, 'Here's a stranger; let's heave half a brick at him.' The responsibility which lay heaviest on him was that of rendering the approach to Parnassus as difficult and dangerous as possible; and if, in his zeal for the defence of the pure ideals of poetry, he occasionally took the scalp of a Keats or Tennyson, the accident was one which would hardly be discovered until its discovery was a matter of indifference to the critic. But we have changed all that, and the critic of to-day welcomes with open arms, and an even too lavish diffusion of encouraging epithets, compositions which his predecessor (to use one of the favourite phrases of that generation) would have consigned to the trunkmaker or the pastrycook. It is not merely that the standard of literary manners has improved with the advance of time, or that we have realised that it is no crime to write verse, even if the verses are not exactly to our own taste. It is that we are conscious that we want a great poet; that one generation of poets has passed, or is passing away; that we are now in the ebb-tide following a flood of poetical production; and that, according to the ordinary sequence of nature, another flood will follow presently, which we stand ready to greet with an appreciative welcome.

In accordance with this laudable frame of mind, we have from time to time undertaken a survey of contemporary verse, without flattering ourselves that we have hitherto discovered the poet whom we seek, either among the fresh efforts of our younger singers, or in the more mature charms of Sir Lewis Morris or Mr. Alfred Austin.[1] Their generation may indeed be dismissed from further consideration in this respect. It has made its mark, for better or worse, and no very notable advance can reasonably be expected from writers who have been so long before the public. It is to the younger poets that we must look; and it is of some interest to note how the names which come into prominence vary from time to time; how some hold their place, while others drop away, either

[1] See the *Church Quarterly Review*, xxxii. 115, xxxv. 201, xxxix. 457; xlii. 124.

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temporarily or finally. Of those whom we have named in previous articles, some reappear to-day, while of others we can only say that they have hitherto failed to redeem their promise. Of two in particular must this be said—Mr. John Davidson and Mr. Francis Thompson. Mr. Davidson has written nothing lately to equal the freshness and vigour and picturesqueness of his first series of *Ballads and Songs*; and Mr. Thompson has not shown himself able to purge away the redundancies of his exuberant fancy, to rise superior to faults of taste which may readily be pardoned in a youth (and even welcomed as a sign of promise), but which should be purified by the more refined and saner art of maturity.

But, while noting regretfully these declines or rather failures to advance in individual cases, we cannot take a despondent view of the present position of English poetry, and we think that the list which we have prefixed to this article justifies a tone of satisfaction. It is a list of miscellaneous character, including writers of different ages and different characters. It does not claim to be exhaustive even of the best contemporary verse. We make no mention of Mr. Swinburne, the most eminent of all our living poets, the most marvellously musical of all our poets, living or dead; nor of Mr. Kipling, whose latest volume shows that he is adding a command of rhythm, second only to Mr. Swinburne's, to that force of phrase and clearness of vision and vigour of patriotism which we have long learnt to expect from him; and Mr. Bridges has been silent of late, so that we have no opportunity of noting anew his delicate art and pure self-restrained style. Yet, with all these deductions, we feel that our list is fairly representative of the poetical work that is being done in England to-day, and that while seven volumes of this quality can be issued within the space of some three or four months, there is no cause to despair of either the present or the future of English poetry.

Of Mr. Meredith we have spoken at some length so recently [1] that we now include his name chiefly for the sake of calling attention to the volume of selections from his poetry which has lately been issued under his own supervision. Here the reader, who is deterred by Mr. Meredith's often well-deserved reputation for obscurity, may make acquaintance upon easy terms with a poet of striking individuality and original power. Some of the poems, even in this volume, are difficult; all require attention, but only such attention as a work of art is entitled to demand from those to whom it is

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, xliv. 386.

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addressed. Mr. Meredith, like Robert Browning, would not offer his poetry as a substitute for a cigar or a game of dominoes to an idle man; but those who regard poetry as a serious work of art will find themselves amply rewarded for merely paying Mr. Meredith the civility of ordinary attention. Mr. Meredith's reputation rests, no doubt, mainly upon his novels; but it would be a mistake to regard his poetry as merely the relaxation of his less serious hours. There have been many prose writers whose verses have been simply an exercise of trained literary talent, disporting itself in a medium which was not naturally its own; and such verse, interesting as it may be on personal grounds, is not likely to take high rank as poetry. But Mr. Meredith is by nature and genius a poet, 'first, last, and all the time.' His novels are steeped in poetry, and if he has chosen prose as his normal means of expression, he yet enters upon verse as into his rightful realm. Poems such as 'The Lark Ascending,' 'Love in the Valley,' and above all 'The Nuptials of Attila,'[1] are a real addition to English literature. Mr. Meredith, like Browning, is an intellectual writer, and much of his poetry is strongly tinged with thought, and thought of a very individual character; but it is none the less permeated through and through with emotion, with a warmth of colouring which readers of his novels will expect, and which marks it off decisively from the purely intellectual school, of which Matthew Arnold is the leading representative.

Mr. Meredith stands alone among contemporary poets, not indeed ahead of all others, but quite apart from them, without competitor or imitator in his own sphere. The same cannot be said of Mr. Henley, whose poems, now collected with some revision into a single volume, enable us to judge his poetic handicraft as a whole. There is plenty of individuality about Mr. Henley; you feel the man's personal emotions and perceptions colouring all he writes; but neither the individuality nor the craftsmanship is so far removed from those of other men as to prevent others treading in his footsteps and speaking in a voice akin to his. Like Mr. Meredith, his normal medium of expression is prose; but unlike Mr. Meredith, prose is also the sphere to which his talent properly belongs. His gift is one of vivid observation and clean-cut description of that which he observes. Here is a man, one would say after reading his verses, whose emotions are keen and sensitive, whose eyes are quick to note the objects presented to their vision in the life of every day, and who has, by

[1] Meredith, *Selected Poems*, pp. 3, 47, 147.

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nature or cultivation, the power, through his choice of exactly the right descriptive word, to make the reader see the picture as he himself sees it. Whether the impression thence derived is pleasant or the reverse, or merely indifferent, depends on the object depicted, not on the painter. You have Oliver Cromwell with all his warts on; or if it be the warts themselves that have caught Mr. Henley's eye, then you have the warts without Oliver Cromwell. It is admirable photographic art; where it fails is in the higher imaginative qualities which are essential for great poetry. The light (or absence of light) of London streets and London sky is reproduced faithfully in his verses; what we miss is 'the light that never was on sea or land.'

Let us try to justify this estimate by a few quotations. Here is a scene from the series entitled 'In Hospital':[1]

> 'Here's the Professor.
> In he comes first
> With the bright look we know,
> From the broad, white brows the kind eyes
> Soothing yet nerving you. Here at his elbow,
> White-capped, white-aproned, the Nurse,
> Towel on arm and her inkstand
> Fretful with quills.
> Here in the ruck, anyhow,
> Surging along,
> Louts, duffers, exquisites, students, and prigs—
> Whiskers and foreheads, scarf-pins and spectacles—
> Hustles the Class! And they ring themselves
> Round the first bed, where the Chief
> (His dressers and clerks at attention)
> Bends in inspection already.'

The picture is plain enough; but does it much matter? The subject is commonplace, and the treatment (though not itself commonplace, seeing that not many writers have the same gift of clear and concise description) leaves it so. Yet the workmanship is good, and the same methods, applied to objects of greater intrinsic worth and beauty, may give, and do give, pleasurable pictures, as well as a lesson in technique.

Mr. Henley is not, however, always or solely descriptive. His emotions, as we have said, are keen as well as his perceptions, and he has the same sharp expressiveness of phrase at his command in describing them. Take another of the

[1] Henley, *Poems*, p. 16.

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'In Hospital' series, entitled 'Ave, Cæsar!'[1] The thought is an old one, but the expression is fresh and effective:

'From the winter's grey despair,
From the summer's golden languor,
Death, the lover of Life,
Frees us for ever.

Inevitable, silent, unseen,
Everywhere always,
Shadow by night and as light in the day,
Signs she at last to her chosen;
And, as she waves them forth,
Sorrow and Joy
Lay by their looks and their voices,
Set down their hopes, and are made
One in the dim Forever.

Into the winter's grey delight,
Into the summer's golden dream,
Holy and high and impartial,
Death, the mother of Life,
Mingles all men for ever.'

Both these examples are taken from Mr. Henley's earlier work; and if we were reviewing that work alone, it would be unjust to insist overmuch on the superiority of manner over matter which it displays. A young writer, striving to be an artist, but having as yet too little experience of life to be an independent thinker, may rightly devote himself to perfecting his technical skill. It is, indeed, essential that he should do so, if he is ever to have full control of the artistic capabilities of his instrument. But the time comes when he must find a worthy object on which to employ his technical skill; and according as he does so or not will his ultimate position in the literature of his country be fixed. It is here that Mr. Henley, to our thinking, has failed. His later poems show the same keenness of observation, the same precision of phrase, with perhaps some increase of warmth and colour; but the inspiration of imagination is still absent. The following passage from his 'London Voluntaries' may serve to illustrate our meaning. He is describing dawn in London:[2]

'What miracle is happening in the air,
Charging the very texture of the gray
With something luminous and rare?
The night goes out like an ill-parcelled fire,
And, as one lights a candle, it is day.

[1] Henley, *Poems*, p. 23. [2] *Poems*, p. 190

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The extinguisher, that perks it like a spire
On the little formal church, is not yet green
Across the water: but the house-tops nigher,
The corner-lines, the chimneys—look how clean,
How new, how naked! See the batch of boats,
Here at the stairs, washed in the fresh-sprung beam!
And those are barges that were goblin floats,
Black, hag-steered, fraught with devilry and dream!
And in the piles the water frolics clear,
The ripples into loose rings wander and flee,
And we—we can behold that could but hear
The ancient River singing as he goes
New-mailed in morning to the ancient Sea.
The gas burns lank and jaded in its glass:
The old Ruffian soon shall yawn himself awake,
And light his pipe, and shoulder his tools, and take
His hobnailed way to work!'

We have chosen this passage because it illustrates in itself the difference between imagination and description. The two lines which we have italicised (and which have attracted the attention of other critics besides ourselves) show a simple fact of nature transfigured in the light of imagination and raised into an altogether higher plane of beauty. It is a picture, not a photograph; and it stands out the more conspicuous through the passage of photographic realism which follows it. If lines such as these were frequent in Mr. Henley's writings, he would take high rank among our poets; but as things are, the most that we can do is to admire his talent and technical skill, and wish that he could find worthier objects on which to employ them.

In Mr. William Watson we have a poet of a quite different type, as unlike Mr. Henley as he is unlike Mr. Meredith. It is true that he shares with the former a gift for coining effective and notable phrases, but the objects to which the gift is applied are different. Mr. Henley's phrases usually relate to physical facts, Mr. Watson's to intellectual or moral facts. No one can charge Mr. Watson with being ignoble or commonplace in his choice of subjects. While striving always to polish his art and to perfect his technical skill, he has never sacrificed his matter to his manner. Whether it be literary criticism, as in 'Wordsworth's Grave' and 'Lachrymæ Musarum,' or political exhortation, as in 'The Purple East,' or ethical and philosophical doctrine, as in the principal poems of his new volume, he has always had something definite to say, some particular thought or lesson which he wished to express. He has a high ideal of the poet's calling, and has honestly tried to live up to it. All his

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volumes have been marked by an elevation of tone, a distinction of style, which claim kindred with the great masters; and if he has not yet fully made good his claim to a place among them, the main cause would appear to be a certain lack of strength and originality. His genius is of the true ore, but the vein is thin.

Possibly this impression is partly due to the slenderness of the volumes in which Mr. Watson's verse has hitherto been published, which, since they do not appear at indecently short intervals, seem to suggest a poverty of production, or an excessive labour of the file in revision. There may be excellent material reasons for the publication of a small volume every year or two, and it cannot be denied that each successive volume has contained verse of a notable quality; but we believe that Mr. Watson's reputation would stand higher if the contents of three or four of these booklets had been concentrated in a single volume, where the reader might be impressed by the quantity as well as the quality of the good work contained in it. This suggestion, however, involves considerations of a material kind into which we have neither the wish, nor the power, nor the right, to enter; and we prefer to confine ourselves to the task of considering the characteristics of his latest work, in the form in which he has chosen actually to offer it to the world.

The main interest of it is philosophical or religious. The two principal poems in it ('The Hope of the World' and 'The Unknown God') contain a fuller exposition of Mr. Watson's creed than anything that he has previously published. It is not a comforting nor an inspiring creed. He has faith neither in the love of God nor in the perfectibility of man. The gods whom the nations have worshipped, the God whom Jews and Christians worship, no less than those of the heathen, are but the imaginings of man:

> 'A God whose ghost, in arch and aisle,
> Yet haunts his temple—and his tomb;
> But follows in a little while
> Odin and Zeus to equal doom;
> A God of kindred seed and line;
> Man's giant shadow, hailed divine.
> O streaming worlds, O crowded sky,
> O Life, and mine own soul's abyss,
> Myself am scarce so small that I
> Should bow to Deity like this!
> This my Begetter? This was what
> Man in his violent youth begot.'[1]

[1] *The Hope of the World*, pp. 18, 19.

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The God whom, in these latter days, Mr. Watson prefers to substitute for the God of the Gospel, is a pantheistic deity, indifferent to the course of human life, visiting the actions of men neither with praise nor with punishment, leaving all to the working of a blind law of evolution. Nor is the position of man more cheerful. It is merely by the operation of chance, 'some random throw of heedless Nature's die,'[1] that man has risen above the brutes, 'child of a thousand chances 'neath the indifferent sky.'[2] Nor is there any warrant for the flattering belief that the process which has raised him thus far will continue to carry him further, or give him happier life in other worlds. The hope of immortality shares the same fate as the love of God and the higher nature of man. The poet prides himself on this rejection of the promises of religion:

'Here, o'er the dark Deep blown,
I ask no perfumed gale;
I ask the unpampering breath
That fits me to endure
Chance, and victorious Death,
Life, and my doom obscure,
Who know not whence I am sped, nor to what port I sail.'[3]

It is a cheerless creed, and withal one which will not stand criticism; but we are not at this moment considering it from the standpoint of religion or philosophy, but from that of poetry. It cannot be denied that it possesses a certain picturesqueness, nor that it is vigorously, even strikingly, expressed; but it is afflicted by the curse which rests upon all pessimism. Each man who elects to address his fellow-men on subjects such as these must utter the thought that is in him with all sincerity; but if the thought is one of pessimism, it is doomed to sterility. It is the prophet of optimism who helps mankind, not the prophet of pessimism. Plato's philosopher, crouched under the wall out of the fury of the storm, is less helpful than Browning's fighter who is ready to face 'the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave;' and similarly, among our living writers, it is the courageous optimism of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, not the stoical agnosticism of Mr. Watson, that will be helpful to our generation. Mr. Watson is not to be blamed for preaching that which he believes to be the truth; but we may legitimately regret that his unquestionable poetic powers and high dignity of tone should be devoted to a creed in which they are condemned to failure, poetic no less than philosophic.

The other poems in Mr. Watson's last volume, with the

[1] *The Hope of the World*, p. 7. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 16.

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exception of the 'Ode in May,'[1] which has a colour and animation not often found in his writings, are of a trivial character, and do not call for special notice. We prefer to pass on to a group of still younger poets, whose names have only been before the public for the last few years. In the year 1890 a remarkable little volume of verse, entitled *Primavera*, was published at Oxford in unpretending brown paper covers, containing sixteen poems by four young writers, Mr. Stephen Phillips, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Mr. Arthur Cripps, and Mr. Manmohan Ghose. It was a volume of really notable poetic promise, and it is satisfactory to know that the promise is in a fair way to be realized. Of Mr. Cripps and Mr. Ghose, indeed, little or nothing has since been heard in the world of letters;[2] but Mr. Phillips and Mr. Binyon are among the most prominent of the youngest generation of our poets. Mr. Phillips's first publication (apart from his contributions to *Primavera*) was a long composition in blank verse, entitled *Eremus*—an ambitious but rather formless and incoherent vision of infinite space, in which vagueness and indefiniteness took the place of sublimity, and mere vastness and chaos were offered to the reader instead of grandeur. His real appearance as a poet was made with his *Christ in Hades* in 1896, and this has been reprinted with several other poems in the volume now under review. This volume has been received with marked enthusiasm by many critics; and indeed it has many excellent qualities. Mr. Phillips's characteristics are gravity, earnestness, dignity, elevation of tone, with a touch of imagination in his best work which lifts him above most of his contemporaries, the younger poets of to-day. Technically, his verse is somewhat of the school of Mr. Robert Bridges, in which the desire to avoid monotony, especially in blank verse, leads to rather forced and abrupt breaks in the rhythm, giving a slow movement to the poem and a certain sense of conscious effort in artistic construction. But at its best the blank verse of Mr. Phillips is a dignified medium for the conveyance of high and often pathetic thoughts. Take for example the following lines from *Christ in Hades*. The Saviour, passing through the underworld, with the spirits following in his train, is addressed by an 'Athenian ghost':

> 'Just as a widower, that dreaming holds
> His dead wife in his arms, not wondering,

[1] *The Hope of the World*, pp. 23–27.

[2] Mr. Ghose has quite recently published a little collection of love-songs and elegies in a series edited by Mr. Binyon; but, though interesting, particularly for the command of English rhythm shown by one who is not of English birth, it is not otherwise specially remarkable.

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So natural it appears; then starting up
With trivial words, or even with a jest,
Realises all the uncoloured dawn,
And near his head the young bird in the leaves
Stirring; not less, not otherwise do we
Want in this colourless country the warm earth.
Yet how shall we in thy tormented face
Believe? Thou comest from the glistening sun
As out of some great battle, nor hast thou
The beautiful ease of the untroubled gods.
Most strong are they, for they are joyous cold.
Thou art not happy! We can trust thee not.
How wilt thou lead with feet already pierced?
And if we ask thy hand, see, it is torn!'[1]

Of the other and newer poems composing this volume the most important is 'Marpessa,' an idyll founded on the Greek story which told how the maiden Marpessa was wooed by the god Apollo and the mortal Idas, and how when Zeus gave her a free choice between the two, she chose the mortal, who would grow old along with her, rather than the god who would retain perpetual youth and love her only while her bloom lasted. It is a curious coincidence that one of the recently discovered poems of Bacchylides deals with the same legend. Unfortunately only a few lines of it are preserved; but it is safe to assert that the coincidence did not extend further than the subject. Mr. Phillips's treatment is very far from the Greek simplicity and directness and absence of adornment. Rather is it a study in ornamentation, in which the story is overlaid with elaboration of phrase and imagery, at the expense of dramatic propriety. As a piece of word-painting, it contains much that is fine and even beautiful; but as a dramatic presentation of a situation possessing great dramatic possibilities it cannot be called a success. There is far more of truth to nature in the two realistic sketches of modern London life in some of its most degraded aspects, entitled 'The Woman with the Dead Soul' and 'The Wife;' but these, and especially the last, are so painful in subject that it is a question whether they are fit subjects for art. In any case they represent only one side of Mr. Phillips's poetic power. The qualities which mark his best work are a sense of beauty and a sense of pathos. 'Marpessa' displays the first of these characteristics, while the two poems just named display the second; but, just because these poems severally deal with only one aspect of his genius, they are less successful than *Christ in Hades*, in which both qualities are combined. Mr. Phillips's next volume will

[1] Phillips, *Poems*, p. 91.

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be awaited with great interest; but we hope that he will not allow himself to be forced prematurely into print. He has shown that he possesses a true poetic gift, whereby he is able to touch and transfigure with poetic light the beauty and the pathos to which his nature is sensitive. What remains to be shown is the depth and range of this gift. We should not imagine, from the character of his work, that he produces rapidly or polishes with ease; and we hope that he will take time to put forth his full artistic strength in his next volume. He has done good work, but we want better; and we look for it, not with absolute confidence, but at least with hope.

Mr. Laurence Binyon, Mr. Phillips's collaborator in past Oxford days, has since published several small volumes of verse, but has proceeded on a different principle from his comrade; for while Mr. Phillips began with a long poem and has since fallen back, to his great advantage, upon shorter ones, Mr. Binyon began with short compositions and has only now ventured upon a piece of considerable size. There is no doubt that this is the wiser plan. An artist must learn the use of his materials in sketches and studies before he can produce a composition which will possess serious and substantial value; and this is equally true whether the material he works in be paint, or words, or marble. At the same time he must not rest content with sketches and studies all his life, as not a few minor painters and writers do; and therefore we are glad that Mr. Binyon has taken his courage in his hands and has essayed the production of a poem which, though not of epic dimensions, is yet of considerable size. His earlier volumes, or booklets (for they hardly amount to more), have consisted chiefly of studies of observation, somewhat in the manner of Mr. Henley, and studies in metrical effect, somewhat in the manner of Mr. Bridges. They showed him to possess taste, sensitiveness, an artistic conscience, and a desire to study his art seriously and scientifically. What they did not and could not show is whether he possessed the strength and imagination to produce a great poem on a larger scale. In *Porphyrion*, a poem of some 1,800 lines, he has put this power to the test; and if the result is not a complete and immediate success, it is at least, to our mind, a fine and promising achievement. A long poem cannot have the complete perfection of a small one; and it is a greater triumph to attain fair success in such a work than to produce the most flawless song or sonnet. The strength of *Porphyrion* lies in its descriptions, rather than in its narratives of action. Its subject is taken from a story of Rufinus, and tells how a

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young hermit's solitary life was broken up by an apparition of ideal loveliness, in pursuit of which he is led out into the world and finally to his death. The following lines describe the first night of his travels:

> 'Parleying with the ghost of fear, yet still
> Cherishing his thought's treasure, he resigned
> His senses to the huge and empty night,
> When on the infinite horizon, lo!
> Sending a herald clearness, upward stole
> Tranquil and vast, over the world, the moon.
>
> Delicately as when a sculptor charms
> The ignorant clay to liberate his dream,
> Out of the yielding dark with subtle ray
> And imperceptible touch she moulded hill
> And valley, beauteous undulation mild,
> Inlaid with silver estuary and stream,
> Until her solid world created shines
> Before her, and the hearts of men with peace,
> That is not theirs, disquiets: peopled now
> Is her dominion; she in far-off towns
> Has lighted clear a long-awaited lamp
> For many a lover, or set an end to toil,
> Or terribly invokes the brazen lip
> Of trumpets blown to Fate, where men besieged
> For desperate sally buckle their bright arms.
> All these, that the cheered wanderer on his height
> In fancy sees, the lover's secret kiss,
> The mirth-flushed faces thronging through the streets,
> And ships upon the glimmering wave, and flowers
> In sleeping gardens, and encounters fierce,
> And revellers with lifted cups, and men
> In prison bowed, that move not for their chains,
> And sacred faces of the newly dead;
> All with a mystery of gentle light
> She visits, and in her deep charm includes.'[1]

Passages of description such as this, which may fairly and without exaggeration be described as beautiful, are not unfrequent in the poem; and they are its most notable feature. In some of his earlier work Mr. Binyon has marred the general effect of his pictures by an over-close attention to details; but that charge cannot be laid against him here. Where the poem, judged by the highest standard, fails, is in inventive and dramatic power. The struggle in the young man's mind does not impress us as forcibly as it should; the incidents narrated are hardly interesting or convincing. In

[1] *Porphyrion*, p. 24.

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particular, the events leading to Porphyrion's death do not seem to us clearly imagined or described. We are not greatly concerned about the hero's fate. The frame of the picture is more attractive than the picture itself. All this is to say, in other words, that Mr. Binyon is still the artist rather than the creative genius; and that, after all, in a young man is not surprising. Experience of life and thought may in time bring him the material for greater poems; meanwhile he is progressing in command of his tools, and has shown that he has the courage to go forward to greater things. He certainly has poetic sensitiveness; what we wish to see is a fuller poetic force and inspiration. At present the artist somewhat overpowers the poet.

Mr. Phillips and Mr. Binyon have both given evidence of progress in their latest work. We regret that we cannot say the same of Mr. Lionel Johnson, whose first volume contained much that was striking and interesting, but whose second shows no advance upon it. Many, indeed, of the poems contained in it are shown by the dates attached to them to have been written previous to the publication of the earlier volume, which raises a presumption that they were not included in it because they were not thought good enough; while the more recent compositions do not seem to show any advance in poetic power. The most noticeable feature in them is an increased devotional tone; but this is not in itself a literary quality, nor can it conceal a deficiency of inspiration. Mr. Johnson is a painstaking and an ambitious writer, whether in prose or verse; but his poetry is of a literary rather than a natural type. He has a perception of what is picturesque and effective, but he never seems to be spontaneous. In a first volume this might be pardoned, being set down to the self-consciousness of an artist who is learning the use of his materials; but in a second we should look for progress, and in this instance we look in vain. We can only hope (though not very confidently) that the check is merely a temporary one, and that Mr. Johnson will presently show that he possesses poetic originality in addition to literary knowledge and craftsmanship.

We have reserved for the last the pleasantest volume in the whole list. It is not, indeed, a new one, the work of a poet whose future is opening before him, whose possibilities are still unknown. Rather it is the final gift of an actor as he withdraws from the stage. Mr. Austin Dobson has been well known and well liked by all lovers of dainty verses for many years back; now he gathers his work, with some revision

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and excision, into a single volume, with the intimation, which we hope we need not take too literally, that nothing more of value is to be expected of him. It is late in the day to be praising Mr. Dobson; but we can at least recommend all those who have not already made acquaintance with him to allow themselves the treat of his collected works. Mr. Dobson may not be one of the *Di majores*; but he is one of that equally select class of writers who establish relations of friendship, and even of affection, between themselves and their readers. In the possession of this rare and enviable gift he may be reckoned with Charles Lamb and Oliver Wendell Holmes and Robert Louis Stevenson; and like these he is always sure of an audience. He makes no great claims, nay, he speaks with the utmost modesty of his 'little pieces,' and puts upon his title-page the motto, *Majores majora sonent.* But he has fairly earned the distinction due to those who, not aiming high, have achieved perfection in their own sphere. The gem-cutter can never rank with the sculptor; yet a perfect gem is a thing of delightful beauty. So it is with Mr. Dobson. He has confined himself to *vers de société*, 'vignettes in rhyme' or 'proverbs in porcelain,' ballads and rondels, with an especial delight in the polished elegancies of the eighteenth century, whether in England or in France; and what he has done he has done inimitably. There is plenty of humour in his portraiture, but no malice; and the good temper of the writer cannot but infect the reader. What can be more charming than his Gentleman of the Old School, a portrait worthy to be placed beside Praed's Vicar?—

'He lived in that past Georgian day,
When men were less inclined to say
That "Time is Gold," and overlay
With toil their pleasure;
He held some land, and dwelt thereon,—
Where, I forget,—the house is gone;
His Christian name, I think, was John,—
His surname, Leisure.

. . . . .

He liked the well-wheel's creaking tongue,—
He liked the thrush that stopped and sung,—
He liked the drone of flies among
His netted peaches;
He liked to watch the sunlight fall
Athwart his ivied orchard wall;
Or pause to catch the cuckoo's call
Beyond the beeches.

. . . . .

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Once he had loved, but failed to wed,
A red-cheeked lass who long was dead;
His ways were far too slow, he said,
To quite forget her;
And still when time had turned him gray,
The earliest hawthorn buds in May
Would find his lingering feet astray,
Where first he met her.'[1]

We could go on quoting Mr. Dobson for ever, so full are his pages of pleasant thoughts, of felicitous phrases, of delicate fancies, of true pathos and poetry, though touched with so light a hand. He has saturated himself so thoroughly with the manners and phraseology of the eighteenth century that he can call up its atmosphere at will with a certainty of success, and the reader is constantly delighted by some happy phrase or humorous picture. But the limits of our space are reached, and we can but end with the recommendation to those who have not read Mr. Dobson that they should read him, and to those who have read him that they should read him again.

Finishing with Mr. Dobson, we are bound to finish in a good temper and at charity with all men. It is the fashion to write with a fine contempt of the minor poet, unless he is your own discovery; but for ourselves we are grateful to nearly all of them—or, if that is too large a phrase, to nearly all of those whom we have read. Many of them, in the natural course of things, cannot expect a very extended immortality of fame, which is granted only to those who contribute some new note to the choir of our poets. But they may be pleasant in their own generation, when they repeat the accents which suit our present taste, and embody the thoughts and emotions and desires of to-day. That is the function of those who are gifted with poetic sensibility but not with originality; and meanwhile they hand on the torch until the new poet shall arise with new splendour to outshine them,

ὡς ἄστρων διακρίνει φάη
νυκτὸς διχομήνιδος εὐφεγγὴς σελάνα.

[1] Dobson, *Collected Poems*, pp. 9-13.

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In Memoriam.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

WHEN it was suggested to the writer of this *In Memoriam* to the late Mr. Gladstone that he should undertake the task, there was in his mind one scruple against compliance.

He must begin by confessing that in his view (he speaks only for himself) Mr. Gladstone, with all his genius and eloquence, was far from being a consummate statesman, or even politician.[1] He failed to realize the vastness of the empire. He sometimes shrank back from the spectre of war; sometimes overlooked the possibility that his powerful words might be translated into battles, not less dangerous because they were crusades. There was strangely little that was prophetic in his forecast of the consequences of great historical events like the American Civil War. Above all, political crimes of a resonant and startling character were looked upon by him, towards the close of his career, with a 'sombre acquiescence.' He was inclined to consider them as the fierce summer heat that 'ripened' questions which had lingered too long in perplexing immaturity. His sudden adoption of the Irish Nationalist Movement has been to him and to his party very much what Mr. Fox's extreme patronage of the French Revolution was to himself and to his followers—a fissiparous principle, possibly involving a prolonged exclusion from power. The most questionable of his great measures to many minds must, we think, in justice be allowed to have had practically many mitigating circumstances. Existing rights were fairly, and even delicately, recognized. Mr. Gladstone had a passion for details as well as principles. Both financially, and in the provision of a suitable framework for the temporal organization of the old Church, his action was at once far-seeing and benevolent.

Such a confession of the writer's political view as this may seem an unfitting prelude to the present paper. Yet he may set against it two things. He is saved from any temptation to convert the faults of the statesman into personal sins by having undergone the spell of that magical fascination. What is more important, he fully believes that political shortcomings may serve even to accentuate that element of spiritual truth, beauty, and power in Mr. Gladstone's nature, which has for a time hushed every voice in reverence for a saintly character. The politician is of all men the most fallible in his judgment of the real attributes, even morally, of measures which are necessary for the cause in which he believes. Yet it is largely admitted that Mr. Gladstone's aims were lofty and his motives pure.

[1] In the immortal passage where Macaulay describes the characteristics of the statesmen who share with Mr. Gladstone the portion of the Abbey where he rests, either by actual sepulture or by busts placed there, how much is there which would sound like satire applied to him who has just been laid among them! For instance: 'Chatham's effigy, made by a cunning hand, seems still with eagle face and outstretched arms to *bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her enemies.*'

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Public men in England have been compared to bees which work under glass hives. Mr. Gladstone began public life early, and was peculiarly exposed to public observation from his very boyhood. Those who can still bear personal witness to the immaculate dawning of his day are, of course, very few. Several years before his death Mr. Gladstone might have quoted the touching lines of Charles Wesley which John Wesley read from the pulpit at his brother's funeral:

'My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with Thee.'

But there is abundant attestation to the fact that the Eton boy was a religious boy, and the Christ Church student a religious youth; chaste, sober, constant in prayer, a devout observer of Sunday, a reader of the Bible, and lover of the Prayer-book. He was still, for a statesman, almost young, when he flung out to European public opinion his terrible indictment of Neapolitan tyranny. The world seems then for the first time to have found that 'something vital in his style' which Milton speaks of as the sure earnest of imperishable fame. 'That negation of God,' he cries, 'erected into a system of Government! It is time that either the veil should be lifted from scenes fitter for hell than earth, or some considerable mitigation should be voluntarily adopted. I have undertaken this wearisome and painful task in the hope of doing something to diminish a mass of suffering as huge, I believe, and as acute, as any that the eye of Heaven beholds.'[1] These sentences were but the preludes of others from the same pen or lips that have rung down the corridors of Time; for Mr. Gladstone was one of the spirits anointed by Freedom and Truth to communicate to the masses of humanity the momentum, the tumult, the energy of his convictions. 'Words, words, words,'[2] has often been the weary answer to the question, 'What do you read?' (or 'hear?'). But some writers and speakers are able to breathe a spirit of life into their words, to impregnate them with seminal principles of creative growth, or load them with explosives of destruction. Not less than 'the song:'

'The speech which stirs a nation's heart
Is in itself a deed.'

From an early period of his Oxford life Mr. Gladstone was under the influence of the Church Movement. It laid hold of his heart, imagination, and intellect. It was not, as in many instances, the whim of a year or two, laid aside when it pressed inconveniently upon conduct or worldly interest. It was the conviction of an existence. The iron of Puritanism was in his blood from the beginning. The new element introduced into it did not expel or disintegrate the old. It was an influence which softened and clarified, but did not weaken. What he gained of the new spiritual power incorporated itself with previous thoughts and prayers, almost imperceptibly. He

[1] First Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government, 1851, *Gleanings of Past Years*, vol. iv.

[2] *Hamlet*, act ii. sc. 2.

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gained in width without losing in intensity. All that was contradictory to his primary convictions fell away as if spontaneously. He could admire the strong organization of Rome; but the terrible drill of the Italian ecclesiastical barrack-yard offended his love of liberty. Modern innovations and the arguments by which they were maintained were alike distasteful to his love of truth. In the services of his own Church he prized grave and serious beauty; tawdry travesties of alien rites were not much to his liking. There are four imperfect forms, broken segments of the spiritual life, departments too often mistaken for the whole region—emotionalism, doctrinalism, humanitarianism, observationalism. These are systems which practically make the Christian life a series of mystical feelings, or of concatenated formulæ, or of philanthropic labours, or of detached and ever-renewed observances. None of these singly, nor even all combined, absorbed Mr. Gladstone's entire being. The pursuit of a renewed character was ever being followed out with a sensitive restlessness. Above and below all else was a simple love of God, faith in Christ's work, reverence for the Church as His body. What he was to those near him is well illustrated by a touching little anecdote which we happened to read in a local paper. An old dependent in a very humble position, full of anxiety about her son's unsatisfactory moral and spiritual condition, spoke to Mr. Gladstone of that which weighed upon her heart. The august old man reasoned with the misguided boy, then kindly laid his hand upon the lad's arm, and said, 'Now let us have a word of prayer.' The young man rose from a penitential baptism of tears, given back again to God and duty.

Mr. Gladstone's remains were laid in the grave with a funeral such as England has scarcely seen before. The stately melancholy of military music, the measured tread of regiments in mourning, must have given a peculiar grandeur to the obsequies of Wellington. The torchlight burial of Addison in the Abbey inspired a second-rate poet with lines whose pathetic cadences and simple majesty were unsurpassed until Tennyson's 'Ode upon the Funeral of the Duke.'[1] But influences from a higher sphere lifted Mr. Gladstone's funeral into another world. His remains were watched over in Westminster Hall with love stronger than death and prayers that never ceased. They were visited by tens of thousands of English men and English women, in the unbroken hush, with the tremulous reverence which is the true magnificence of public sorrow. Inside the Abbey when the watch was over, and the function began, the service was simple,

[1] Tickell upon Addison's funeral by torchlight in Westminster Abbey, one of the few instances of picturesque Anglican ceremonials in the last century:

'Grief unaffected suits but ill with art,
Or flowing numbers with a bleeding heart. . . .
Ne'er to these chambers, where the mighty rest,
Since their foundation, came a nobler guest.
Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss conveyed
A fairer spirit or more welcome shade.'

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severe, sublime. No mere pageantry marred the simplicity; no varied vestments or clouds of incense tempered the severity; no vast wreaths of flowers ostentatiously vulgarized the sublimity. It had been Mr. Gladstone's intense conviction that death was the penalty of sin. He thought it almost an evasion to hide the confession of that penalty under a lavish expenditure which can only give the scents of an hour and the colours of a day. The highest representatives of Church and State filled the Abbey. Beside the coffin stood Royal personages, relatives, political friends and opponents, wrapped in a common grief; only the music was of surpassing beauty, as sweet as ever died into a wail of sorrow, or rose into a storm of triumphal hope. The Hymn-book gave of its most precious treasures—the lines of Toplady, to whose sweetness and awe Mr. Gladstone had himself added the mystic richness and indefinable solemnity of Latin rhyme; the loftiest and most thoughtful of Newman's verses.

It was everywhere felt and recognized that the secret of the influence of the funeral was the death of the man; the secret of the death a life hid with Christ in God. The incidents of the death-bed which were recorded were, as was fitting, not very numerous, but they were touched with the pathetic brightness of a Christian's setting sun. His face seemed gradually to become more Christlike in its own human and limited measure as the shadow of the crown of thorns grew darker over the white lips. The telegraph and the newspaper made him appear to die, after the beautiful mistranslation in our Bible (if the critic will have it so), 'in the presence of all his brethren'—[1]

'Homelike and herolike the death he died.'

But the home continued, as it ever had been, in the precincts of heaven; the heroism was that which the great Oxford orator had long loved to trace in the language of the great Oxford Christian philosopher: 'to creatures like ourselves resignation is almost the whole of virtue and piety.'

One thing only we will add to what has been said of the incidents of the funeral. The sublimity of the silence grew almost painful within the Abbey as the tragic form of a lady in black, supported by filial love, moved up the choir, while all stood reverently as if for the passage of a queen. Who shall blame or wonder if pride found its way to her soul as she thought of the heritage of splendid memories which the man she loved with a love stronger than death was leaving to their children?

In a sentence which a consummate critic[2] has pronounced to

[1] Genesis, xxv. 18. See Kalisch, *Genesis*, p. 485.

[2] An address delivered in Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, in presence of the Mayor and Corporation, on Saturday, May 28, 1898, at the hour of Mr. Gladstone's interment in Westminster Abbey, by Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity—an address which the writer believes to be one of the grandest ever delivered from any pulpit. Robert Hall is the author of the sentence quoted in the text.

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be among the finest in our language a famous preacher (not of our communion) said of a devoted English clergyman's work in a great parish that 'he enlarged its intercourse with heaven.' Happy the statesman of whose influence upon a nation the same words might be used! Churchmen and Nonconformists alike have found so much to reverence in Mr. Gladstone. Churchmen have thought of the deep sacramental life, moulded upon the Bible, the Prayer Book, and the *Christian Year*; of service thoughtfully and bravely rendered to the Church by bold opposition to all measures which would affect her freedom, by a long series of appointments which have strengthened and ennobled her episcopate. Nonconformists have admired the passion for liberty; the eloquence of the great Tribune;[1] the courteous readiness to interpret religious differences in a spirit of love; the personal communion with Christ. Surely it is just that they especially should lay to heart the attestation given by such a life to the fountain which quenched its thirst after God and holiness.[2]

SHORT NOTICES.

The Coronation of the Queen, being No. XLII. of the Publications of the Church Historical Society, issued under the authority of the Tract Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Edited by J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

DR. LEGG does not give us the full text of the Coronation Service used for the coronation of Queen Victoria. It is a very lengthy service, and would have occupied too many pages. That service, together with the older Latin service of the English Church, taken from a Sarum Pontifical, has been printed out in full by Mr. Maskell in the second volume of his *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. But within the limits of forty-eight small pages we have here some most useful and learned notes on various points of interest and importance in the language and ritual employed at the coronation of our English sovereigns; the most recent edition of that service, as used at the coronation of Queen Victoria, being adopted as a basis, and being the special object of explanation and defence.

We cannot touch upon all the points of interest raised by the author of this pamphlet, but will refer to a few of the more important of them.

[1] 'Liberty taught him her Athenian strain—
His speech, his form, his action, full of grace,
And all his country breathing from his face.'
Cowper's *Table Talk*.

[2] We hope that we may add, without impropriety, that Mr. Gladstone was a valued contributor to the pages of this *Review*. Of his contributions the two most splendid and remarkable are, we think, on the 'Life of the Prince Consort' (1877, iii. 465, and 1878, v. 469). They contain some brilliant and most interesting *aperçus* on the relations between the Prime Minister and the Sovereign which well deserve to be recalled to memory.

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No charge is more commonly brought against the Church of England, as she exists to-day, from both Ultramontane and Nonconformist batteries, than the charge of a thoroughgoing and irremediable Erastianism. A very effective reply, at least to the charge as it comes from the Roman Catholic side, is provided in these pages. We refer especially to p. 6 and to Appendix A, where passages are accumulated which prove that in pre-Reformation days both in England and at Rome the king or the emperor was held to possess a sacred or quasi-sacred character, and was held to govern the Church in virtue thereof. No doubt the limits to the domain of this imperial or regal power were always expressed or understood as plainly as they were expressed or understood by King Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth, but the fact that such a power of government was assigned to monarchs in Roman as well as Anglican formularies in early times is generally unknown to, and if known ignored by, Roman controversialists. Therefore the author of this pamphlet has done well to collect and print in full the passages which substantiate this statement. In a note on p. 6 Dr. Legg quotes the dictum of an English judge as early as 1359 to this effect:

'Reges sancto oleo uncti sunt spiritualiter jurisdictionis capaces.'

We wish that Dr. Legg had for once gone out of the way so far as to quote and explain by the aid of this dictum the oath of homage as taken now by bishops of the Church of England to the monarch of this country. It is being constantly quoted in the ordinary newspapers and thrown in the Church's teeth, with special reference to the following passage:

'I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty. And for the same temporalities I do my homage presently to your Majesty.'

These spiritualities have, of course, nothing to do with purely spiritual acts, such as the administration of the Sacraments. They are the 'spiritualia beneficii,' *i.e.* the ecclesiastical revenue arising from other sources than land, such as the fees on marriage licences, &c. This is clearly explained by Bishop Stubbs in his *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii. (Library edition), p. 316; but Bishop Stubbs' work is large, learned, and expensive, read and mastered only by professed historical students. We could wish that his explanation had been popularized by being transferred to such an accessible and popular manual as the one now under consideration.

Then follows proof that this semi-sacred character of royalty was always believed to spring from and to depend upon the almost sacramental nature of the Coronation Service, and more especially upon the rite of unction. The points of similarity and affinity between the service for the coronation of kings and that for the consecration of bishops are drawn out in detail, and the fact is noticed that the two most unfortunate reigns in English history, those of John and James II., were the reigns of the only English kings who have refused to receive the Holy Eucharist at the time of their coronation.

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Dr. Legg mentions the curious fact that the newly crowned Roman Emperor was received by the canons of St. Peter, and vested as one of themselves (p. 34). This offers a parallel to the equally curious fact which Dr. Legg would have done well to mention, but he does not, that Queen Victoria is a prebendary of St. David's Cathedral.

We heartily welcome and endorse as most timely and useful Dr. Legg's defence and explanation of the changes introduced into the English Coronation Service in the time of William and Mary, and retained ever since. They consist of a new piece of ritual and a new form of promise exacted by the Archbishop. The new piece of ritual is the delivery of a Holy Bible with an appropriate formula. This, as Dr. Legg points out, is part of the ceremonial of the consecration of a bishop, and its counterpart in mediæval consecration services was the giving of the Gospels to the newly consecrated bishop.

The new promise is the promise to maintain 'the Protestant Reformed religion established by law.' Some change was necessitated by the extraordinary ambiguity of the older oath, or perhaps, as Mr. Maskell more strongly puts it, by the fact that part of the old oath was 'incapable of any reasonable explanation' (*ut supra*, p. 113), partly by the Jesuitry of James II. If any one is inclined to resent the terms 'Protestant' and 'Reformed,' we refer them to Dr. Legg's outspoken vindication of both terms in this pamphlet, a vindication which commands our complete assent.

A Study of the Saviour in the Newer Light; or, a Present-Day Study of Jesus Christ. By ALEXANDER ROBINSON, B.D., formerly Minister of the Parish of Kilmun, Argyllshire. Second edition, revised form. (London, Edinburgh, and Oxford: Williams and Norgate, 1898.)

THE earlier edition of this work, 'published in a slightly different form in October 1895,' attracted much attention because of the controversy to which it gave rise. The author was at that time an 'accredited preacher' of the Scotch Established Presbyterian body; his book 'was condemned by the General Assembly of 1896, and ordered to be withdrawn'; in default of a repudiation of the teaching contained in it, he was 'cut' 'off from the recognised ministry' by the 'General Assembly of 1897' (Preface, p. v).

Mr. Robinson admits that there were 'faults of taste' in his book as originally published. These were due, he thinks, to 'strong feeling, which had not yet been chastened by experience of publication,' and among them he has become especially conscious of 'a bitterness in controverting the long popular ascendency of the Fourth Gospel over the other three gospels, and in defending as against that gospel the far more sympathetic representation of the Saviour's character which prevails in the other three gospels' (Preface, p. vii). But while he has carefully revised his book and has made 'corrections and improvements' (*ibid.* p. x.) in it, his main position remains altogether unaltered. The present work may therefore be

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taken as carefully worded so as to show clearly the author's real meaning, and as a deliberate statement of the opinions which he holds.

There are two aims affirmed with which, we confess, we are in deep sympathy. The first is to protect and emphasize the truth of the real humanity of our Lord. The second is to promote and receive the conclusions of the 'reverent but critical study of the Bible' (Preface, pp. vi, xvii). We have attempted, in reading the book, to see how far these aims, in any true sense of the words in which they are described, have been carried out.

We have no wish to charge Mr. Robinson with intentional irreverence. We believe that he has written in a tone which, because of the opinions which he has come to hold, is natural to him. But, while thus acquitting him of any desire to wound the feelings of those Christians to whose beliefs he is opposed, we are bound to mention that not only one or two phrases, but a consistently adopted method of speaking about our Lord, has given us great pain. It would not be seemly for us to illustrate this feature of the book largely in these pages; it is right that we should quote one brief passage, representative of Mr. Robinson's ordinary way of writing, to show what we mean.

'Jesus was by nature, we may say, no missionary. His habit of mind was too introspective and contemplative for him to apply himself to the organisation required for a missionary enterprise. And we can see that this little journey to the other side of the lake was a mere loosely conceived venture, of short duration' (p. 163).

If words are to be used in a proper sense, we cannot call it reverent to describe any of the actions of the Eternal Son of God, made Man for the salvation of men, as 'a mere loosely conceived venture.'

If words are to be used in their true sense, again, the book is uncritical. Real criticism takes account of facts. Real criticism pays regard to evidence. Mr. Robinson's methods do neither. His treatment of documents is altogether arbitrary. He tests historical statements by the standard and temper of his own mind.

We have written strongly on this point. It may rightly be demanded of us that we prove what we say. We are prepared to do so. Let us take some instances, again representative of the method adopted throughout the work, of the treatment of our Lord's life. The Gospel accounts of His birth and infancy are ignored in the place where they would rightly be mentioned (p. 30), at a later point are said to have been 'provided' by 'the popular imagination' (p. 369), and are finally put aside, without discussion, because of the supposed necessity of maintaining the 'essence of the Christian idea' by believing that 'Jesus' 'was born a man in a way' which marked His sanctification of 'ordinary, honourable wedlock' (p. 373). The incident of the woman of Samaria is described as 'not idealistic invention entirely, but reminiscence worked up into idealistic story' (p. 72). The account of the marriage feast at Cana of Galilee is regarded as a poetical way of conveying the teaching that the presence

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of the bridegroom made fasting inappropriate for the children of the bride-chamber; it is said to possess 'rich profusion of symbol' and to be 'richly imaginative' (pp. 120–4). When our Lord and His disciples crossed the lake, according to Mr. Robinson, there was no storm stilled, unless indeed it was the storm of noisy argument which sprang up because of the 'wild projects' of the apostles (pp. 162–3). Nor were there any who were raised from the dead; the parents of the daughter of Jairus were assured of her future 'resurrection in the eternal rule of the heavenly Father' (pp. 165–6); the sisters of Lazarus were made to 'believe simply and unquestionably in a new life beyond, which awaited their dear brother' (pp. 297–305); the story of the raising of the widow's son at Nain was due to a supposition that 'an actual miracle had brought about' the impression made on the minds of the people by the teaching of our Lord about the resurrection (pp. 376–7). And the resurrection of Christ Himself, in the sense that His body rose from the tomb, is no more to be accepted than the restoration to ordinary human life of the three persons whom He is said to have raised.

'He went into the Beyond, and went, as He[1] had prophetically known and said, to live again. That His spirit was not held bound by the tomb into which He was soon to be reverently placed, but only disappeared to rise again, has been the faith with which His disciples in all ages have connected their dearest hopes. And it is a faith by which any one in full sympathy with this little book will take the firmest stand. It is a faith to be rightly grounded on the perception of many spiritual realities. Details, however, regarding the resurrection of Jesus are beyond the purpose of this book. He went, like all other human spirits that have for this present world died, into regions yet hidden from us which He, in His prophetic insight, had looked forward to as other "mansions" of His Father. That in these mansions His spirit rose again into active personal life is the fact on which we must lay hold. How that happened is a consideration going past the limits of this work. All that need be said here is that, while the resurrection of Jesus, like the general renewal of life of which it has come to be looked on as a type, must have happened in ways far beyond our present understanding, and while accordingly all representations of it are but pictorial and are inadequate, yet the fact of a resurrection for Jesus and for all whom He loved stands fast, and is the better grounded when it is dissociated from superstitions, which obscure and confuse everything they touch' (pp. 341–2).

There is not one shred of evidence for this way of treating our Lord's life. The history of His life is contained in the Gospels. If anyone chooses to disregard the weighty cumulative proofs of the early date and authenticity of the Gospels, he is of course at liberty to do so. No one is at liberty to take them as authorities, and then accord to them a treatment and an interpretation to which the writers of them would certainly have been utterly opposed, and in defence of which there is nothing to be found but the *a priori*

[1] The capital letter, here and elsewhere, is our own. Mr. Robinson habitually uses 'he' and 'his' with reference to our Lord, although he writes 'He' and 'His' with regard to God.

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fancies of imaginative minds. We are not always able to agree with the conclusions and arguments of Canon Gore; at least, it is not his failing to ignore the work of criticism; he has shown in a singularly convincing way how strong are the reasons for believing that our Lord was born of His holy Mother, remaining a Virgin.[1] We have very occasionally expressed our respectful dissent from some statements of Bishop Westcott; not to recognize him as a great critic would be to lack intelligence; his name is associated with a powerful presentation of the grounds for regarding the literal and bodily resurrection of our Lord as an historical fact.[2]

The methods of the book before us, then, are in defiance of genuine criticism, not in accordance with it. Further, there is nothing in it to protect belief in the humanity of Christ. Appreciation of the completeness and reality of His human nature depend on the acceptance of the Gospels as literally true, and on due regard to their detailed teaching about His actions and words. It is, moreover, destructive of belief in Him as the Saviour. That He is the Saviour of men is inextricably bound up with His having offered a prevailing Sacrifice for the sins of the world. The value of His Sacrifice depends on the fact of His true Deity. We are not satisfied with the statements made by Mr. Robinson about either His Godhead or the Atonement. The following is the clearest passage bearing on these subjects:—

'The Most High, in His wisdom and love, has manifested Himself to us by dwelling in a unique way in our Lord Jesus Christ. God manifested in Jesus His whole self in its relation to us. And so we are to understand the Atonement. In the sacred death of Jesus there was bodied forth the eternal submission of the Son to the Father, of Life in glorious Finality to the Author of Life; and in the action of Jesus, in which He gave Himself freely when He was called to die, we are to see bodied forth the Soul of One who sympathizes with the afflicted everywhere, feels for each and all of us in our shame, and makes our pains, our burdens, and our losses His own—a Divine Son, and behind that, a Divine Father who is one and the same' (p. 367).

Neither about our Lord's Deity, nor about the Atonement which He accomplished, is there room for temporizing and for the use of ambiguous language. The great Churchmen of the fourth century insisted that the testimony of true Christians to the fact that Christ is God must be unhesitating and clear; and the judgment of Christian history has affirmed that they were right. The objective value of the atoning death of Christ is needed if Christianity is to remain a religion of hope. And the whole tendency of the book under review is emphatically condemned by the words which St. Paul wrote when he was maintaining the truth of the doctrine of the

[1] Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, pp. 3–68. It was our duty to criticize severely some parts of this book in our number for January, 1896. The greater part of the Dissertation on 'the Virgin Birth of our Lord' is, as we then stated (pp. 331–3), of very high value.

[2] Westcott, *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, pp. 106–36.

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resurrection of Christ, and its connexion with all that is valuable to Christians: 'If Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain: ye are yet in your sins.'[1]

Mr. Robinson has called his book by the title, *A Study of the Saviour in the Newer Light.* It may be a study 'in the newer light.' It is certainly a study in which the Saviour disappears.

Thomas Cranmer. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity, and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, Canon of Canterbury. (London: Methuen and Co., 1898.)

DR. MASON has written a very clear and interesting account of Cranmer's life. It 'is not intended to be' 'exhaustive,' 'or to go minutely into every question which may be raised in connexion with' its subject, but 'rather' to be 'an attempt to use in a fairly broad fashion the results of the researches of many students, with a view to setting Cranmer as a living and intelligible figure before the English reader of to-day' (Preface, p. vii).

There are two faults which mar an otherwise excellent piece of work. Dr. Mason is too ready to make excuses for Cranmer; and he speaks of him, to an exaggerated extent, as if there had been a consistent line of policy adopted by him.

An instance of the too great proneness to justify may be seen in the statements made about Cranmer's second marriage, contracted, unlike his earlier marriage, after he had been ordained. Dr. Mason rightly points out the difference between this marriage of Cranmer and that of Luther, since in the latter case there was the special enormity that 'Martin Luther was a friar; his wife a nun.' Then he goes on to say:

'The canons of the Western Church, indeed, at the time of his ordination forbade the marriage of the clergy, but he had never taken any vow of celibacy. And now the entire authority of the canons was shaken in England by the submission of the clergy. Cranmer held himself in conscience free. No doubt his residence in Germany, where the marriage of the clergy had long been an accepted thing among liberal-minded men, inclined him the more to a step which he was well assured that the laws of God and of the primitive Church allowed' (pp. 24–5).

This paragraph altogether underestimates the weight of authority in defiance of which Cranmer acted in the matter of his marriage. The marriage of one already ordained priest was contrary not only to the 'canons of the Western Church,' but also to the uniform law of the early Church and the unvarying tradition of Eastern Christianity. Even if the Act known as the 'submission of the clergy' preceded Cranmer's marriage,[2] it left the canon law in force until it should have been revised and amended by the thirty-two commissioners who were to be appointed. No action of any

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 17.

[2] The statute was accepted by Convocation in 1532 and embodied in an Act of Parliament in 1534; Cranmer's marriage appears to have taken place about 1531.

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kind had at the time when this Act was passed been taken in England to make the marriage of a priest lawful.

There is a marked instance of exaggeration as to the consistency of Cranmer's policy at the end of the book. Dr. Mason there says:—

'If, instead of an ever-narrowing sect of adherents to the Papacy, confronted by a Protestantism which drifts further and further away from the faith of the ancient Fathers, our country possesses a Church of unbroken lineage, true to the age-long inheritance in its framework of government, doctrine, and worship, yet open to every form of progress, and comprehensive enough to embrace every human being who confesses Christ, the thanks are due, under God, to the sagacity, the courage, the suppleness combined with firmness, of Archbishop Cranmer. The unparalleled splendour of his dying actions secured for ever to the Church of England what his life had gained. For two things Cranmer lived. He lived to restore, as nearly as might be, the Church of the Fathers; and he lived, and he died, for the rights and welfare of England. The independence of the English Crown, the freedom of the English Church from an intolerable yoke, an English Bible, the English services—for these he laboured with untiring and unostentatious diligence, and with few mistakes, considering the difficulties of his task. He made no claim to infallibility; but he laid open the way to the correction of whatever might be amiss in his own teaching or in the Church which he ruled when, in the magnificent demurrer which he made at his degradation, he appealed, not for himself only, but for all those who should afterwards be on his side, to the next General Council' (pp. 202–3).

It is surely a truer view that the opinions and policy of Cranmer, with all his ability and learning and good intentions, were continually affected in one direction or another by the stronger minds by which he was surrounded; and that the retention by the Church in England of the great inheritance which makes it possible for her to guide progress without losing Catholicity is not so much to be ascribed to the words and deeds of Cranmer as to the overruling providence of Almighty God, which prevented his weakness from producing the disastrous results which might naturally have been expected from it.[1]

We regret that a work which contains so admirable a presentation of the facts of Cranmer's life should be injured by these, certainly not light, faults.

[1] There is a very just estimate of Cranmer's character in Wakeman, *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, pp. 264–7. On page 266 Mr. Wakeman says: 'Cranmer was one of those men who are always under the dominant influence of some mind clearer than their own, and some will which is stronger than their own. In politics he found his masters, as we have seen, in those who were in authority—Henry VIII., Cromwell, Somerset, and Northumberland. In religion he came under the successive influence of Melanchthon, the most moderate of Lutherans, and Ridley, who was theologically among the more moderate of Calvinists. . . . It was his business to put other people's thoughts into the best possible shape, not to think out thoughts for himself.'

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The Scriptural and Primitive Time for the Celebration of the Holy Communion. Two Essays. By PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1898.)

THE first of these two essays bases upon the fact that the Jews reckoned the days from sunset to sunset, and the general use of language in Holy Scripture, an argument that the Jewish Passover Feast and our Lord's institution of the Holy Eucharist alike took place at what was held to be the beginning of the day. He further deduces the opinion that the 'associations and ideas of both Passover and Holy Communion speak of newness, freshness, beginning' (p. 27). He interprets, for sound reasons, the true 'Lord's Supper' in 1 Corinthians xi. 20 as referring to the Agape, not to the Eucharist. Thus he reaches the conclusion that

'the first part of the day, and especially the beginning of the Lord's Day, is the truly Scriptural time for the Celebration of the Holy Communion, and there is no real Scripture authority for the Holy Communion being celebrated at a time which is regarded as the close and finish of the day, and all the associations and ideas of which are those of lateness and ending' (pp. 27–8).

In some respects we think 'Presbyter Anglicanus' in this first essay pushes his case somewhat hard, and exhibits a slight tendency to paradox. There is no doubt as to the soundness of his main position—that the associations of the time of the Passover meal among the Jews and those of Sunday evening among ourselves are rightly regarded as altogether different. The Sunday of most English people who would communicate in the evening bears little resemblance to a day spent in thoughtful preparation for the great act of the year, accompanied by fasting. And we suppose that where the practice of evening Communion has been introduced in the present century, it has, in the first instance, been from a mistaken desire to provide easy opportunities of communicating, and that any idea of correspondence to the first Eucharist has been an after-thought.

The second essay is an attempt to account for the transference of the Eucharist in the primitive Church from the evening to the morning. It is a well-known but striking fact that all the evidence outside the New Testament shows the morning as the time of the celebration of the Eucharist. The writer quotes the Bishop of Southwell as putting the case succinctly. 'For Sunday the evidence remains unaltered, that in the New Testament the instances are all in the evening, and after the New Testament no instances of evening Communion have been known till these last fifty years.'[1] The explanation which he suggests is that as the institution of the Eucharist took place at the beginning of the day, according to the Jewish reckoning, so, where the Roman reckoning was followed and the day counted to begin with the morning, the Eucharist was celebrated at what was thus held to be the beginning of the day. This explanation has in itself some probability; there is much to support

[1] Bishop of Southwell's *Second Visitation Charge*, 1892, p. 51.

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it in such evidence as exists on the subject, which is carefully stated in the essay; there is, so far as we are aware, no evidence against it. Whether the positive evidence is sufficient to justify a view that it is established may be doubted. And the fact that primitive Christianity affords no support to the practice of evening Communion is independent of any theory as to the historical process by which the Eucharist came to be celebrated in the morning.

We can commend the essays of 'Presbyter Anglicanus' as scholarly productions, written with care and temperate language; and, whatever may be the judgment passed on one or two details, there can be no doubt as to the truth of his practical conclusion:—

'It cannot be pleaded that Celebrations of the Holy Communion in the later part, or end of the day (especially of the Lord's Day), have the sanction of Holy Scripture, or the support of the practice of the Church in the period immediately succeeding the Apostolic age. Modern afternoon or evening Communions are neither Scriptural nor Primitive' (p. 52).

The Acts of the Apostles, in Greek and English. With Notes. By the Rev. F. RENDALL, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master of Harrow School. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)

MR. RENDALL has endeavoured to realize from St. Luke's life-like pictures of the apostolic age 'the actual position of the primitive Church in its Jewish and its Græco-Roman environment, to trace their mutual action and reaction on each other, and gather from its outward history a true estimate of its inner life' (Pref. p. v). The attempt has led him to bestow careful work upon the Acts of the Apostles, which has resulted in some useful materials for the Biblical student, especially in regard to the exact meaning of Greek words and the force of Greek constructions. But in some important respects the work is far from satisfactory, and indeed singularly deficient. An introduction of about thirty pages is followed by the Greek text, for the main body of which Mr. Rendall is indebted to the recension by Westcott and Hort; the foot notes to the Greek are confined to grammatical points, readings, renderings, and similar matters. To this there is an appendix, in which the greatest space is occupied by a note on the use of μὲν οὖν in the Acts (p. 160). Then comes a literal translation for the use of English readers, in which Mr. Rendall has embodied his own interpretation of the Greek, with foot notes on the subject matter, and an appendix on 'elders,' the Council of Jerusalem, and the provinces of Asia Minor (pp. 355–60). Greek and English indices, a small list of errata, and three maps entitled the Apostolic Church, Journeys through Asia Minor, and the Coast of Malta, complete the work. We will first take note of our author's treatment of the Christian ministry, because we regard that as a matter of prime importance, as it must be for all who believe that the ministry was an essential element in our Lord's dispensation, originating in Him and not constituted by Christian people for themselves. In the preface Mr. Rendall observes that 'apostolic govern-

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ment was an exceptional ordinance, designed only for the stage of infancy and youthful growth' (p. v). That is a mode of speaking which lends itself to very serious misinterpretation, and is much more likely to lead to erroneous inferences than to those which are correct. Still less satisfactory is the note on the appointment of the seven deacons (pp. 204–5), where we are told that the office 'did not become permanent,' that apparently no spiritual functions were attached to it, and that 'the diaconate was an independent institution of later date.' The note on the elders of the Ephesian Church (p. 306) and the longer supplementary note on p. 355 hardly bring out the fact, as the preface of the Ordinal requires, that we have here a passage of great importance bearing upon the threefold orders of the ministry (cp. p. 308). When we pass from questions of Holy Orders to the administration of the sacramental rite of Confirmation, we find that in both the great instances in chapters viii. and xix. Mr. Rendall says nothing to convince a reader that the action of the Apostles finds its modern equivalent in the laying on of the Bishop's hands upon the baptized. In other words, the commentary is not satisfactory from a Church point of view. We will give one sufficient instance to illustrate Mr. Rendall's attitude towards dogmatic theology. Mr. Rendall reads *θεοῦ* in xx. 28, and then says that the reading *τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος* 'introduces an intolerable confusion between the divine and human nature of the God-man' (p. 123). It is difficult to imagine that anyone who really understood what is meant by *communicatio idiomatum*, and who knew what illustrations there are of it in the New Testament, could speak of this reading in this way. With Mr. Rendall's ingenious suggestion about some primitive corruption of the text we do not quarrel, though we are shy of clever guesses in such matters; and we gladly conclude by saying that though the passages quoted are examples of features which decidedly mar the work, yet there is much in Mr. Rendall's book which will really assist the student of the first, and inspired, chapter of Church history.

The Last Things. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897.)

DR. BEET does not profess that this is an uncontroversial volume, but controversy has not been his main object. He has endeavoured to reproduce the positive teaching of the Bible, specially upon the two great subjects of the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and the future punishment of sin. It would be difficult to praise too highly the extreme care which Dr. Beet has bestowed upon the rendering and interpretation of passages of Holy Scripture throughout his work. He has dealt with each New Testament writer separately, and then glanced at their teaching as a whole, and estimated its place in the faith of the Gospel. The readers of Dr. Beet's papers in the *Expositor* on these subjects in 1890 and 1894 will anticipate the line which he takes, and he also says that on the second coming of our Lord his results are practically the same as those reached by Dr. David Brown in his well known work *Christ's*

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Second Coming. In the present book are embodied the careful research and thought of thirty years.

We are always inclined to take exception to the view that 'we find here and there in the New Testament indications of an expectation of an early return of Christ not justified by the event' (Pref. p. vii). Such language seems to us to miss the real point very seriously. We believe that the proper attitude of the Church from the moment of her Lord's Ascension is one of expectation. Whenever the second coming happens the interval between it and the Ascension is regarded in the Bible as 'short.' This is the last time, and we are waiting for the Bridegroom with trimmed lamps, with girded loins. We assume that attitude upon His express authority, and if we die before He comes again it will not be necessary to say that our attitude has not been justified by the event, but rather that we have obeyed orders. Dr. Beet, we are sure, would heartily admit this (see p. 102), and we are glad to quote his summary of the early New Testament teaching: 'We have found complete historical proof that the early followers of Christ were looking forward to a definite moment when unexpectedly, suddenly, audibly, and visibly Christ will return in bodily form from heaven to earth, to wake up the dead, to change the living servants of Christ, to judge all men, and to bring in the everlasting glory' (p. 73). Dr. Beet then proceeds to state with consummate ability the reasons why he is unable to accept the theory of millenarianism (pp. 73–89), and concludes with a chapter on the spiritual significance of the coming of Christ (p. 90).

As to the future punishment of sin, Dr. Beet finds in the New Testament a doctrine which claims the reverent approval of the moral sense of man, is in harmony with all that we know about sin and about God, and is a powerful deterrent from sin. He finds that

> 'the writers of the New Testament agree to describe, with more or less definiteness, the punishment to be inflicted in the day of Christ's return as actual suffering and as final exclusion from the blessedness of the saved. They give no ground for hope that the agony of the lost will ever cease: but they do not plainly and categorically assert its endless continuance' (p. 193).

In other words, 'the duration of the actual suffering of the lost is not plainly stated in the New Testament' (p. 203). We wonder whether Dr. Beet has thought over the difficult question what becomes of such a word as 'duration' in a condition of things in which time has ceased to be. The chapter on the Immortality of the Soul[1] must be read very carefully if the reader wishes to be sure that he has caught the meaning which Dr. Beet attaches to that phrase. He says that 'the synonymous words life and immortality' denote always, except where they refer to our present bodily life, 'a state of blessing' (p. 196), and that 'the Bible never traces the eternal life promised to the righteous to any intrinsic and endless permanence of the human soul' (p. 197). But he guards this by saying that 'loss of "life" does not necessarily involve loss of con-

[1] Liddon's *Univ. Serm.* i. 92 (ed. 2).

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scious existence' (p. 199), and he uses language (p. 226) which protects him from some unscriptural vagaries of 'conditional immortality.' He traces the popular belief of the immortality of the soul through St. Augustine to Plato, and says that it is a remarkable example of one common phrase being used to describe two very different doctrines, one that the soul will survive death, the other that the soul is essentially permanent. A passage on the extinction of the soul on p. 198 leads us to suppose that Dr. Beet has never duly weighed what St. Athanasius says about the extinction of man in the *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*.[1] After this Dr. Beet proceeds to discuss the four theories of endless torment, universalism, annihilation, and probation beyond the grave. Dr. Beet does not find in the Bible 'any clear assertion of the endless suffering of the lost' (p. 206), for, as we have seen, he does not find there the essential permanence of the soul. Universalism

'contradicts the teaching of several writers of the New Testament and of Christ as His words are there recorded; and has no reliable basis, direct or indirect, in the whole Bible, or elsewhere. It is simply a very uncertain appeal to a purpose of mercy altogether hidden from, and inferentially rejected by, Christ and His Apostles' (p. 215).

All proofs fail 'that the Bible teaches the ultimate extinction of the wicked. On the other hand, the theory is not explicitly contradicted in the Bible' (p. 216). 'Of probation after death, we have no hint in the entire Bible' (p. 220). Dr. Beet is so cautious in not going beyond the language of Holy Scripture, and in giving due weight to all that is there said, that he has succeeded in producing in us that impression of solemn uncertainty which the grave language of the Bible itself conveys upon the subject of the end of all things. The eighteen notes at the end of the volume greatly increase its value, for they consist of acute criticisms on the works of many eschatological writers,[2] though not of all—for example, not of Dr. Pusey.[3] In conclusion we should like to commend Dr. Beet's book as being an example of exactly the right spirit in which this subject should be discussed—extreme care, a readiness to submit everything to the teaching of the Bible, and a

[1] Chap. vi.; but see p. 227. The view that spiritual death in its deepest meaning is extinction seems definitely excluded by 1 St. Tim. v. 6.

[2] We may specially allude to the exposure of some of the confusion of thought in Dr. Petavel's work on *The Problem of Immortality*, and we may add that the supporters of conditional immortality often seem hardly alive to the difficulties created by their theory. If man be not naturally immortal, does he count for so much on a crucial point as mere lifeless matter which does not, so far as we know, perish, though its form may change? Again, how on the basis of conditional immortality can we take in the true significance of the fact that man is made in the image of God, or that death at least as we know it is a penalty or curse not naturally falling on the race, or that there is a difference between the death of man and that of God's lower creatures?

[3] The Rev. J. S. Flynn's *Studies on the Second Advent* (Elliot Stock) also deserves to be mentioned.

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full acknowledgment of the mystery in which Holy Scripture leaves many branches of the whole subject. We can heartily approve of Dr. Beet's tone, without accepting all his conclusions.

Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial. By HENRY JOHN FEASEY. (London : Thomas Baker, 1897.)

THIS book 'goes behind the Reformation,' and gives many interesting details of ceremonial observances which help us to imagine the appearance of an English church during Lent, and especially during the latter part of Lent, in pre-Reformation times. Mr. Kensit and his friends have made it very difficult to speak about ancient ceremonies without being misunderstood, having, in fact, reproduced in ecclesiastical affairs the trouble which Dr. Jameson caused by his raid to the administrators of law in South Africa, and it is therefore necessary that we should plainly say that we recommend this book to the student of 'liturgica,' and that we have no word but condemnation for those who would reintroduce any of these ancient ceremonies without episcopal authority. It is a serious impediment to the usefulness of Mr. Feasey's materials that he does not insert in his index the names of places which occur in every part of his book. What he has to say about the custom of any particular cathedral or church has to be collected by the reader himself, and this wastes the time of a busy man who is in search of special information. Nor is the index complete as a list of subjects. But we can ungrudgingly praise the author's industry in the collection of facts. The broad outlines of the book are an account of the Lenten array of an English pre-Reformation church, the Lent veil, the Rood cloth and clothes for images and pictures, the special cross used in Lent, the ceremonies of Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday, the office of *Tenebræ*, the ceremony of the 'adoration' of the Cross and its burial with the reserved Host in the Easter sepulchre, the hallowing of the Paschal candle, and various ceremonies connected with Easter Eve. In a note on p. 12 Mr. Feasey may cause some confusion in the mind of a not well instructed reader by speaking of the 'chrism' when he means 'chrisom.' Nonsense is made of the heading of p. 114 by a misprint, 'of' for 'or.' But few snch errors will be found. It is well that we should study these ancient customs. They have their proper place in our Mother's history. But as we turn over Mr. Feasey's pages we confess that we look upon many of the ceremonies—nay, most of them—as upon the contents of an old book of fashions. It is curious that they were ever in vogue. They are for ever gone ; we do not wish them to return. We have still our spiritual Mother, but she is arrayed in fairer garments than of old. She is now dressed in the raiment which is most suited to these times, and she puts into her children's hands for the purposes of worship a Prayer Book which is better than any of its earlier editions and consecrated by the use of more than two hundred years.

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1. *Faith and Social Service.* By GEORGE HODGES, Dean of the Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. (London: Gardner, Dalton, and Co.; New York: Whittaker, 1897.)
2. *Discipline and Law.* Some Lenten Addresses. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, B.D., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, &c. (London: Methuen and Co., 1898).

BOTH these books are full of practical matters to which modern Christian teachers have devoted much attention. Both too are brightly written, by men who have something definite to say, and who say it with energy and with an evident expectation that their words will really lead to action on the part of their hearers. The difference between the two books is that Mr. Hodges deals rather with the environment of the Christian, the problems and the forces by which, in these days, he is surrounded, and Mr. Henson concentrates his thoughts upon the behaviour which those conditions call for on the Christian's part. In the modern world, says Mr. Hodges, a man finds himself in the midst of indifference and doubt; problems of poverty and labour press round him for solution; moral reforms and the conditions of city life present old difficulties in new shapes. And in discoursing upon these topics Mr. Hodges goes well beneath the surface and often makes a clever remark, or hits off the matter under discussion with a phrase which can best be described as 'smart.' Mr. Henson addresses himself to the definite Churchman, and instructs him in the sound principles which underlie the Church's Lent rule, by which he is to guide himself in the face of his hostile surroundings. He bids him consider the motive, method, difficulty, failure, inspiration, and reward of 'discipline,' and then under the head of 'law' he speaks plainly about the family, social intercourse, self-control, straight dealing, and contentment. The whole book is a powerful and eloquent presentation of that essential fact of the Christian religion that the disciples of Christ 'are called to the plough, to the yoke, to the burden, to the Cross' (p. 42). That is not the whole message of the Gospel, and Mr. Henson does not say that it is so; but it is a very important part of it, and opens the way to much more. And it is Mr. Henson's office in this instance to demonstrate its necessity and fruitfulness.

The Conception of God. By Professors ROYCE, LE CONTE, HOWISON, and MEZES. (New York and London: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)

THIS is a philosophical discussion concerning the nature of the Divine idea as a demonstrable reality, and is the first volume of a series of publications by the Philosophical Union of the University of California. While this discussion was chiefly concerned with the nature and reality of God, the pursuit of this object led the participants to do more than glance at the two other great objects of philosophical search, freedom and immortality. All these Professors are agreed in giving an affirmative answer to the fundamental question of religion, 'Is a personal God a reality?' But this question involves an explanation of the words 'God' and 'reality.' On the whole

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they agree in an idealistic interpretation of what must constitute reality, but they differ profoundly when they approach the question of a Divine Being. The editor, Professor Howison, gives a succinct account of these differences, which concern the following points:—(1) Whether the novel method of Professor Royce of proving God real is adequate to establish in the absolute reality a nature in the strict sense divine. (2) Whether his conception of God is truly Personal. (3) Whether it is compatible with that autonomy of moral action which is the vital principle of all personality. Various answers to these questions are given, and the central topic of the book proves to be the question of free personality, which is discussed with great ability. The book is hardly one which the general reader will easily master, but the trained philosopher will appreciate the value of close argument and frank expression of opinion in all parts of the work. The replies and rejoinders of the Professors to each other increase the interest of the book, and move us to respect the dispassionate mode in which they are able to discuss their differences. By this as well as by the solidity of the substance of their addresses they are justly entitled to be called philosophers.

Missale ad usum Ecclesiæ Westmonasteriensis nunc primum typis mandatum, curante IOHANNE WICKHAM LEGG. Fasciculus iii. (Londini, 1897 : being Vol. xii. of the Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society.)

THE first volume of this fourteenth-century Westminster Missal was printed in 1891 ; the second volume, completing the text, in 1893 ; the third volume in 1897. It is with this third and concluding volume that we are mainly concerned now, for though we cannot dissociate it from its predecessors, yet a complete dissertation on this work as a whole would require an article to itself, and not merely a short notice or review. Let us say at once that this is an important work, in spite of the somewhat late date of the Westminster MS., for reasons which shall be mentioned presently ; next, that it has been edited with the greatest skill, knowledge, and care. In fact the number of manuscripts and printed books which have been examined and collated by Dr. Wickham Legg ; the minute use made of them in the notes ; the wealth of liturgical lore displayed both in the introduction and notes, and the completeness of the indices, go to make up a truly monumental work, a work which will be indispensable to future students of Western liturgical manuscripts of all kinds, though most especially of missals.

Volume iii. opens with various portions of other Westminster manuscript Service-books, now printed for the first itme, with introductions in each case, viz.: Offices from an early fourteenth-century Pontifical in the Bodleian Library ;[1] Offices from a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Westminster Horæ ;[2] the Kalendar, with a very few collects and anthems, from a twelfth-century Westminster Psalter in the British Museum.[3] In Appendix i. Dr. Legg disposes of the

[1] Rawlinson, c. 425, n.c. 12277. [2] Rawlinson, Liturgy, g. 10.
[3] MS. Reg. 2 A. xxii.

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legend of the existence of Westminster books at Valencia, in Spain, and elsewhere; and in Appendix ii. Mr. Birkbeck gives a dissertation upon the music of the Coronation Office. Then comes Dr. Legg's own liturgical introduction (pp. 1406–1441), followed by liturgical notes, exhaustive and minute (pp. 1442–1628). The volume is then closed with a magnificent set of indices. The time and labour spent in elaborating the notes, and in compiling and arranging the indices, must have been very great indeed; but the thought of their usefulness to liturgical students, and a consciousness on his part, and we hope also on their part, of their indebtedness to him must be the annotator's and the compiler's reward.

We now go on to explain why we call the present work an important work. Because it is the first printed edition of an English monastic missal.[1] The missals of the chief secular uses of Sarum, York, and Hereford, a few other missals of a more local character, and some of the missals of the Anglo-Saxon Church—that is to say, of the Church of England in pre-Norman days—have been published. Now we have presented to us in print the missal of a mediæval English Benedictine monastery, and that the famous monastery of Westminster. An examination of its structure and contents enables us to arrive at the following important conclusions:—It is so far akin to the secular English missals as to prove that monastic orders in England did not draw up and possess and use a special form of missal, as they did a special form of breviary; on the other hand, it is so far different from the English secular missals in detail as to warrant our speaking of a separate use of Westminster. A difference of use is constituted, not, as is popularly supposed, by a difference of ritual, but by differences in the various collects, anthems, lections, &c., which go to build up the structure of a mass. The variations between the Westminster use and other uses are numerous and important. Twenty-two of its masses are unique, viz.: St. Edmund (April 29); St. Erkenwald (April 30); St. Aldhelm (May 5); St. Ethelbert (May 20); Ven. Bede (May 26); St. Erasmus (June 3); St. Boniface (June 5); St. Botulph (June 17); St. Mildred (July 13); St. Wulmar (July 20); St. Samson (July 28); St. Neot (July 31); St. Romanus (August 9); St. Taurinus (August 11); St. Genesius (August 25); St. Tecla (September 23); St. Ethelburga (October 11); St. Wilfred (October 12); St. Machutus (November 15); St. Barbara (December 16); common of an abbot; common of a matron. When we say these masses are unique we refer only to the collects, secret, and post-communion, because in the Proprium Sanctorum only those parts of each mass have been collated by Dr. Legg; but the uniqueness, no doubt, extends a good deal further; *e.g.*, a comparison of the Westminster mass of St. Malo (November 15) with the Sarum mass for the same saint proves that the difference between them extends not only to the above three prayers, but also

[1] We have not forgotten Mr. Martin Rule's publication of the Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (Cambridge, 1896). But that is not a *missale plenarium*. According to the editor it is a nearly pure Gregorian Sacramentary.

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to the office (Introit), Epistle, Grail, Gospel, and Communio. In fact the Offertory is the only link of connexion between the two. There is no mass for St. Malo in the Roman Missal.

Apart from unique whole masses, there are also in the Westminster Missal unique single collects, sequences, &c., &c., too numerous for enumeration here. Whence were they derived? Dr. Legg thinks that the unique sequences (four in number) must be the composition of a Westminster monk of a poetical turn of mind. Can we set any of the collects, &c., down as of home manufacture? It will be observed that the above-mentioned unique masses are mostly the masses of English saints, whose collects, &c., could not come from Roman Sacramentaries; but whether they are Westminster compositions, or borrowed from other Western monastic or diocesan use, remains an unanswered and, for the present, unanswerable problem. A further knowledge of the contents of early Western manuscript service-books will, perhaps, some day make a complete answer possible. It is one of the merits of Dr. Legg's present edition that it has accumulated a vast amount of new or almost and generally unknown material, by aid of which he has solved some and has gone a considerable way to solve other interesting liturgical problems. One of such still unsolved problems is the genesis of the Sarum use, that is to say, of the differentiæ of the Sarum use. Dr. Legg has cleared the way by proving that it is not to be sought in certain directions; not, for example, as has been frequently thought and maintained, in Rouen. We believe ourselves to be in possession of a key which Dr. Legg has not yet tried, but the key has not been fully tested; and the whole subject is too large and complicated to be entered upon in a short notice like the present.

Near the close of the Introduction will be found some useful comparative tables of the special forms employed at (1) The Blessing of Palms, (2) The Service on Easter Even, (3) The Blessing of Candles on February 2; and of various early recensions of the English Coronation Service.

Two Hundred Years: the History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698–1898. By W. O. B. Allen, M.A., and Edmund McClure, M.A., Secretaries of the Society. (London, S.P.C.K., 1898.)

This, the oldest and most comprehensive of religious societies working for and in union with the Church of England, is keeping its bi-centenary celebration during the present year, and the two secretaries have done well to compile this volume from the records of the society, that Churchmen may have their minds disabused of any prejudice which they had regarding its purpose and work. We have frequently encountered those whose conception of the S.P.C.K. was that of a great book-trading firm, and who did not know to what uses the profits of this book-publishing and book-selling were put. Those who have had the privilege of taking part in the bi-centenary celebration have learned from the preachers what an enormous part this society has taken in every department of Church work. No one

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appeals to it in vain for help in any good cause. Religious Education, Christian Literature, Foreign Translations, Missions to the Colonies and India, the Care of Emigrants, the Foundation of Episcopal Sees in all parts of the world, the Evangelization of the Masses at Home, Medical Missions, Training Colleges, Sunday Schools, Churches, &c., besides Bibles and Prayer Books, represent only a bare outline of the undertakings which the Society promotes and maintains. She is always ready, always generous, and yet always cautious. The great principle which moves her is well expressed by the secretaries, viz. 'to step in and do work which no one else will do, and to stop doing it so soon as the proper authorities can be induced to take up their own responsibilities' (p. 401).

This great Society, whose vigour and energy seem to have no bounds, was founded at a time when the morals of this country were at a very low level, and when the Church needed to be stirred into a higher life and a recognition of her responsibilities, both at home and towards the newly formed 'Plantations' abroad. The sketch of this period given in this volume is thoroughly good and interesting (pp. 1–13), and should be read by every Churchman. After that chapter comes a full account of the first beginnings of the Society, with biographies of its founders, and its growth in London and the provinces, together with extracts from the early correspondence and the first meetings of the members (pp. 14–121). The names of Lord Guilford, Sir H. Mackworth, Mr. Justice Hooke, Dr. Bray, and Colonel Colchester deserve to be held in great reverence as the co-founders of the first Church Society. Four laymen and one clergyman, all actuated by the same spirit of earnest affection for the Church, and eagerness to extend her influence for the reformation of manners and the promotion of the Christian religion, were the nucleus of that grand old Society which, since its foundation on March 8, 1698–9, has been the handmaid and supporter of the Church in every Christian enterprise.

The chapter on Religious Education (pp. 135–165) is one that should be read by all who wish to learn what a foremost part the Church has taken in the provision of schools for the poorer classes. The work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was taken up and developed by the National Society from 1811, and to this latter Society we owe that complete network of elementary schools which covered the land before the State thought it worth while to take up the duty of seeing that her sons and daughters were educated. But long before the foundation of the National Society —her second daughter, as we may call her—the Christian Knowledge Society, as a wise parent, had set up Charity Schools in London and the country, so that in 1704 there were 54 such schools in the London district and 34 elsewhere, in which the curriculum included reading, writing, and Catechism at first, afterwards arithmetic also and manual instruction. In 1741 there were 2,000 Charity Schools belonging to the Society in Great Britain and Ireland, and the annual gatherings of children in St. Paul's Cathedral from 1782 till 1877 was a wonderful testimony to the energy of the Church, there

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being present on such occasions no less than 4,500 children from the Charity Schools of London. Since the National Society took over the educational work of the parent society there has been on the part of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge no relaxation of interest in, or withholding of support from, this great department of Church work. The foundation of St. Katharine's College at Tottenham in 1877, and the purchase of the freehold of St. John's College, Battersea, in 1895, show that up to the present time religious education continues to be a chief part of the Society's undertakings. We need say nothing here of diocesan inspection and prizes for pupil teachers in religious knowledge, which the Society still maintains, nor of the masses of books of every kind which are produced annually under the society's auspices for the benefit of education in sound Christian principles and for the general diffusion of knowledge. Probably those chapters of this volume which deal with pioneer missionary work in the Plantations, India and the East, and our Colonies, together with that which describes the work of founding bishoprics (chaps. vii., viii., ix., x., and xiv.), will be read with the greatest interest. They are invaluable to any one who would learn how difficult a task it has been to teach the Church and this nation to recognize their full responsibility towards their fellow-countrymen in foreign lands and the heathen which surround them. The S. P. C. K. has given large sums of money for the establishment of new sees, through the agency of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund, since 1840, but one cannot overlook the fact that she was the first to provide missionaries for the American settlements and to begin, by the employment of Danes and Germans, to evangelize India. These undertakings she transferred to her elder daughter, the S. P. G., in 1701 and 1724, and has left herself free to supplement the work of others elsewhere whenever the occasion has arisen. We should like to call attention to the work of the Society for the Nestorian Christians (pp. 306–10), the history of the Salzburg emigration and settlement in Georgia, to which John Wesley felt himself called to go and minister (pp. 385–93), and the Scilly Mission (pp. 395–401), for these are full of interest; but we must pass on, only just noticing the splendid work which the Society is doing for the emigrants who leave our shores, especially at the ports of Plymouth and Liverpool, and by the provision of long-voyage chaplains, and not omitting to mention the Lay-Workers' College at Stepney.

The chapter on Medical Missions (pp. 470–93) is one that will be read with particular interest, because it is now being recognized that by trained doctors and nurses, and missionaries who are qualified to practise medicine, the Church is able to reach classes which could not be dealt with otherwise; and that the work of healing and preaching can go on together, after the example of the Saviour.

It is not necessary to go into the resources of the Society, except to assure subscribers that no part of their contributions goes into the book trade, but directly to Church work. A few more benefactions like that of the Van Vryhouven bequest (pp. 497–8) would enable the

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Society to enlarge yet further her sphere of work, and to continue 'to step in and do work which no one else will do' (p. 401).

The Non-Religion of the Future: a Sociological Study. Translated from the French of MARIE JEAN GUYAU. (London: William Heinemann, 1897.)

AT page 123 of this work the reader will find the following description of Christian worship as at present practised:

'A rite at its lowest is simply the result of a tendency to repeat indefinitely an act which at some time or other has seemed to render a God or a fetich propitious. After propitiation comes mechanical custom. Religion, as Pascal has well said, is to a large extent habit. Rites are born of the need to perform again and again the same act under the same circumstances: a need which is the foundation of custom, and without which all life would be impossible.'

In developing this notion the author makes many observations upon the growth and power of habit in religion which are both amusing and useful. For they show us for our warning how very easily we may be 'brought under the power,' as St. Paul says, of practices good or bad, so that the good ones become merely mechanical, and the bad ones irresistible even after their pleasure is gone; and for our encouragement they show us that we have a powerful auxiliary in our own nature and that of those we desire to influence, which never fails to make good practices of every sort easier to us every day we do them, so that what was once extremely difficult becomes at last indispensable to our happiness. But when we have perused all the author has to say on the subject, it begins to strike us that though very well put it is not new, but that, if we ourselves have been so dull as not to experience it all, we have read so much about it in religious books, inspired or uninspired, as to see that it was all known to those wise and careful observers of human life who wrote them, long ago. Without it, as the author well says, life would be impossible. And all this was plain to religious teachers without their ever dreaming that it made religion unreal or proved habit to be the sole source of its rites. And when we reflect upon our own use of the practices of religion, we find indeed that habit has such a power as very frequently to make us accuse ourselves of obeying it rather than faith, and of degrading the work of faith by surrendering it to the mere operation of habit. Yet we do not lose the sense that it is a duty to wrestle with habit and make it the servant of faith; and many of us succeed in the attempt. So that we fully recognize the author's observations upon the power of habit as true, but not as the whole truth. If the acts of which he speaks were really felt as having a propitiatory power at the first, they do not lose it in succeeding times. The men who continue it do not differ so utterly from those who established it that the latter were unable to introduce without any habit to help them, religious rites which their successors carry on merely from custom.

And this instance gives us, in our judgment, the character of the book. There is a large collection of facts and observations upon

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religion considered as a concrete fact in human history. The work may be read with much interest and no little use by a believer who desires to separate the human element in religion from the divine. But it never grapples with the religious consciousness so persistently existing among mankind, either to show how it came to exist in a race so bound down to the earth, or how it is to come to an end in a race which has somehow proved capable of possessing it. Of course the well-known terms of religion are dealt with, but only to ignore their spiritual character and reduce them to superficial habits of the mind. 'After the notion of Providence one must deal, in running through the metaphysical principles of religion, with the notion of a Creator' (p. 102). And the method in which the notion of a Creator is run through is that of introducing a nice little story in which a little peasant child of four years old imagines that an older friend has made the flowers :

'An inexact induction first gives rise to the notion of a human being acting by means to us unknown and mysterious ; this notion once obtained fastens upon the body of such and such an individual, the object antecedently of especial veneration ; from this individual it retreats in course of time to another more distant, from country to town, from earth to heaven, from visible heaven to the invisible essence of things, the omnipresent substratum of the world.'

And there you have your creator.

Such a way of treating the subject not only gets rid of the belief in revelation, which recognizes in the spiritual convictions of men the action of a supernatural power dealing with man amidst all his errors and failures, and impressing him with the existence of a world beyond what is seen. It also, and with even greater decision, rejects those vaguer notions or feelings of something unseen and eternal which other teachers have been constrained to recognize as the source of religion among men, and which they believe the very constitution of man's mind and his primary relations to the world must make permanent amidst all changes.

Thus, Mr. Spencer

'gives the name of religion to speculations concerning the unknowable and thence readily deduces the conclusion that religion, by which he means metaphysics, possesses an impregnable stronghold in the human mind. In the same way many other contemporary philosophers, like Herr von Hartmann the theologian of the unconscious, have not resisted the temptation of describing for us a religion of the future, which resolves itself simply into their system, whatever it may be, of philosophy' (p. 8).

It is a curious state of controversy which allies us for the moment with Herbert Spencer and Von Hartmann, both of whom indeed are very well able to defend themselves. But we cannot help saying that it is very blameable carelessness in this author to confound the consciousness of an unknowable or unconscious Something, which these writers assert to exist in all men, with their own philosophical or scientific speculation about it. As well might you say that to assert that man can see is the same thing as to assert that man is and ever will be

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acquainted with the science of optics. And Professor Max Müller seems to be treated if possible more hardly than either of the authors we have named. For his own declaration, that the perception of the infinite which presses upon man 'is not perception in the ordinary sense of the word; but still less is it reasoning' (p. 25), does not prevent our author from arguing that the Max Müller theory 'discovers the origin of religion in the vaguest and most modern of metaphysical ideas, that, namely, of the infinite' (pp. 33–4).

The connexion of religion and sociality, which the author takes as the basis of his own theory, claims our deep sympathy. 'Sociality is the firm foundation of the religious sentiment, and a religious being might be defined as a being disposed to be sociable not only with all living creatures with whom experience makes him acquainted, but with the creatures of thought with whom he peoples the world' (p. 1). 'The basis of religion was in the beginning quite positive and natural; religion is simply a mythical and sociomorphic theory of the visible universe; and it is only at its summit, at an advanced degree of evolution, that it comes into contact with metaphysics' (p. 78).

As usual the author makes his persistent mistake of confounding metaphysics with the subjects of which metaphysics treats. In reality no condition of the human or even the animal mind can be so low as not to furnish a subject for metaphysical inquiry, though itself incapable of the slightest metaphysical thought; while no faith in God or the soul can be so advanced as not to be held with as great (or perhaps far greater) clearness by those who know nothing about metaphysics, as by those who devote themselves to metaphysical thinking.

But we hold with the author, that the connexion of religion with man grasps him chiefly by his social capacities. Christianity is the ruling instance of this, and the Trinity is the doctrine which exemplifies the principle in its highest form. The Father and Son in the Unity of the same Spirit presents to us the social principle in God Himself, the perfect help and completion of human life; while the salvation of the Lord Jesus introduces all this divine love and duty into the social intercourse of man with his neighbour and with his God. We are not at all unwilling to recognize the relationship of this faith with the social instinct which we observe impelling the merest savage to social friendship with every natural object, and presuming everything to possess a life like his own. But to suppose that this vast advance has taken place by the unassisted powers of man is more than we are able to believe. We know what man can do by his fancy and his longing. But Christianity is too great an effort for his creative powers. God gave it to him. He has, however, so much strength to grasp Christianity when given to him, as to make it certain that he will not easily let it go.

To let go the fancies which give the savage his social brotherhood with trees and clouds is one thing; if religion was all like that, we might anticipate the non-religion of the future. But to suppose the severance of such links with the spiritual world as Christ has esta-

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blished is a very different matter. The roots of religion have struck far deeper, and it is not one generation of unbelievers but many that would be required to drag them out. Indeed it seems that the author feels this to be the case.

> 'A religion may apparently continue in existence until there is no more left of it than a mere envelope of religious phraseology covering and discovering a wholly metaphysical and purely philosophical system. Better still on this method, since Christianity is the highest form of religion, all philosophers must ultimately become Christians; and finally since universality and Catholicity are the ideal of Christianity, we shall all be Catholics before we are aware of it' (p. 9).

If Christianity be the highest form of religion, must it not exercise its influence best upon those who believe in it? Might it not therefore be best that we believers should be left alone to make what we can of our highest form of religion? Will the philosophers, who come to profess it without believing a word of its tenets, really practise it better than the simple people who hold them in their heart of hearts? Perhaps it may be the case that if the non-religion of the future leaves Christianity in nominal possession, the religion may exercise its old and well-proved power over many who came to scoff. And it may even happen again, as it has happened many a time before, that when the faith has reached almost that depth of deadness which the author describes and desires, and words and acts repeated by habit be all that remains of the once active religion, there should be a revival, and like the dry bones in Ezekiel's prophecy, the spirit of God should breathe upon the lifeless mass and raise it up to vigour and action. So it might be and so it would be, if the author's dream should ever come true. But it never will.

The work before us is no doubt very clever, and has cost the author a great deal of pains. But we cannot think that he has penetrated with sufficient completeness the secret of religion, nor sufficiently comprehended the nature of its hold upon mankind to be able to claim implicit credence for his prophecy of its disappearance, or himself greatly to help that consummation.

Vindication of Anglican Orders. By ARTHUR LOWNDES, D.D. 2 vols. (New York: James Pott and Co. London: Rivingtons, A.D. MDCCCXCVII.)

WE regret very much that we must relegate our American cousin to a short notice. We have published in recent numbers so many articles upon the subject of Anglican orders that we fear our readers would be tired by another. But before we proceed to say even what little we have room for upon Dr. Lowndes' work and upon his subject, we must call attention to the great beauty of its production. In old times the printers did not consider that regard for doctrines excluded a love of art. But for many a long day past it would, we verily believe, have been thought to injure the prospects of literary success if the work of a serious historian or divine were brought out with an engraved title, such as Fuller, or Burton, or

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Erasmus, not to mention still more artistic examples further back, were proud to see in their books. The exertions of Mr. Morris and the example of the Kelmscott Press have apparently influenced Dr. Lowndes and his New York publishers to bring out his book in artistic style, and we heartily trust that ours on this side of the water may be roused by their leading. Mr. Pickering, it is said, suffered by his love of beauty in publishing; but the public taste is now more advanced, and if judgment be used in choosing the books to publish, we hardly suppose an artistic successor of the great printers need apprehend the same fate. Series like the Temple Library owe, no doubt, a large part of the favour which book-buyers extend to them to their charming paper, print, and binding; and why should not the same attractions be claimed, as in the present case they are, for extensive treatises upon the most important subjects?

The controversy upon Anglican orders is concluded, unless the discovery of new documents should open it up again. Those who can be induced to study it have probably studied it before now, and the many who have hitherto neglected the study of it, even in the midst of all their writing about it, will not be induced to take it up. It is pretty plain by this time that this question runs up (as Dr. Salmon has remarked of the whole Roman controversy) into that of infallibility. If the Pope be infallible, he can say to us, like King David, 'Why talkest thou to me any more of thy matters? I have said.' It is but a kind of involuntary tribute to human reason that such an authority should condescend to argue at all. However, argue he does. But in argument it is found that we but come round to an assertion of infallibility by another way. It is plain, to our thinking, that upon all grounds of free reasoning our Anglican form of ordination is perfectly valid, whether tried by Scripture, primitive record, or common sense. But if a particular Church, or the Pope, has power to make that necessary which was not necessary at first, then indeed he can easily justify the condemnation of a Church which has acted and chosen for itself. It is no absurdity in itself to claim such a power. It might very conceivably exist; and, of course, it must be not only infallible, but also supreme in command, in order to draw such a change within its sphere. But then, such a right of command, without appeal, has not in former ages been asserted by the Pope, or even by the Church. In the very case of orders, the best scholars of the Roman communion, and even Popes, have allowed that validity of orders was determined by principles recognized everywhere and at all times, which cannot change, and not by the present practice of Rome.

But what does reasoning avail against infallibility? We must be satisfied if we prove our orders to those who allow that particular questions of religions are to be submitted to learning or to reason. To those who, wearied out, and despairing of the victory of learning and reason, find an actual solace and refuge in an authority which is independent of either we make no appeal. The controversy upon orders may, we hope, hinder many from surrendering themselves to

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that condition of mind; but once in it a man must work it out; perhaps it is better that he should.

Dr. Lowndes's work is an answer to the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, and he commences his survey with the circumstances which surrounded the issue of the Bull, and proceeds to consider its contents in order. This leads him to devote much attention to the action of former Popes, by whom, it is now asserted, Anglican orders had been long since condemned. He doubtless advances upon this head a great deal of matter most worthy of attention. But it has never appeared to us an important department of the subject. It is plain that we do not consider the present Pope's decision imperative to our obedience, and there was none of his predecessors who had any greater claim; why should we, then, care so much whether they decided the point or not? If they did not, the Bull is proved to be mistaken. But if they did, the Bull is proved to have been delivered not only under invincible prejudice, but under an absolute inability to decide in any other way; while upon the general Romish question, we find that a matter of the utmost importance to many can have been determined at Rome, and nobody know and nobody care. Anyway, the cause of Rome seems to lose more than it gains, whichever way you take it.

Surely (at vol. i. p. 143) Dr. Lowndes makes a slip when he says that the record of Parker's consecration is a-wanting? We all know that the record of Barlow's is not to be had. But our author is also sometimes a little captious in his reasoning. When the Pope declares that from the prayers of the Edwardine Ordinal has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite, Dr. Lowndes insists that he cannot mean the Roman Catholic rite, as he himself has drawn a distinction between Roman and Catholic by saying that the examination into Anglican orders was committed to a certain number of men who met under the presidency of one of the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church (vol. i. p. 169). We cannot perceive the force of the argument, and to our mind it would seem that the Pope has been only too persistent in identifying, upon all occasions, the Catholic with the Roman Catholic. If the Roman Church did indeed recognize a wider bound and a less restricted rite as Catholic, the basis of the judgment would be gone. But although the reply in Dr. Lowndes's hands must be acknowledged to be somewhat discursive, taking in a wide range of subjects, not all of which can be called relevant, yet the reader will find it interesting and often suggestive. We cannot, indeed, say that if we were placing in the hands of a layman a book to set his mind at rest upon the subject we should choose one of this size and style; nor yet that, if we were recommending to a scholar the work which, by its closeness of reasoning and scientific methods, would best meet a scholar's requirements, this is the work which we should introduce to him. But a book may be not the very best, and yet contain much variety and many valuable thoughts, and so much we can certainly say of the treatise before us.

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In one respect, at all events, it excels any other of the kind which we know; namely, in the number of documents relevant to the case, which it prints for convenience of access ready to our hands. More than one-half of the second of these large volumes is occupied by the Appendix of Records, many of which are of a nature which readers might otherwise not find easily accessible, while all are of importance either to the controversy or to a general study of the subject.

Sermons. By the late CHARLES GUTCH, B.D., of St. Cyprian's, Marylebone. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.)

WE have before us the posthumous sermons of Charles Gutch, collected and edited by his friend, Mr. Linklater, and a fit memorial they are of the priest who delivered them. There is something very pathetic in the life of the author: a man of high intellectual power and deep scholarship, Fellow of his college; master, as these sermons testify, of a direct and delicately refined style, now patiently persuasive and instructive, now ablaze with passion, denunciation and unhesitating invective against what he considered wrong—almost all his life he passed in a side-street in Marylebone, his parish a poor district cut off from Christ Church, Stafford Street, his church a house and a stable knocked into a rough mission-chapel, his parishioners mostly poor people, his institutions and schools badly housed in the neighbourhood, and dependent on his exertions for their sustentation. In this narrow sphere he toiled on year in, year out, conducting daily a great many services, personally superintending his schools, ever ready to see penitents, while one by one in his later years the generous helpers of his early ministry passed away before him. And this man had all the intellectual ability that, had he continued to mix with others as acute as himself, might have adorned a divinity professor; all the energy and power of organization—witnessed by the network of institutions round St. Cyprian's—which might have made a useful bishop; all the peculiar sterling grace of a high ideal which, set upon a higher candlestick, would have given light to all in the house.

At least this *fallentis semita vitæ* gleams brightly to us as we see it stretching back into the past, and it has its own lesson: 'Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not.'

It was the very essence of the Tractarian ideal that appeared in this lowly priestly life. We are told that a change has come over the Church: that a great process of secularizing has gone on of late years, and that while ritual has increased, the directness of the Catholic teaching has failed on the one side, and the boundaries between ourselves and Rome become less sharply defined on the other. We look into the sermons before us and realize what is meant. Here is the very essence and flower of Tractarianism. Keble might have penned them; Pusey might have edited them; Liddon would have praised them; but, alas! their measured Scriptural tone, their unhesitating sternness and plainness of speech, their constant recurrence to doctrinal certainties, their very lack of illustration or ornament, except where it grows straight out of the language—all

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these things smack of the past, and are signs of an older and more sober generation. Yet the life of the man, plain, unpretending, showing all the dignity of lofty principle and supreme independence, was of a piece with his words. The two rise and fall together in a character like his; both were Apostolic, both were based on simple doctrine most tenaciously held, and both witness equally to the faith once for all delivered to the saints. If our own basis is undermined, it is all the worse for us.

And what was this doctrinal basis? First, the doctrine of Apostolical succession, as pledging Christ's presence in His Church; and from hence, as far as the individual soul was concerned, the certainty of receiving in this Church the true sacraments of salvation—true sacraments being those which are 'duly administered' by 'lawful ministers'—such sacraments being not 'bare signs' of things absent, but 'the means whereby we receive' in the one 'a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness,' and in the other 'the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;' and that the Church had 'authority in controversies of faith:' had the power to 'decree,' to 'teach,' to 'excommunicate,' and did not give every individual preacher, much less every individual Christian, permission to take down his Bible, and make out from it his own scheme of doctrine, or system of Church government, or interpretation of Scripture. In short here was the sacramental system in all its fulness, most uncompromisingly held. It governed all his conceptions of grace, it made him shrink with the profoundest horror from the Divorce Act, it made outward ritual a small and unimportant accessory to the great reality—'that here Christ is in the midst of His worshippers, here He is "made known" to the faithful soul "in the Breaking of Bread."'

Of the Romish doctrine of Purgatory Father Gutch would have nothing: 'not one word of this fearful doctrine, which is the popular belief of many in Western Christendom, can you find in God's own Book, or in the records of the undivided Church, or in the teaching of the Eastern Church.' The waiting souls are rather resting from their labours in perfect peace—

'Reconciled to God in this life by the blood of His dear Son, and having enjoyed God's peace for many years of a well-spent life, it is more consonant with our belief in the free pardon of sin, and the removal of its consequences through the precious blood of the Cross, ay, and more agreeable to the common reason of Christians, to believe that they who have served God here holily, and have died in peace, pass from this world of unrest and sorrow into a state of calmness, repose and peace.'

But the great doctrine of the communion of saints taught him that they 'compass us about, a great cloud of witnesses,' and watch us on our Christian course.

The old-fashioned simplicity of sacramental teaching, the old reverence which made the preacher hesitate to use the Saviour's name unnecessarily, the old conviction that the real effect of Church

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teaching, 'so far from leading away from Christ, ever leads to Him,' the constant assurance that He is 'the one fixed centre, round which all sacraments, ordinances, prayers, preachings, ceaselessly revolve' —these are things found in the book, and things we would fain keep with us for ever and ever.

The words of one who speaks so clearly, though he is dead, should cheer and encourage many a priest, devoted as himself, who can ask as he did, and be sure of the answer, Yes. 'Have not some of you, oh, dear little flock! poor indeed in the gold of Arabia, but rich in the incense of prayer and praise and the myrrh of a mortified life, day by day "knelt before the King's Son," and now know beyond a doubt that they who trust in Him are "hid privily by His own presence from the provoking of all men, kept secretly in His tabernacle from the strife of tongues"?'

Helps towards Belief in the Christian Faith. By C. G. GRIFFINHOOFE, M.A., Rector of Strethall, Saffron Walden. With a Preface by the Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of Armagh. (London: Ward and Downey, 1897.)

THE aim of this book is to present in a popular and readable form the different converging lines of evidence for the reasonableness of the Christian faith. The writer desires especially to point out the *cumulative* character of Christian 'evidences.' It is, of course, just this fact which renders Christianity so liable to attack and misconception in detail; while to those who approach the problem in a generous and large-minded spirit it ought to constitute the strongest appeal. In the words of the Archbishop of Armagh's preface, 'The improbability of the *simultaneous* co-existence of so many characters of truth is something quite different from the separate existence of one or more of these characters of truth' (p. xi). Christianity does not rest upon the Bible alone, nor upon history alone, nor upon the moral fruits of its practice alone, nor upon its appropriateness to human nature and human needs alone, but upon the interwoven strength of all these and many other strands of fact. And there are many earnest souls who would fain believe, and yet are bewildered by the multiplicity of plausible attacks made, now on this side and now on that, upon Christian truth. It is for the benefit of such as these that Mr. Griffinhoofe has endeavoured in a simple but thoughtful manner to bring together into one view the essential largeness and many-sidedness of the proofs of our faith.

Of course, the treatment of so enormous a subject in a short handbook must necessarily be scrappy. But the book can hardly fail to stimulate thought, serious thought, in any reader who is in earnest.

And, what is quite as important for the purpose in hand as the subject-matter, the *tone* of the book is eminently conciliatory. The writer does not denounce doubt and unbelief, and he does not pretend that there are no difficulties and puzzles left in the world, even for a Christian. But such a tone makes his conclusion all the more impressive :—

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'If there be any truth in history, and any fact that is unassailable, it is that Jesus Christ claimed to be the Son of the one Supreme Eternal God, and that His Church went forth to preach that truth to the world. It is a hard saying that God should be in man's form, a saying which has caused many to go back, and to walk no more with One whom they were beginning to admire. It has difficulties, it is true, but they are less great than the difficulties which accompany any attempt to regard our Lord as mere man. In the latter case, what seems a solution becomes a hopeless enigma. If our Lord was only human, we are no nearer being rid of difficulties, while history itself would almost have to be rewritten, and it could be said that the common sense of humanity must be almost non-existent' (p. 217).

It is more difficult to write a short book on a great and solemn subject than a long one. Where a writer aims at being concise and accurate and popular at once, he will have to give more than usual pains to weigh every word he writes. And it is perhaps here that Mr. Griffinhoofe fails to rise beyond mediocrity. His style does not give one the impression of the 'limæ labor.' It is a pity that almost on the first page of his book he quotes the words of Job xxiii. 3 as being 'the desire of the Psalmist' (p. 4)! Or, again, this is an unfortunate sentence: 'The strong point of Theism is that it separates God from the universe' (pp. 53–4). We should rather say that to do this is 'the weak point of Deism.'

And we do not find throughout the book any adequate presentment of the doctrine of the Trinity, as being the only form of Theism which can really *satisfy* the reason. It will be remembered how conclusively this is worked out in Aubrey Moore's magnificent essay in *Lux Mundi* on 'the Christian Doctrine of God.'

Nevertheless, we think Mr. Griffinhoofe's book might well be placed in the hands of any *serious* inquirer; remembering always, as the writer would be the first to confess, that no 'evidences' by themselves can make a Christian. 'Everyone that is *of the truth* heareth My voice.'

The Larger Life. Sermons and an Essay. By the Rev. EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY. With an Introduction by the Bishop-Coadjutor of Southern Ohio. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.)

THE author of these sermons is a man of marked and vigorous individuality, and also a believer in the worth of individuality in others. His own evident power and his fresh enthusiasm do much to condone, though they cannot altogether justify, the tinge of egotism in these sermons and the much too frequent 'I.' It is no discredit to his originality to say that he has evidently been influenced considerably by the writers of the *Lux Mundi* school. And he has not escaped some slight leaven of their characteristic errors. Still, whatever he has learned from them or from any other source has passed through his own mind and been tested by his own conscience before he has given it to his congregation. And this individual testing, this laborious effort to enter into and make one's own, is exactly the attitude which he desires his hearers to take up

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towards Christian truth, and which, like so many other teachers in all ages, he finds is of all things most distasteful to them. The preacher is profoundly impressed by two things: the inexhaustible profundity of the Christian religion, and the shallowness, the stagnant shallowness of 'our common Christianity.' He is not afraid of honestly confessing that the world is full of mysteries; but he is confident that in Christ alone is the key, if only each man for himself will honestly try to take Christ at His word and learn of Him little by little.

'Our Christian religion has not come to you and me banishing the darkness, but filling the darkness with the presence of God. It does not come ending the difficulties, it comes finding God in these and through these; it does not deny the Cross, but it comes finding Christ upon it. The mysteries are here, are as real as ever, but through each Love speaks. Each is a mystery which attracts, uplifts—does not repel—because it meets us through love's transfiguration' (p. 6).

We wish especially to commend the sermon on 'Essential Churchmanship' (VI); also the two sermons (IX, X) on the Bible, and the striking sermon on 'God's Evidence for God' (XIII). The essay which concludes the volume is a criticism of Mrs. Humphry Ward. The writer first meets Mrs. Ward with her own weapons, and points out that the same methods by which she makes incredible the divinity of Christ tell equally against her own belief in the personality and love of God; nay, we can only logically believe in the latter as they are interpreted to us by the former. 'Apart from the Cross, the argument for the existence and benevolence of God seems at least insufficient to the intellectual necessities, to the moral and spiritual distresses which it should relieve' (p. 225). In the second part of the essay, Mrs. Ward and her school are convicted of the very fault, of an unconsciously dishonest bias, with which they charge the defenders of orthodoxy: 'Here, too, the instinct for fairplay in the modern man and in the normal mind will pass its judgment. There must surely be considerable wrong-headedness and some wrong-heartedness at the bottom of the assumption that the testimony of a theological professor to theological truth is peculiarly worthless' (p. 236).

We have said enough to show that we consider Mr. Murphy's work of considerable merit. It has power of thought and power of zeal. But it labours often under an oppressive and irritating fault of style. There is in many of the sermons, though not in all equally, a straining after effect, or after originality of expression, which results sometimes in obscurity, sometimes in rhodomontade. There is no real originality shown merely in saying something in a way which no one ever thought of saying it in before. And we will quote in conclusion one passage which is distinctly obscure, and which it is all-important should be clear:—

'A life is written forth for us which not only in its final hour, but in all its motives and in all its moments, reveals and attests the self-emptying of the Divine—the gift from God's side like the gift which He asks from man. So the physical attributes of the Divine, and the

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intellectual, ever yielding to the ethical—the lower put at the service of the higher, the shows of omnipotence and omniscience, by love's constraint and for man's rescue, passed in His becoming of a man with men' (p. 138).

What *does* this mean? Not, we trust, what it seems to us to mean.

The Pamphlet Library. Edited by ARTHUR WAUGH. *Religious Pamphlets.* Selected and arranged by the Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. With an Introduction and Notes. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1898.)

THIS well-printed and attractive volume is one of a contemplated series of five. We learn from the prefatory note that two principles are to guide the selection of pamphlets to be thus reprinted: 'Each pamphlet, it has been held, should have high literary qualities, and should also mark a distinct change or development of taste or standpoint' (p. 5).

Mr. Dearmer has written an excellent Introduction to his selection of Religious Pamphlets, which, indeed, might well serve as an introduction to the whole series, for, in addition to commenting on his own selection, he adds some thoughtful and well-expressed words as to the general importance of the pamphlet to the student of history:—

'The peculiar usefulness of the pamphlet is that it gives us a picture of the popular mind. It presents the claims of the various movements which struggled for supremacy, not refined for an intellectual aristocracy, but as they had to be made to the average man of the world. Pamphlets thus reveal to us not only the mind of their writers, but the mind of the public for whom they were written . . . Historians tell us of certain causes which produced certain revolutions; but we want to know what caused those causes. We want to know the social life of the people and what they were thinking about, the talk and sermons and books and pamphlets which set things moving. And if the talk and the sermons cannot be recovered, while the books are too bulky for all but a few specialists, the pamphlets, which had a still greater popular appeal, can easily be put within our reach. Indeed, when we look, we find these pamphlets preparing the way for each great movement, as thought germinates among the people. Before the Reformation we see Wiclif sowing the seed; before even the autocratic Tudor dared to attack the clergy, Fish is setting men a-talking in the streets; and before the Church revival of our own day there were the *Tracts for the Times*. For it is the people who settle the course of history, the people who can read pamphlets and newspapers, or can hear them read; it is the people in the end who have to decide, even under a Tudor *régime*, by their acquiescence, their support, or their rebellion' (pp. 41–43).

This is true indeed. The secret of history lies largely in the subtle, hidden growth of public opinion. But while deprecating, as Mr. Dearmer does, making history into hero-worship, we must not forget the work of the individual genius who catches the happy moment, and not only gives an articulate voice to what men are thinking, but defines, directs, and concentrates what was only before existing as vague feeling, sympathy, or discontent. And,

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strange paradox though it is, the Tudor tyranny found its strength in its appeal to the people and its clever direction of their opinion. Henry VIII., immeasurably the worst of our sovereigns, was one of the most popular.

It has been well said that Thomas Crumwell was the first English statesman that understood the importance of public opinion; and there is a significant hint in Foxe's Life of 'That valiant soldier of Christ,' which Mr. Dearmer might well have quoted :—

'As he was always studious of himself in a flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the Gospel, so he always retained unto himself and had about him such as could be found helpers and furtherers of the same; in the number of whom were sundry and divers fresh and quick wits pertaining to his family; by whose industry and ingenious labours divers excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad concerning the suppression of the Pope and all popish idolatry.'

Mr. Dearmer's selection is carefully made, and his notes are useful and not too long. Some of the pamphlets have, of course, mainly an historic interest only; but there are some which have a suggestiveness for our own day. The pamphlets of the extreme Puritan party—those of Thomas Cartwright, 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' Prynne, and Bastwick—illustrate that strange wrong-headedness which imagined and still imagines, in the teeth of the facts, that the Church of England is Protestant and not Catholic, and that by dint of shouting and abuse she may be yet recaptured. 'Martin Mar-Prelate' could hardly fail to recognise his lineal successors in some modern agitators. We commend the 'epitaph' on 'Martin' (p. 151) by one of those who answered him in his own strain to any who may imagine that John Kensit represents the laity of the Church of England :—

'O vos Martinistæ
Et vos Brounistæ
Et Famililonistæ
Et Anabaptistæ
Et omnes sectistæ
Et Machivelistæ
Et Atheistæ
Quorum dux fuit iste
Lugete singuli.'

On the other hand, the pamphlet of Robert Parsons, 'A Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church,' 1580, displays exactly the same obstinacy towards the Church of England, the same refusal to admit that anything which she does or says can possibly be right, which is still the prevailing temper of Roman controversy. And there is the same tendency to join hands with extreme Protestantism in attacking a common foe. The Reformed service, says Parsons, is

'not to be receaved by Catholickes, with whom they deale too chyldishelye, when they say, their service differeth in nothing from the ould Catholicke service, but onelye because it is in English: thereby thincking to make the simple people to have the lesse scruple to come to

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it. The which how false it is, it shal appeare by that which I wil say hereafter. I myghte also bringe the opinion of all the hotter sort of Protestantes, called the Puritayns, who in wryting, sermons and private speeches, doe utterlye condemne, the service which nowe Protestantes have, and thereupon doe refrayne from it, as much as Catholicks' (pp. 159–160).

Poor Church of England! How impossible her position is, and apparently always has been! *E pur si muove!*

1. *The Three Creeds*, considered as supplementary one to another, and compared with Holy Scripture. By J. R. Leslie, M.A., Principal of the Episcopal Training College, Edinburgh, &c. With an Introductory Note by the Bishop of Edinburgh. (Edinburgh: St. Giles' Printing Company. London: Elliot Stock, 1896.)
2. *Theological Outlines.* Volume 1. *The Doctrine of God.* By the Rev. Francis J. Hall, M.A., Instructor of Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois. (Milwaukee, Wis.: The Young Churchman Company, 1892.)

The first of these little manuals is one that may be cordially recommended to all teachers of Christian doctrine. 'The special needs of students at Church training colleges have been chiefly consulted,' says the Bishop of Edinburgh in his introductory note, 'but the work may with very real advantage be placed in the hands of all young persons interested in theology, and more especially of those engaged in preparation for the sacred ministry' (iii–iv). The book is clear, concise, accurate, pleasing in appearance, and shows traces of a great deal of conscientious and minute work. Part i. consists of an account of the history and structure of the three Creeds. We notice that on p. 23 the final clauses of the Nicene Creed are simply said to have been added at Constantinople in 381, but there is a more accurate statement in the Appendix, on p. 123. It would be well in a later edition to insert a reference to this. We regret to observe that there is no allusion made under the head of the Athanasian Creed to the standard authority on this subject, the works of Prebendary Ommanney.

Part ii. deals with the subject-matter of the Three Creeds, arranged in parallel columns under the usual twelve articles. Each article is clearly subdivided and very concisely explained, with a large number of carefully chosen Scriptural illustrations, proofs, and references. The Appendix gives a number of early Creeds from various sources; the revised form of the Athanasian Creed, drawn up by an Episcopal Committee in 1871 (would not the original Latin in parallel columns be useful?), and some examination questions. The Index needs revision, and on p. 84 the headings of the parallel Creeds are misplaced.

The tone of this manual throughout is reverent and catholic. The treatment of the Ninth Article, on the Church and the Communion of Saints, is particularly good. We can entirely endorse the praise given to the book by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and trust that

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it may become widely known and used as a handy and reliable guide in teaching.

2. Mr. Hall's little manual is intended for more advanced students of theology, and is likely to be found a useful guide, in spite of its somewhat forbidding appearance. Although catechetical in form, it is much more of an index than a catechism. Its value consists in giving a clear and exhaustive classification of the different questions connected with the Catholic doctrine of God, in furnishing a starting-point for further study, and in suggesting under each head a number of authorities. The series, when complete, will thus provide both a skeleton and a bibliography for theological study. As a rule, the statements, though necessarily rather meagre, are well thought out and carefully worded. An exception occurs on p. 20, where we are told that 'Greek, Latin, and Anglican alike employ three common Creeds, with but slight verbal variations, to express their faith.' There are a number of bad misprints, very imperfectly atoned for by a list of 'Corrigenda' at the end of the book. And we dislike the singularly ugly abbreviations which occur everywhere; *e.g.* 'Shaff's Sel. Ly' (the name is wrongly spelt also!); 'Palmer's Doc. of Devel.'; 'Man'l of Evid.' But American taste has canons of its own.

Sermons preached in Eton College Chapel, 1870–1897. By FRANCIS ST. JOHN THACKERAY, M.A., F.S.A., &c. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1897.)

THE fifteen sermons contained in this little volume are all scholarly and thoughtful. Both style and matter are good. The writer has evidently studied to advantage the sermons of Dr. Liddon, whose influence, if we mistake not, is seen both in the careful divisions of the subject in each sermon and in the use of apt illustrations, especially from classical literature. And though we miss the robust and penetrating Churchmanship of the master, yet Mr. Thackeray's sermons are marked by a deep earnestness. He shows a sincere appreciation of the importance of the years of the school-life, and he understands the trials and temptations to which they are peculiarly liable. The sermons entitled 'The Tyranny of Sin' (III), 'These Three Years' (VI), 'The Regulation of Thoughts' (IX), 'The Misuse of Words' (X) are good examples, among others, of his power.

Perhaps the chief fault of the sermons is a practical one. They are too much like University sermons. The language and illustrations are really too difficult sometimes for any but the sixth-form boy to follow. This defect occurs most frequently, as we might expect, in the earlier sermons. The later ones are rather simpler; the English is less heavy and pedantic, and the gain in power is, of course, proportionate. The 'Farewell Sermon' (XII) is excellent. We quote one striking passage from it:—

'And, secondly, have enthusiasm: enthusiasm for some noble cause, which by the antagonistic power of good shall cast out and leave no place for the mean, the trivial, the ignoble; enthusiasm, the handmaid of the Faith that removes mountains, and of the Love that thinks the best it

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can of all; the antidote of sloth and of depression; enthusiasm, which (be it said with reverence) was in Christ, when He was consumed with a holy zeal for His Father's house, and when He rejoiced or exulted in spirit on beholding Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Have enthusiasm for your school, for your country, for your own future! Who would not choose the enthusiastic, with all his liability to error, rather than the cold marble character of one who walks too cautiously even to stumble; but narrows his horizon to the things of earth, and never lifts his gaze to heaven?' (pp. 173–4).

Dante: a Defence of the Ancient Reading of the 'Divina Commedia.' By WICKHAM FLOWER, F.S.A. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1898.)

THE ancient text of the *Divina Commedia*, which Mr. Flower defends in his well-reasoned little treatise, is that of a single line only, and is as follows:

'Che diedi al re Giovanni mai conforti.'—*Inf.* xxviii. 135.

In the ninth bolgia of circle viii. of the *Inferno* there appears to Dante the shade of Bertrand de Born, a lord of Gascony, holder of the Castle of Hauteforte—or, as Dante calls it in the Italian equivalent, 'Alta Forte.' He holds his severed head in his hand and lifts it up that it may tell his name, and the cause of his punishment. 'I am,' he says, 'Bertrand de Born.' Then follows the line in question, 'Who gave bad counsels to King John.' And he proceeds to confess that these bad counsels were given in order to make father and son fight together; in retaliation for which sundering of persons so closely allied his own head is sundered from its trunk.

The disputed words in this passage are 'Re Giovanni,' 'King John.' They occur in an overwhelming majority of codici, and in all the printed editions of the poem beginning with 1472 and running through the next three centuries. It was reserved for Guinguenè, in 1811, to point out that historical truth required their alteration to 're giovane.' He accordingly read the line thus:

'Che al re giovane diedi i ma' conforti,'

i.e.

'Who gave bad counsels to the young King.'

In this he was followed by Arrivabene, Lord Vernon, and Fraticelli.

In 1889 Dr. Moore, without changing the sense as thus altered, proposed a different collocation of the words, reading as follows:

'Che diedi al re giovan' i mai conforti.'

He has been followed by Mr. W. W. Vernon, William Rossetti, Dr. John Carlyle, and Mr. A. J. Butler, the last of whom has introduced the slight variant 'giovane' for 'giovan'.'

That historical truth is on the side of Guinguenè is beyond all question. The father who, according to Bertrand's confession, was made by him to fight with his son was King Henry II. of England. This monarch had five sons, the eldest of whom, William, is out of the discussion, as he died at two years old. The other four were Henry, known in history as the 'Young King,' having been crowned

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in his father's lifetime, and who was born in 1155 and died in 1183; Richard Cœur de Lion, born in 1157, and who succeeded his father; Geoffrey, born in 1158; and John, born in 1166.

Other undoubted historical facts are that all of these sons were, at different times, more or less in rebellion against their father, the eldest, the 'Young King,' being by no means the most backward in that respect, though Mr. Flower thinks that Richard was the worst, also that Bertrand de Born was a most intimate friend and companion of all four.

The defender of the ancient reading, 'Re Giovanni,' has to account for Dante's mistake in giving John the title of 'King,' and thereby assuming that he, not Henry, the 'Young King,' was Henry II.'s eldest son.

Those who maintain, on the contrary, that Dante wrote 'Re giovane,' 'the young king,' have to credit the poet with knowledge of the true fact that this 'young king' was the son Henry.

Mr. Flower is a redoubtable champion for the defence of the ancient text, being equipped with a thorough knowledge of the poems, in the original Provençal, of Bertrand de Born, who was, besides a great noble, a renowned poet and troubadour. He brings this knowledge to bear by showing that Bertrand throughout his poems, though he speaks frequently of King Henry II., and of his three sons Richard, Geoffrey, and John, by both their Christian names and nicknames, only once, and then incidentally, mentions the Christian name of Prince Henry, the eldest son, and everywhere else speaks of him as 'Jove rei' or 'lo jove rei Engles'—the 'Young King' or 'young English King.' That, however, Bertrand had a deep affection for this Henry is evident from the three last stanzas of his elegy on the Young King's death, quoted by Mr. Flower in the original, together with Mr. Rowbotham's translation. On the strength of a word of praise by Dante, in the *De Vulgari Eloquio*, of Bertrand as a poet of deeds of arms, Mr. Flower attributes to him as intimate a knowledge of the troubadour's poems as he himself possesses. It seems to us, however, that if that was so Mr. Flower has a much weaker case than on the assumption that Dante had little, if any, acquaintance with them; inasmuch as he brings out distinctly the intrinsic evidence which the poems afford, that Bertrand had different nicknames for all the four brothers, and gave the appellation of 'Young King' to Henry only. It seems to follow that if Dante had been well read in these poems he could not, as Mr. Flower supposes, have been under the erroneous belief that the Christian name of King Henry's eldest son, the 'Young King,' was John, even if he failed to notice the one passage in which Bertrand gave it as Henry. Against Mr. Flower's assertion that it would be perfectly consistent with a complete knowledge of Bertrand's poetry to consider that the Young King's Christian name was John, we must set the fact that in that poetry the 'Young King' and John are two distinct persons, and the nickname given to John is merely the well-known one 'Lackland.' He is never styled the 'Young King,' and even if the latter's Christian name had never been mentioned at all we cannot think that a reader well versed in

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the poems could have supposed that there were two brothers each bearing the same name, 'John.'

Mr. Flower, as it seems to us, is on much firmer ground when he attributes to Dante the ignorance of the true name of the Young King, which the historians of his own time, as Villani,[1] shared; which was probably derived from the erroneous statement of the Provençal biographer of Bertrand, as was also the belief that Bertrand counselled the Young King (John) to go to war with his father, an accusation originated by this biographer, who may have been Hugh of St. Cyr. Mr. Flower conclusively establishes his untrustworthiness in many other respects—for instance, in the statement that the Young King met his death through a bolt shot at him from a balista in a castle of Bertrand de Born. It is, we think, very probable that the early commentator on Dante, Benvenuto da Imola, also had access to this biography, as he follows its account of the death of the Young King exactly. Landino, who lived a hundred years later, and is adduced by Mr. Flower (who does not mention Benvenuto) as another believer in Prince John as the eldest son, merely copied from Benvenuto. We may note, in passing, that Benvenuto evidently regarded 'Giovanni' and 'Giovane' as names used indifferently to denote Prince John. He says 'Beltrandus de Bornio datus et deputatus ad curam et custodiam Johannis filii Henrici regis Angliæ, qui Johannes cognominatus est Juvenis.' And after speaking of him through two pages as 'Juvenis' he proceeds with his exposition of the text of Dante thus: 'Hic Beltrandus manifestat se a nomine et a vitio, dicens *E sappi ch' io son Bertram del Bornio, quelli che diedi i mal conforti*, id est pravas persuasiones, *al re Giovane*.' Whether, therefore, or not his codice read 'Giovane' does not signify; for he takes the word as tantamount to 'Giovanni.'[2]

Both Benvenuto and Landino make the rebellion against his father, said to have been instigated and encouraged by Bertrand, to have consisted only in the pursuit of reckless and ruinous extravagance against his father's remonstrances. Vellutello nearly a century later than Landino (in A.D. 1544) asserts that Bertrand counselled John to make war against his father. Not only these commentators in Italy, but a much later one in France, the Abbé Grangier, so long after Dante's time as close upon the end of the sixteenth century, in his translation of the *Divina Commedia* into French for the use of Henri IV., repeated the same story.

Space prevents us from going through Mr. Flower's long list of old English historians who from time to time wrote accounts of the

[1] Villani (lib. v. c. 4) names two sons only of King Henry II., John and Richard. He says that John went to war with his father at the instigation of one of his barons—not further indicated. He gives another proof, in this same chapter, of his historical inaccuracy by stating that King Henry I. instigated the murder of Thomas à Becket.

[2] In deciding whether to prefer Benvenuto or the synonymous Arrivabene we must remember that the former 'arrived' on the stage of the world some five centuries before the other, and very soon after Dante himself.

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rebellions of the sons of Henry II. against him, and named their instigators, but with no mention of Bertrand. The Abbot of Peterboro', in particular, records by name the adherents to the sons in their rebellion, from the Queen Mother, Eleanor, downwards, but Bertrand is not among them. It also results from the account of Vaissette, the great historian of Languedoc and the south of France, that there was nothing in the facts of the last contest between the King and his sons Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, upon which a charge could have been brought against Bertrand of having made father and son fight with each other. That he did so may, therefore, be as historically untrue as that John was the one to whom, if to any, he gave his bad counsels. Be that as it may we are of Mr. Flower's opinion that Dante wrote 're Giovanni' and not 're giovane,' and that he did so in the belief that the evil counsel was given by Bertrand to John, not Henry.

That Dante was ignorant of the true facts of this English history, which had happened a hundred years before, is most probable, seeing that he had no sound source of information to consult and was not alone in his error. We cannot support Mr. Flower's hypothesis that he may have been acquainted with the fact that John was constituted King of Ireland in 1177 by the Pope's permission; and that he refers to the subsequent rebellion of this 'king' against his father just before the latter's death. That he was not infallible in matters of history is evident from his other mistaken assertions, *e.g.* that Attila razed Florence, and that Constantine made the donation of Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester.

We must leave such of our readers as take an interest in the controversy to consult Mr. Flower's book themselves for details of his refutation of the arguments of Dr. Moore and those who, with him, support the reading 're giovane.' The weak point of their position is that they have no sufficient warrant for assuming Dante's knowledge of the true facts of the history and of the names and numbers of King Henry II.'s sons.

If we had to choose between Guinguenè's and Dr. Moore's emendations of the text we should unhesitatingly decide for the latter, which makes no further change than the elision of the second 'n' in Giovanni, taking the final 'i' as the article agreeing with 'conforti.' This avoids the violent wrench which Guinguenè inflicts upon the line by moving 'diedi' from the second to the fifth place in it. But after everything else has been said there is one objection to any alteration whatever which we deem absolutely conclusive, viz. that, as Scartazzini has duly noticed, it spoils the whole cadence. Whichever of the two is adopted it requires the second syllable in 'giovan' to be pronounced long instead of short, and exactly like that in 'Giovanni.' That this is not to be thought of will, we think, be seen at once by anyone who will compare the two following lines from the *Divina Commedia*:

'Giovăne e bella in sonno mi parea.'—*Purg.* xxvii. 97.
'Giovānni è meco, e da lui si diparte.'—*Purg.* xxix. 105.

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Since writing this notice we have read the review of Mr. Flower's book in the *Tablet* for March 5, 1898. The reviewer appears, like us, to support Mr. Flower's conclusions, but to do so on the alternative ground to the one we adopt, viz. that Dante refers to the rebellion of Prince John against his father in the latter's last days (1189), which was far beyond that of the 'Young King' in 1173, and was intensified by its result in breaking the father's heart. He also suggests a point not made by Mr. Flower, viz. that Dante's illustration of Bertrand's advice by that of Ahitophel to Absalom is enough to show that he designedly referred to John as the recipient of it, inasmuch as John was King Henry's, as Absalom was David's, *favourite* son.

These views may commend themselves to some readers; but we remain of opinion that there is no sufficient warrant for our crediting Dante with so much historical knowledge of the state of King Henry's family, and the several rebellions of his sons, as they assume. And if, as we believe, we cannot be sure that he knew of more sons than two, Richard and John, still less can we suppose that he was aware of the father's feelings towards them respectively.

Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers. Edited, with the Vulgate and other Latin originals, Introduction on Old English Biblical Versions, Index of Biblical Passages, and Index of Principal Words, by A. S. Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University, President of the Modern Language Association of America. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1898.)

It is not difficult to describe in a few words the great labour which Professor Cook has undertaken in this book for the benefit of the Biblical scholar, the student of English speech, and the person who desires to gain a ready knowledge of old English prose. Alfred and Aelfric have been chosen as the representative prose authors of the two chief epochs of early English literature. The Biblical quotations in Alfred's Versions of Gregory's Pastoral Care, of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and of the History of Orosius, in King Alfred's Laws and in Aelfric's Homilies are transcribed, and the Latin originals have been printed, for interpretation and comparison, at the foot of the page. A very careful introduction, on the prose and poetical translations of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, precedes the quotations, and the two indices of Biblical passages and principal words which follow them make reference easy.

No prose translations of the seventh century from the Bible into early English are known to exist, and the poetical translations are confined to the works of three writers, Cædmon, Aldhelm, and Guthlac. As to Cædmon, Professor Cook is inclined to accept the sad conclusion that we only possess nine authentic lines by the Whitby cowherd poet, which merely contain an allusion to the first chapter of Genesis [1] (pp. xiii–xiv). It is distressing to think what we

[1] See Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 253; Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History*, pp. 311–16 (ed. 3).

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have lost, if Bede was right in the passage about Cædmon's compositions beginning 'Canebat autem.'[1] The name of Aldhelm also introduces us to a controversy—one, indeed, of sixty years' standing. It appears that Thorpe suggested in 1835 that the poetical so-called Paris Psalter was the work of Aldhelm (p. xiv.); but Professor Cook is disposed to adopt the conclusions of a critical examination which would place this version in the middle of the tenth century (pp. xxxiv–xliii). There are no remains of the Psalter of St. Guthlac, the earliest mention of which Professor Cook finds in the Chronicle of Ingulf in 1109, and the note on the history of this alleged version shows what confused statements are to be found on such subjects 'even in the latest encyclopædias' (p. xviii).

In the eighth century Bede is the only name under the head of prose translations (p. xx). He is known to have been engaged upon the translation of St. John's Gospel on his deathbed, but, as Mr. Plummer says, 'it is grievous that none of' his 'translations have survived,'[2] and there is an end of the matter. Among the poetical translations of this century Professor Cook places the Kentish version of the *Miserere*, though he mentions other authority for placing it in the tenth century, and has once more to expose misleading statements on this matter (pp. xx, xxi, lxxvi). To this period also belong the paraphrases of Scripture scattered about in various parts of the poems of Cynewulf (p. xxii), and the anonymous poems attributed to Cædmon (p. xxiii). At this point various poems of uncertain date are mentioned, including three poetical paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer (p. xxv).

In the ninth century there is a Mercian gloss, or interlinear version of the Psalms (p. xxvi), and a tentative account of other glossed Psalters is given which range from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and are included here because Professor Cook considers them as probably descended, with successive modifications, from the Vespasian Psalter, as the Mercian gloss is called (p. xxxii). The same date is also assigned to some glosses on the liturgical canticles, and a fragmentary Kentish gloss on Proverbs (pp. xxxii–iii). There are also certain Psalms translated by King Alfred (p. xxxiv) belonging to this time, and possibly also the poem of Judith, though Professor Cook places this too in the tenth century (pp. xliii, lxxvi).

As the ninth century involves us in a discussion of psalters, so the tenth is concerned with glosses on the Gospels. In the first place there is the great Northumbrian work of Aldred, in 950, on which Professor Cook again omits a reference to Mr. Plummer[3] (p. xliii); and next the Rushworth version, by Farman and Owun, giving a translation of St. Matthew, and a gloss of the other three Gospels (p. liii). An account follows of the seven manuscripts of the West Saxon Gospels (p. lix), and a very brief account of the versions of

[1] *History*, iv. 24.

[2] Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 381. Professor Cook is behind the times here, and ought to have referred to Mr. Plummer's annotated translation of Cuthbert's letter (i. lxxii).

[3] Plummer's *Bede*, pp. xx, note; cv; ii. 297–8.

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the Lord's Prayer (p. lxiv). Here Professor Cook inserts, following Dietrich, a summary of the life of Aelfric, as being 'the foremost representative of old English culture in the tenth and early eleventh' centuries (pp. lxiv–lxxv), and because 'the current authorities in English are so unsatisfactory with reference to' his 'identity and career' (p. lxix). To the poetical translations which some authorities allot to this century—the Paris Psalter, the Kentish Psalm, and Judith—we have already alluded. Instead of drawing attention to the incompleteness of parts of Professor Cook's work, which would be an easy task, we prefer to admire his industry, and to thank him for opening the way to further research in a very interesting field of study.

The Law of Faith. By the Rev. WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. (London: Wells Gardner, 1898.)

As a preacher Dr. Bright reminds us more forcibly than any other influential Christian teacher has done of the text which speaks of the scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven: 'Like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.'[1] That is the impression conveyed by the condensed and pregnant contents of this volume, which have clearly formed the kernel of sermons, though they are not so called, nor are we told where they were preached. So much is compressed into each short discourse that it is necessary to read very attentively, and to stay to think very frequently, if we are to apprehend the full force of the writer's argument and to enter into the full relation of his language towards surrounding truths. But whatever the particular topic may be, we cannot escape from the intensity of Dr. Bright's conviction that there is one kingdom which endureth throughout all ages, that the custody of the truth is a sacred trust, that the struggle of light with darkness does not change in its essential character, that we are to fight the old conflict with the old weapons, and that there can be no doubt about its ultimate issue. We confess that we are immensely cheered by the humble yet buoyant confidence which springs out of this loyalty to the Living Head of the Church on the part of one whose knowledge of the ancient and the modern conditions of Christian warfare is both deep and wide. Over and over again in these pages Dr. Bright brings the treasures of his scholarship, his insight into Holy Scripture, especially into the mind of St. Paul,[2] his power of clear dogmatic expression, his vast range of historical knowledge and liturgical usage, to bear upon the problems of modern literature and of modern life. He teaches here, what he has taught for now thirty years from his chair at Oxford, that there is nothing like a knowledge of Church history to steady the Christian combatant when the old foe appears in a new guise. We cannot conclude our general remarks without saying that the book will show young clergymen

[1] St. Matt. xiii. 52.

[2] We trust that some valuable remarks on 'Kenoticism' will be widely read (pp. 337, 344).

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how a versatile taste for literature may be consecrated to the one end which all clerical study must have in view. We shall be glad if we can in detail do something to lead the clergy and other lovers of good literature to read Dr. Bright's book for themselves.

The Pauline teaching on the law of faith, which gives Dr. Bright the title of his book, is unfolded in the first discourse, on Rom. iii. 27; and other valuable expositions of St. Paul's teaching will be found on the subject of grace (p. 12), the doctrinal character of Christianity (p. 31), the personal agency of evil spirits in the Christian conflict (p. 40), the turning of privileges into occasions of sin, on 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16 (p. 131), the efficacy of Christ's death (p. 170), the Ascension and the principle of mystery (p. 217), true and false spirituality, on Rom. viii. 6 (p. 234), the necessary safeguard of love, on Phil. i. 9 (p. 288), and the corporate life of the Christian on πολίτευμα (p. 296).[1] The teaching of St. James is expounded in a discourse on 'belief and action' (p. 194), which throws light upon the drift and character of the whole Epistle. Some important points of controversy and apologetics are discussed under the heads of conversion (p. 70), the comfort of the Scriptures (p. 101), the Christ of Christmas divine (p. 111), the character of the Blessed Virgin Mary (p. 122), prayer (p. 205), and the Transfiguration (p. 244); while matters of practical gravity are treated so as to put new hope into struggling souls in the discourses on the need of a realizing faith (p. 21), superficial religiousness (p. 50), a ministry to the unresponsive (p. 59), the perfecting of imperfection (p. 81), the danger of relapse (p. 91), responsibility for opportunities (p. 141), Christ not received (p. 150), Christ's last discourse (p. 160), eternal life (p. 183), the spirit of power (p. 226), strength through obedience (p. 254), victory through purity (p. 264), and love to God (p. 274). We have not space to allude to a tenth part of the delightful historical allusions which abound in all parts of the book,[2] but we must call attention to the sermon preached at Christ Church on June 27, 1897, on the thirteenth centenary of the coming of St. Augustine (p. 309), on 1 Kings viii. 57, 58. Here Dr. Bright is standing before one of those great scenes of Church history which he has enabled so many of us to realize, and he dwells with the insight of a master upon 'four things' which give Augustine 'a place by himself among the religious "makers" of England' (p. 315). The two addresses to ordinands at the close of the volume are full of sound wisdom for the clergy who live 'in unquiet times,' and who need a strong guiding hand to enable them to walk aright in the midst of 'some tendencies in modern clerical life' which cause anxiety to the true friends of the Church.

In his desire to do full justice to others Dr. Bright may be thought in some passages to go a little too far out of his way, as

[1] Here we should have expected Dr. Bright to refer to Plato's guess, ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα (τῆς πόλεως) ἀνάκειται. *Rep.* ix. 592 B.

[2] A footnote on p. 173, which illustrates the word atonement, is a good example of Dr. Bright's historical references. He says that 'Clarendon calls the pacification with the Scots "this wonderful atonement."'

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when he leaves the authorship of Psalm li an open question (p. 70); and it is surely only by way of being courteous that he quotes Professor Driver's authority for the meaning of a Hebrew word which is that usually given in commentaries on the Psalms (p. 73). There are a few misprints. We notice the omission of the verse number in the text reference at the head of p. 81, and Dormer for Dorner on p. 204. We conclude with one or two *loca aurea*:—(i) 'Where the Incarnation is really believed, sacramental efficacy should be no hard saying; where sacraments are duly appreciated, belief in the Incarnation is never lost' (p. 18). (ii) 'To say that religion has no dogma is to say that nothing is really known about it' (p. 33). (iii) 'All the precious bonds which have drawn souls together here will be renewed and made fast before the throne' (p. 192). (iv) 'The mysterious element in Christianity, being inseparably linked to its moral and spiritual elements, makes it all the more congruous to human nature, and all the fitter to represent the mind and the action of Him Who is at once the Eternal and the Most High' (p. 224).

The Beginnings of English Christianity. With special reference to the Coming of St. Augustine. By W. E. Collins, M.A., Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. (London: Methuen and Co., 1898.)

It may be remembered that Professor Collins was prevented by a sudden attack of unfortunate illness from contributing an essay to Canon Mason's handbook for the thirteenth centenary of St. Augustine's mission.[1] No doubt the handbook lost some interesting materials from that circumstance; but the present volume shows that Professor Collins has quite enough to say on the main theme to justify a publication in which his matter stands together in a place by itself. The basis of the book is formed by certain lectures and articles which were composed in 1897. But the work is not a reprint; it has been re-written throughout after much further study, and more than half of its subject-matter and the whole of the appendices are new. So many different conclusions are drawn from the facts of St. Augustine's mission, and those facts have such a unique interest for English Churchmen, that we are quite ready to welcome yet one more attempt to let the facts 'speak for themselves.' In his first chapter Professor Collins gives a fair and clear account, with references to larger works, of the Romano-British Church and Celtic Christianity (p. 17), and in an appendix he disposes of the fiction that the British Church did not baptize infants (p. 157). This prepares the way for the chief chapter, on 'The Beginnings of English Christianity,' which gives the title to the book. References to other works are again given,[2] and in telling the familiar story once more

[1] See *The Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1897, p. 9, and this work, p. 10.

[2] We could not accept without some limitations Professor Collins' estimate of Canon Mason's Handbook (p. 51); but we are quite with him in his remarks on Bishop Lightfoot's epigram (p. 76).

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Professor Collins seems to us to give a very just estimate of the true place of St. Augustine.[1] Students will greatly enjoy the careful note in which the facts known about St. Augustine's 'first band of missionaries' are accumulated (p. 159), and other interesting points are discussed in connexion with the language of the Frankish interpreters (p. 171), the date of Ethelbert's marriage (p. 174), and the landing-place of St. Augustine (p. 182). On this last topic the reader may consult the map of Britain in 597 at the close of the volume, where an inset map gives the Isle of Thanet and the adjacent mainland. The chapter on the Welsh Church and the English of course includes a discussion of the famous meeting between St. Augustine and the bishops, whom Professor Collins believes to have been 'men of the Damnonian Peninsula' (p. 89). He also is convinced that 'there can be no real doubt as to the whereabouts of Augustine's Oak,' and places it at Cricklade (pp. 87–8).[2] In conclusion, the bearing of the facts set forth upon our relations with the Roman communion is considered in a very well-reasoned chapter. The treatment of Gregory's verbal repudiation of the title of 'universal bishop' is particularly well discussed (p. 135). Other notes in the Appendix deal with the gift of the pallium (p. 185), the evidence for the existence of 'many Christians of the Saxon race' in Europe before St. Augustine came to Kent (p. 189), the authenticity of Gregory's 'answers' (p. 192), the relations between Antioch and Rome (p. 193), and the numbering of Gregory's letters (p. 196). There is an excellent Index, and we have only noticed a few defects of type, *e.g.* on pp. 183, 206. We must not omit to mention Mr. Birkbeck's reminder that Gregory's famous saying about *loca pro rebus* is only an adaptation of the Vulgate version of 2 Macc. v. 19 (quoted on p. 117), and if we had not given so much space to Bede and to St. Augustine in comparatively recent numbers, we could enlarge on many tempting themes which Professor Collins brings again to our recollection.

Christian Aspects of Life. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)

The pursuit of episcopal duty has led the Bishop of Durham to consider afresh the application of the Christian creed to many problems of life. The contrasts between modern society and the Apostolic Church have shown him that we require 'to modify very largely both our ideals and our practice; to study more carefully than we have hitherto done the characteristic endowments and history of our nation and of our Church in relation to other peoples and other faiths; to calculate the moral effects of the popular types and aims of education; to bring the differences of our work and circumstances under

[1] Canon Routledge has just published *The Church of St. Martin, Canterbury* (Bell, 1898), which is a welcome addition to 'Augustinian' literature.

[2] Stanford Bishop is claimed as the spot in *The Finding of St. Augustine's Chair*, by the late Mr. J. Johnston, who believed that he possessed the very seat in which St. Augustine (too firmly) sat.

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the ennobling influences of one supreme fellowship; to cultivate generally the capacity for delight in the common treasures of manhood and Nature; to strive habitually to see God in His works and in His working' (Pref. pp. v, vi). The present volume contains the thoughts on these subjects which have been suggested to the Bishop by his own experience, in the shape of sermons, speeches, and addresses, arranged somewhat loosely under certain heads. The visitation charge of 1896, which forms a general introduction to the rest of the book, marks the way in which one or two of the leading characteristics of the present time enable us to realize new aspects of the faith, and applies the lessons of some conditions of our personal and social religious life. Under the head of the National Church the Bishop considers the Church as the spiritual organ of the nation (p. 59), as charged with duties to Christendom and to the nation (p. 69), and the sense in which it is progressive (p. 86). Akin to this subject are two addresses on citizenship, human and divine (p. 102), and the national day of rest (p. 119). We know what the circumstances were under which Hooker would have spoken of the 'National Church,' and how different are our circumstances now, when 'a motley combination of adversaries,' as the Bishop says (p. 61), is endeavouring 'to secularize our national life as national, and to discard that which has been the moulding, inspiring force of England.'[1] Caution in the use of the term national is necessary, because it may be twisted so as to represent the Church as the nation's creature, and to detach the rights of Church membership from spiritual obligation,[2] and we hope that this will be borne in mind by those who are likely to make use of the Bishop's addresses on social subjects. There are two addresses on Foreign Missions (pp. 141, 158) and two on Education (pp. 187, 202), one of these being a very interesting eulogy of James Prince Lee as 'the greatest . . . . among the great teachers of his time' (p. 188). The remaining headings are Social Service and Social Relationships (pp. 219, 283), and under them are grouped the Bishop's thoughts on the Christian Social Union, the Christian Law, and the Co-operative Ideal, and also such varied topics as the relation of the Christian Faith to War, International Arbitration, Love of the Brethren, our membership one with another, the Power of Ministry, and a speech at a miners' gala. In conclusion, and in an appendix, there are a sermon at a flower festival, a Cambridge University sermon entitled 'Via hominis visio Dei,' and addresses on the spiritual work of laymen, the titles of Christians, and Morning and Evening Prayer. It would be difficult to read these weighty addresses without feeling that we are sitting at a master's feet, for Dr. Westcott has that experience of age, hallowed by the graces of the Incarnation, which leads him to address us as 'My sons' (p. 353). He speaks,

[1] That is to say, they are content 'to leave one of the world's "three measures of meal" unleavened,' and to confess 'that there are powers in the world which Christianity cannot and dare not deal with, gates of hell which must be left to prevail.' Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*, p. 529.

[2] Bright, *The Law of Faith*, p. 329, where also a reference is given to 'some weighty words' in Dean Church's *Letters*, p. 186.

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in fact, in that tone and out of that atmosphere which made the utterances of Dr. Pusey so impressive, with that 'power of earnestness' which Dr. Mozley has so effectively described.[1] There is in our mind just the suspicion of a fear that some of Dr. Westcott's bold attempts to grapple with social problems may be imitated upon his authority by men who have not his steadying basis of faith in the Christ of Christendom. There is a danger that the language of the master, especially of a master inclined to clothe his thoughts in the fashion of the mystical writers, may be detached from that which gives it life when it is copied by the pupil. The desert and the camel's hair, the locusts and the wild honey, are at hand for the disciples; but the Baptist's heart is a gift from Heaven.

1. *Sermons on some Words of St. Paul.* By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon Residentiary and Chancellor of St. Paul's. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.)
2. *University and other Sermons.* By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., late Dean of Llandaff, and sometime Master of the Temple. With a Preface by an old friend and pupil. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1897.)
3. *Jesus and the Resurrection.* Thirty Addresses for Good Friday and Easter. By the Rev. A. G. MORTIMER, D.D., Rector of St. Mark's, Philadelphia. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.)
4. *Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey.* By BASIL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Canon of Westminster, Chaplain to the Speaker, Select Preacher before the University of Oxford. (London: Elliot Stock, 1898.)

WE have placed these four volumes of sermons in order of merit, and if we were to bracket the first two as equal out of deference to the admirers of the late Dean Vaughan, we have little doubt that few judges would dispute the place which we assign to the four. In our own opinion Dr. Liddon's volume contains a combination of eloquence, clearness of construction, expository material, definite Church teaching, and practical insight into human nature and the needs of the times, which entitles his book to the first place without a serious rival. The volume contains, as the advertisement tells us, 'a few sermons preached at Advent and Eastertide, after the volumes for those seasons had been issued; but a large number belong to the Sundays after Trinity.' Dr. Liddon's literary executors think that

'it may well have been the case that the dedication of the Cathedral with which (his) work in London was linked for twenty years turned his thoughts with special concentration on St. Paul's Epistles, and that this influence entered into that minute and vivid exposition of the mind of the Apostle which appears in these sermons.'

[1] *Essays Historical and Theological*, ii. 154. The effect of such sermons upon young men is finely introduced by the late Rev. Richard St. John Tyrwhitt into his novel, *Hugh Heron*.

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There are two Advent sermons on the Trial of Work (p. 51), and Self-judgment (p. 65). The Eastertide discourses are the Resurrection, a declaration of our Lord's divinity (p. 1), Consideration for Criminals (before the Lord Mayor and Judges) (p. 110), Victory over the Last Enemy (p. 154), The Measure of Grace (p. 199), Christian Growth (p. 215), Religious Progress (p. 246), and Contentment (p. 262). The remaining eleven sermons are upon: The Foolishness and the Power of the Cross (p. 17), The Foolishness of Preaching (p. 37), Spiritual Gifts (p. 81), Promptings of the Holy Spirit (p. 95), Intelligent Prayer (p. 124), The Meaning of Church Life on Earth, preparation for an eternal future (p. 139), The Tutorial Office of the Jewish Law (p. 170), Justifying Faith (p. 185), The Struggle with Evil (p. 230), and The Christian Venture, on 2 Tim. i. 12 (p. 276). We will only quote one passage, which shall be on education, and this must serve as a sample of many like precious pieces of Christian teaching:—

'When I hear of schemes of education which are only schemes for packing the mind full of facts, and which include among those facts almost everything except what bears upon that one subject which it is most important for a human being to know, a Voice from above sounds in my ears: "Concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant"' (p. 92).

The majority of the sermons in Dean Vaughan's volume have been reprinted from editions that are already past or passing out of print. Five of the discourses are exceptional in character and treatment, namely, those on the Indian Mutiny, the Prince Consort, the Consecration of Bishop Cotton—a sermon which closes with one of the noblest perorations that ever forwarded a missionary bishop to the sphere of his work—and two discourses which terminated a work of fifteen years at Harrow and inaugurated a yet longer ministry at the Temple. The collection has been made and edited, with a portrait of the preacher, by one of his very dear friends, who heard the first sermon when he was a boy of seventeen, and the last when he was a man of forty. One extract may be made which shows exactly what was Dean Vaughan's conception of the position of a clergyman in the face of an intellectual congregation, and which may be commended to the attention of all young men who are too much inclined to take a lower stand than on the basis of the whole counsel of God as revealed in Christ:—

'My brethren, is there to be any misunderstanding . . . between us, between me and you, as to the basis, as to the foundation on which I stand here? Is the Gospel itself to be, as between me and you, an open question? Am I bound, every time I mention the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Divinity of Christ, to prove each to you by some novel argument? Am I to come hither, in a profane parody of St. Paul on Mars' Hill, to reason with you on premises of Nature, if haply I may draw you towards a Faith and a Revelation not yet accepted? Honestly, earnestly, do I say this to you: if that was what you wanted, I am not the man (for the Temple Church). . . . If you believe not the Gospel, I cannot hope to prove it to you. If I may not assume the Gospel, I descend from this pulpit instantly and for ever. I am here as one of the

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appointed twenty thousand stewards in this our Church of England of God's mysteries, to bring out to you from His storehouse, week by week, as He shall give me judgment and utterance, something profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for discipline in righteousness' (p. 73).

Dr. Mortimer's thirty addresses for Good Friday and Easter are excellent examples of their kind. That kind illustrates not so much the powerful influence of a master of pulpit eloquence as the quiet reflection of a contemplative mind. The addresses are intended for devotional reading, or as helps to meditation, and as sermon notes for the clergy. The Good Friday part of the book is an invitation to consider each of our Lord's sayings on the Cross as a manifestation of some special characteristic of love. The Eastertide addresses deal with all the recorded appearances of our Lord after His resurrection, including one appearance—namely, that to St. Paul on the road to Damascus—after the Ascension. They form a welcome addition to the few, but now increasing, number of books which treat of Easter and the great forty days. The lesson that Easter is not a halting-place, or at all events not more than an Elim in the Christian pilgrimage, is rightly emphasized, and is drawn with special care from a consideration of the scene in which St. Mary Magdalene was taught to look beyond the merely human presence of her Lord to the truer and closer relationship which was to be hers after the Ascension (p. 148).

The sermons of Canon Wilberforce need no long notice here. Eloquence, versatility, enthusiasm, are gifts which may be consecrated to the service of the pulpit, and all the sermons in this volume contain abundant illustrations of these gifts. But a preacher must remember the injunction, 'Prune thou thy words';[1] he must restrain his natural gifts by the controlling influence of ordination grace; he must recollect that he is a minister of the Church of Christ, 'an institution with its own history, its great truths to keep and deliver, its characteristic differences from the world which it is sent to correct and to raise to higher levels than those of time and nature.'[2] And Canon Wilberforce seems to take a boyish delight in what we may familiarly describe as kicking over the traces. Something to produce an uneasy excitement, something startling, something to make the members of the congregation glance at one another and lift their eyebrows partly in surprise, and partly, we hope, in incredulity, and partly, no doubt, with a smile as of being entertained, is to be found in the majority of these sermons. In short, the daring element forms much too large a part of them, and the general effect which they produce on us is that of clever instability. We stand in doubt how far the preacher means to go, and we cannot avoid the conclusion that he does not know quite where he stands with regard to the accepted teaching of the Church. In fact he does not seem to stand in a fixed place—he moves. The passages that have produced the impression which we have endeavoured to describe are so numerous and so long that we do not wish to single out any examples; but perhaps the best thread to be followed to test the fairness of our criticism is

[1] *Lyra Apostolica*, No. 68. [2] Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 375.

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the repeated treatment in these eighteen discourses of a vague kind of universalism, in which the good-natured qualities which lead a parent to spoil a child are harped upon until they lead the preacher to forget that all our experience of human nature leads us to believe in the possibility of the continued obduracy of the human will.

1. *The Holy Bible* : consisting of the Old and New Covenants, translated according to the letter and idioms of the original languages. By ROBERT YOUNG, LL.D. Revised edition. (Edinburgh : G. A. Young and Co., 1898.)
2. *Synonyms of the Old Testament* : their bearing on Christian doctrine. Second edition. By the Rev. R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A. (London : James Nisbet and Co., 1897.)

THE appearance of the Revised Version of the Bible has not done away with the demand for Dr. Young's strictly literal and idiomatic rendering of the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The first edition appeared in 1862. Two impressions of the edition revised by Dr. Young in 1887 are now exhausted, and now the publishers have submitted the work to a fresh revision, making no alteration in principle, but trying to produce a work as nearly perfect in point of accuracy on its present lines as possible. It must suffice here to say that Dr. Young held very strong and decided views about the rendering of the tenses of the Hebrew verb, and was a firm believer in the verbal inspiration of the original text of the Bible. He was led by these views to produce a translation which sacrifices all beauty of diction, where necessary, to loyal efforts to reproduce the precise form of the original. The value of such work, in spite of its rugged character, as a subsidiary help to the student of the Bible who does not know Hebrew, nor perhaps Greek, is obvious.

The first edition of Mr. Girdlestone's work appeared in 1871, and in the preface to the second edition the author says that many of the points to which he then called attention, though not all of them, have been dealt with in the Revised Version. He considers that in the choice and uniformity of renderings, and in the use of the hyphen, the revisers 'might have gone much further than they have done.'[1] Mr. Girdlestone deals solely with the meaning and usage of words, and has therefore avoided all reference to modern critical theories of the Old Testament. He has revised his work in the interests of those who are unacquainted with Hebrew, or who are only beginners, and he has received throughout assistance from Professor Sayce, who has added references to corresponding Assyrian words. The subject of the translation and interpretation of Biblical terms, to which an introductory chapter is devoted, is a very large subject, even in the New Testament alone, as readers of Archbishop Trench's *Synonyms* will know. There are about three hundred and fifty Hebrew and three hundred Greek words which come within the scope of Mr. Girdlestone's work, and the very long index of texts shows

[1] In the opening pages of his book Dr. Young gives copious examples of the extraordinary variety of renderings, or, as he says, confusion and laxity, of the Authorised Version.

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what a great number of passages have been surveyed. Even in the English equivalents of the Bible words some idea of the extent of the work can be formed. Among the subjects are the names of God and of man, soul and spirit, heart, will, conscience and understanding; words for sin, repentance, conversion and amendment, redemption and salvation, atonement, forgiveness and acceptance, offerings and altar, temple, tabernacle, congregation and church, prophet, priest, elder, and minister. There are many of these subjects which involve controversial matter, and on which we cannot agree with the conclusions of the former Principal of Wycliffe Hall. But our present intention is not to embark upon a discussion of these matters, but rather to say that in this new edition the student of the language of the Bible will find a supply of facts, references, and industriously collected material which he can study for himself, and from which he can form his own conclusions.

Scientific Aspects of Christian Evidences. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A., Professor of the Harmony of Science and Revelation, Oberlin College, Author of *The Logic of Christian Evidences*, *The Ice Age in North America*, &c. Illustrated. (London: C. Arthur Pearson, Limited, 1898.)

THIS volume contains 'an elaboration of the Lowell Institute Lectures delivered' 'in Boston' in 1896 (Preface, p. vii). The first chapter illustrates at some length the 'limits of scientific thought' and points out the immense extent of human ignorance as shown by the impossibility of our present natural knowledge rightly making statements of any kind about the 'origin of matter,' the 'origin of life,' the 'endless existence of the present order of things,' the 'continuity of nature,' the 'immortality of the soul,' the relation of the 'existence of evil' to the 'benevolence of God,' or the 'capacity of the human mind.' In a similar way, the second chapter shows by means of examples that the

'explanations of science, instead of being real solutions of mystery, are merely substitutions of one mystery for another, or, what is more frequently the case, of several mysteries in place of one' (p. 28).

The third chapter discusses the 'ways in which God's relation to Nature has been viewed by Christian philosophers' (p. 62). The subject of the fourth chapter is 'Darwinism and Design.' After noticing the vagueness with which the word 'evolution' is frequently used and the 'need of a qualifying adjective to define its character in any particular connection' (p. 89), Dr. Wright expresses and defends his opinion that what is vital in the doctrine of design in Nature is untouched by the general principles of the Darwinian hypothesis.

'The theory of the origin of species through natural selection relates solely to the mode of the action and interaction of definite secondary causes' (p. 90).

'The Darwinian supposition . . . makes a demand for a Contriver who is omniscient as well as omnipotent. . . . The hand of Providence

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certainly is not dispensed with, but rather called for, by this theory' (pp. 102–3).

'We should carefully distinguish between the fact of creation and the mode of creation. Of the fact we may be always sure. Our conception of the mode is ever subject to enlargement. We may leave it to the common sense of mankind to make the adjustments in the use of language which the nature of the case requires. When we ask a cabinet-maker to "bring" a bureau to the house, we do not need to define how he is to bring it. When the judge orders the sheriff to "bring" the prisoner to the bar, the accompaniment of handcuffs and latent display of authority is readily supplied by the imagination. But when the mother asks the son to "bring" his friend home to dinner, the words convey no thought but that of the gentlest persuasion. The critic who should insist that the word must have the same outward meaning in all these cases would simply demonstrate his unfitness as a guide in such simple matters. It is equally so with those who become so entangled in subtleties of logic that they can see design only in handicraft, and creation only in the work of a carpenter' (pp. 113–4).

In the next chapter, the subject of which is 'Mediate Miracles,' the author is perhaps a little inclined, without in any way depreciating Divine agency, to overrate the natural element in some miracles. He brings forward valuable considerations on the general subject and with regard to particular events. The sixth chapter, in dealing with similar questions, contains discussions on the subject of 'reasonable doubt' and 'probability;' and there is a clear statement of a valuable argument which we remember that we have met with in the writings of Dr. Liddon and Mr. Aubrey Moore.[1]

'Having admitted the central miracle of the Bible—namely, the resurrection of Christ—the presumptions become altogether in favour of other miracles connected with the system. There is no incongruity in representing that a person who has triumphed over death as Jesus did in His resurrection, performed other miracles during His life. Nor is there any incongruity in the introduction into the system, at an earlier stage, of miracles preparatory to the consummation of the system. The one who accepts the consummation of Christianity in the resurrection, and the supernatural doctrines connected with it (such as the abiding presence of the Spirit and the forgiveness of sins through the death of Christ), may reasonably presume that the miraculous manifestations were not limited to that one supreme moment. He is prepared, therefore, to accept a preliminary miraculous history which has a "reasonable" amount of direct evidence supporting it, and which is not manifestly incongruous with the system' (pp. 190–1).

The remainder of the book is occupied with somewhat different subjects. Dr. Wright shows how the discoveries of recent years have strengthened the evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament. He discusses the significance of the features presented by the textual criticism, and emphasizes the fact, which is not, we think, always sufficiently realized, that, if the number of possible variations is put at the highest, it is still the case that no change in the teaching of the New Testament results. There

[1] Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, pp. 155–8; Moore, *Science and the Faith*, pp. 98–9.

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is much that is valuable in his examination of details in the Gospels as affording evidence of their early date.

We have to thank Dr. Wright for an interesting book, which ought to be useful in supporting Christian truth. He appears to have confused St. John's Gospel with that of St. Mark by a slip of memory on page 296; and we wish he had not said that the word 'kingdom' is used in the New Testament 'in the sense of the invisible Church' (pp. 290–1).

1. *Catholic Papers written by different Persons and read at several Times before the Meetings of the Clerical Union in New York and Philadelphia, U.S.A.* With a preface by the BISHOP OF MILWAUKEE. (Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey. London: J. Masters and Co., 1894.)
2. *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture and Six other Essays.* Edited with an introduction by H. R. PERCIVAL, D.D. With a preface by the BISHOP OF MILWAUKEE. (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1896.)

THE introduction and seven essays which comprise the book entitled *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture and Six other Essays* are the same as those previously published under the title of *Catholic Papers.* In the earlier form both introduction and essays were anonymous. In the later form, a 'cheaper and more popular edition,' the names of the writers are 'given in the table of contents' 'by permission of the "Clerical Union"' (p. vii). We learn from the Preface written by the Bishop of Milwaukee that the 'Clerical Union for the maintenance and defence of Catholic principles' is a society of Priests of the American Church which was founded in 1887 (p. ix). In Dr. Percival's Introduction it is further stated that there are four 'Credenda,' acceptance of which is required from all those who become members of the 'Clerical Union.' The first three of these 'Credenda' are in the form of statements of belief in the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist; the 'Priesthood received from Bishops in Apostolical Succession' as a necessity of all 'the Sacraments except Baptism and Matrimony;' and the gift to each human soul during this life of 'grace' 'sufficient' 'to escape damnation' and the limitation of probation to this life; the fourth states

> 'I believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be inspired by God in a manner wholly different from all other writings, and so that they are "the infallible and undeceivable Word of God," and whatever is contained in them is true' (pp. xxii–iv).

These 'Credenda,' which are also printed on p. lxxiv at the beginning of the 'Constitution' of the 'Union,' show the standpoint from which the introduction and essays are written. The introduction contains an explanation and defence of the declarations in the 'Credenda.' The essays are on the 'Inspiration of Holy Scripture' by Father Longridge, the 'Deutero-canonical Books of the Old Testament and the Ante-Nicene Fathers' by the Rev. W. W. Webb, 'Science and Miracles' by the Rev. Dr. Mortimer, the 'Doctrinal

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System underlying the Prayer Book and Articles' by the Rev. Dr. McGarvey, 'Fasting Reception of the Holy Communion' by the Rev. Stewart Stone, the 'Indissolubility of Marriage' by the Rev. Robert Ritchie, and the 'Anointing of the Sick' by the Rev. F. A. Sanborn.

All the essays contain valuable matter. The strongest is perhaps that by Father Longridge on the 'Inspiration of Holy Scripture.' It is evidently the result of much careful thought and study, and we think it right to quote the writer's concluding words :

'I will only add that in the course of writing this essay I have been led to take a higher view of inspiration than that with which I began. What study and thought I have been able to give to the subject has constantly deepened the conviction that the Holy Scriptures are in very truth the word of God inspired throughout by the Holy Ghost ; that they are, *in their originals*, entirely without errors of any kind ;[1] and that whatever inaccuracies or errors there may seem to be exist only in the medium of transcription, translation, interpretation, or comment, through which alone we are able to view those originals. And this I take to have been the belief and teaching of the most approved Catholic writers from the earliest times down to our own day.

'Whether the Holy Spirit has also watched over and directed every word and letter, seems to me to be a question for the patient investigation of the devout scholar ; and a belief to be held, if he should be led to hold it, for his own edification and increased interest and delight in the study of the sacred text rather than to be proclaimed to the world, or, still less, to be imposed as an article of faith upon others. I can but record my own growing conviction that, at least in some portions, its language is, to use the words of one who studied it very deeply for many years, "minutely, scrupulously, marvellously accurate in every word, and syllable, and letter" (Sewell, *Microscope of the New Testament*, p. 7)' (p. 53).

We do not think that Dr. Percival has in the introduction always chosen his language with sufficient care ; but we desire to thank him for the earnestness of his protest against much that is false in current theological writings and especially for his repudiation of the 'kenotic' theology with its very dangerous tendencies.

Old Testament Outlines. A Devotional Insight for Busy People. With Readings and Meditations for every Day in the Year. By the late FRANCIS AYLMER FROST, sometime Rector of Thurstaston, Birkenhead. (London : Skeffington and Son, 1897.)

THIS book is an attempt to make the devotional use of the Bible less difficult for busy people who have little time for the study of Holy Scripture. It shows admirably the main lines of spiritual interpretation of the Old Testament ; and it gives clearly the central point to

[1] It may be worth while to notice that a similar opinion has lately been expressed by a writer who has applied a legally trained mind to the study of the text of Holy Scripture : see Copinger, *The Bible and its Transmission*, pp. 1–3. The subject was discussed at some length in the article 'Inspiration and History' which appeared in our pages in July, 1894.

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which Meditation on a large number of passages may be directed. It is thus calculated to be very useful to those who need to gain an idea of the general principles of the devotional use of Holy Scripture, and who can work out for themselves the elaboration which the central point thus given requires. It corresponds in this way to the description of it on the title-page as a 'devotional insight.' We are afraid it is not altogether suited for persons who need a good deal of help in working out the thought of a Meditation. It is for some a great advantage to be more thrown on themselves than is the case with books of more fully worked out Meditations; there are others for whom the fuller help is necessary.

There are some wise remarks in the Introduction where the author in speaking of certain critical questions about the Old Testament says:

'It will be sufficient for us to refer to our Lord's use of the Scriptures, and the manner in which they were applied to the instruction of the Church under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. For instance, our Lord spoke of the Creation, the Deluge, the destruction of Sodom, the fate of Lot's wife, the revelation of God in the burning bush, the sending of manna from Heaven, the lifting up of the brazen serpent, as real historical events. He alluded to Abel, Noah, Abraham, Moses, as persons who actually lived and occupied the places assigned to them in the Bible. When He upbraided the two disciples on the way to Emmaus with their slowness to believe the Scriptures, "beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." He said that all things must needs be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning Him. Surely such testimony is sufficient for us. Whatever may be the results of modern criticism, we may take courage, and devote ourselves to the study of God's word, in perfect confidence that it is real history, and that through it the Holy Spirit will reveal to us something of the wonderful purposes of God to the enlightenment of our minds, and the deepening of our love' (pp. x, xi).

We observe that the book, though completed, was not finally revised by the author in consequence of his sudden illness and subsequent death (Preface, p. v). There are a few expressions which might perhaps have been altered in a final revision, as when the Resurrection of our Lord is called 'the one great doctrine of the Christian faith for the defence of which every believer was prepared to lay down his life' (p. 51), or when it is said that our Lord 'received the fulness of His Power in Baptism' (pp. 52–3), or when the Ten Commandments are described as 'the Law in its crudest form' (p. 72). And we question whether Mosheim can rightly be called 'one of the greatest of Church historians' (p. 148).

Notes on the Use of the Prayer Book. By the Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. (New York: E. and J. B. Young and Co., 1896.)

These notes have been 'compiled primarily for the use of' the 'clergy and candidates for Holy Orders' of the diocese of Vermont, though 'it is thought that' they 'may be helpful in a wider circle'

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(p. 3). The 'text and rubrics commented on are those of the Standing American Book of 1892' (p. 4).

The explanations given and suggestions made are throughout very simple and clear, and are likely to be useful to those who have to use the American Prayer Book. We may notice sensible remarks on daily Morning and Evening Prayer, the public administration of Holy Baptism, and the use of the Marriage Service.

'Over and above the blessing which may certainly be expected from thus uniting in the continual offering of the Church's worship, the subjective advantage, both to minister and people, of the regular recitation of the Psalter, and of the orderly reading of Holy Scripture from the beginning to the end, with varying combinations of Old Testament and New Testament Lessons, is incalculable' (p. 7).

'The administration of Baptism before the full congregation should have a distinctly edifying effect upon the people present; it bears witness to the Church's teaching concerning the Sacrament; and it secures for those baptized the prayers of the faithful' (p. 39).

'The Prayer Book Service is intended for the Church's children. A person who has not, by Baptism, been received into the Christian Society, with its privileges and obligations, has no claim to the Service which solemnizes a Christian marriage' (p. 55).

We cannot say we like the suggestion that wafer-bread should be in the form of sheets, and the piece for each communicant 'broken off in the distribution' (p. 33).

The Growth of Sacrificial Ideas connected with the Holy Eucharist. Read before the Liverpool Clerical Society and published at its request. By the Rev. DAVID MORRIS, B.A., Chaplain H.M. Prison, Liverpool. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.)

THIS carefully written and temperately expressed little book is an account of what the writer believes to have been the history of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Its fundamental position is that a belief in any other sacrifice in the Eucharist than the merely spiritual offering of prayer and praise is a distortion of Christianity. It is impossible for us to deal in any satisfactory way with this question within the limits of a Short Notice, and we may be content to say that Mr. Morris's views will be found to be very adequately refuted by the positive considerations which have lately been ably set forth in the seventh chapter of Dr. Moberly's *Ministerial Priesthood.*

It is, we presume, through a slip of memory that Mr. Morris states that 'only a Latin version remains' of 'the epistle attributed to Barnabas.' He assigns the epistle to 'about A.D. 71' (p. 12).

Theological Outlines. Volume II. *The Doctrine of Man and of the God-Man.* Volume III. *The Doctrine of the Church and of Last Things.* By the Rev. FRANCIS J. HALL, M.A., Instructor of Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois. (Milwaukee, Wis.: The Young Churchman Co., 1894 and 1895.)

THESE two volumes complete the clear and accurate summary of Christian doctrine which was commenced in vol. i. (see above,

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p. 493). The form adopted is that of question and answer, with explanations and references. Their chief utility is likely to be in supplying a basis for fuller study, and the large number of references will be welcomed by those who are using the book in this way. A few places appear to us to be open to criticism. For instance, the phraseology in two passages (ii. 119, iii. 96) might be understood by some to imply a confusion between the divine and human attributes of the Incarnate Son of God; the statement about the Patristic teaching on the Atonement (ii. 172) exaggerates the universality of the belief that the death of our Lord was a ransom to Satan; we doubt whether the writer can seriously have meant what he has written in placing 'fornication or pre-marital unchastity' among the 'impediments' which 'nullify the marriage union *ab initio*' and 'a vow of celibacy or virginity' among the 'impediments' which 'make the union undesirable without destroying its validity' (iii. 129). In so large a number of references it is hardly to be expected that no errors would creep in, and the author will do well to revise them carefully in preparing a second edition.

Apart from minor faults, we think the book excellent, and likely to prove very helpful to students of theology. Its general point of view may be seen from the following quotations on subjects which have been much discussed of late:

'It is not necessary for a believer in Biblical inspiration to maintain that the Biblical and the chronological order of Creation correspond *in every detail*; but, on the other hand, the substantial accuracy of the Biblical account, as a *sacred summary*, has not been, and does not seem to be in the way of being disproved' (ii. 24).

'The question' [*i.e.* as to the dependence of the Incarnation upon the Fall] 'is speculative, and its answer has not the certainty of faith. Man *has sinned*, and, whatever other ends may be accomplished by the Incarnation, the fact of sin causes the Scriptural emphasis to be placed upon its *remedial* purpose. Its other ends, mentioned in Holy Scripture, would have been accomplished, no doubt, if Adam had not sinned; but we may not insist that they would have been accomplished, in such case, by means of the Incarnation' (ii. 94).

'The Humiliation of the Son of God consists in the fact that He condescended to *veil His inalienable glory and attributes in flesh*. He did not, strictly speaking, divest Himself of anything which He had before, but what He could not surrender or change He *concealed* from the observation of men and Angels, by submitting to be made subject to the law as servant and by travelling, as Son of Man, a path of obedience which led to the death of the Cross. In other words, *He assumed humble conditions* which, for a time, hindered men from acknowledging His essential and inalienable glory. Neither this glory nor anything essentially His could be abandoned, but they could be and were made *as of no account*, in the eyes of the multitude. . . . The term *kenosis*, as used by modern writers, is of doubtful value. Its only proper use, as applied to the Incarnation, is metaphorical; whereas, when used in technical theology, it is apt to be and has been interpreted etymologically, as signifying an *abandonment* of Divine attributes. Such an idea is inconsistent with the unvarying teaching of the Church—that Christ, in the days of His humiliation, was one Person, *not by conversion of the Godhead into Flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God*. . . . The term

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humiliation seems better, since it does not suggest a violation of the inviolable, and raises no unnecessary difficulties' (ii. 130–1).

'It is lawful to interpret the Biblical terms "fire" and "worm" figuratively. Yet we ought not to think that our Lord would exaggerate or misrepresent the pains of the damned. The figures employed by Him should not be interpreted, therefore, as exceeding the reality or as unworthy of emphasis' (iii. 167).

Through Fire and Water: and other Sermons. Preached in St. Ignatius's Church, New York, by the Rev. ARTHUR RITCHIE, 1897. Reprinted from *Catholic Champion.* (New York: Guild of St. Ignatius, 1898.)

WE assume that the volume of sermons which bears this title has been published chiefly for the use of the congregation to whom the sermons were addressed. Whether as preached or in a printed form they are calculated to be useful to those who are in complete agreement with the preacher or are willing to be influenced by him. In spite of his evident earnestness and thoughtfulness, we do not think the method and phraseology of the sermons likely to commend their teaching to others. The tendency to too great positiveness of statement and to exaggeration of expression will naturally repel many who are not already in sympathy. To mention one instance, a statement so incapable of historical justification as that—

'the Christian Church has always invoked the prayers of the Saints in Heaven just as she has taught Christians upon earth to pray for one another' (pp. 16, 17)—

cannot, to say the least, be regarded as wise. To defend the lawfulness and expediency of the Invocation of Saints is one thing; to make an historical assertion in a very strong form which covers a period of two hundred years about which there is absolutely no evidence on the point is another.

Perhaps the best of the sermons is that entitled 'Homage and Departure.' In the concluding paragraph of it Mr. Ritchie says:

'The second principle of the true Christian life which worship brings home to us is the consciousness of our own littleness, the lesson of ***humility.*** It was the opinion held by many in old time that the sin of Lucifer, which caused his miserable fall, was refusing to bow down before the Son of God revealed to the angelic hosts as in the Incarnation, a human babe. The fiat was, "Let all the angels of God worship Him." But Lucifer would not. If God had been pleased to reveal Himself as He will at the last day in awful majesty and overwhelming glory, it would be no exercise of man's humility to bend before Him, all would perforce worship. In the weakness of human infancy, or as He now reveals Himself to us, under the sacramental forms of bread and wine, our souls need no compulsion of worship. The world scorns such homage as the Catholic pays to the Blessed Sacrament, accounting it puerile and superstitious. Nevertheless, when one does prostrate himself before the Sacred Host, with hearty appreciation of what he is doing, he cannot but feel his own littleness and God's greatness. In that consciousness of personal littleness lies the secret of true Christlikeness. When we acknowledge our unworthiness and our utter dependence, we are in a condition to be taken up by His grace, and made strong with unearthly strength. We

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offer our homage and pass out of the Church to our manifold world duties, but the spirit of our worship remains upon us, and we cannot assert ourselves haughtily or act with selfishness and unfeeling hardness towards our neighbours. We cannot be tenacious of our rights and aflame with human ambitions. Like the Wise Men we have adored and departed, yet, like the Wise Men, we have so adored that the spirit of our homage remains upon our lives, and the Master whom we have had apparently to leave for a little while in reality goes with us, and so ineffably unites Himself to us that we may not be separated from Him for evermore' (pp. 43-4).

Chauncy Maples, D.D., F.R.G.S. Pioneer Missionary in East Central Africa for nineteen years, and Bishop of Likoma, Lake Nyasa, A.D. 1895. A Sketch of his Life with Selections from his Letters. By his Sister. With Portraits and a Map. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897.)

THE name of Chauncy Maples is no unworthy addition to the roll of the Church's princes in Africa. We speak of it as the dark continent, 'nevertheless the dimness' has fled before the light which has sprung up in the North, the Centre, and the South, in ancient and in modern epochs of Church history. The great names which are connected with Carthage and Alexandria and Hippo of the Kings, with the deserts of Egypt and the land of Ethiopia—Tertullian and St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, St. Antony and St. Augustine—remind us how the Church in what may be called the North triumphed in spite of heresies and persecutions. The South followed long afterwards on Apostolic lines when Bishop Gray of Capetown guided the Church through the troubles of the Colenso controversy, and the work in Central Africa has been undertaken by a noble company of bishops, clergy, and laymen in the truest spirit of Christian self-sacrifice, like the martyrs of old. We trust that this compendious record of what Maples was and did will assist the mission with which he was connected to overcome its financial difficulties.

The short outline of the facts of his life occupies but thirty-eight pages. This sketch, however, divided into two parts, forms the backbone of the work. By weaving in the letters which follow, to his relatives and occasionally to his friends, and by glancing during the perusal from time to time at the excellent portrait which forms the frontispiece (an instructive practice in biographical reading), we gain a vivid picture of Maples, which we recognize as true to life. The letters and selections from his journals occupy about three hundred and fifty pages. They are copious, but they reveal the life interests of the man as no second-hand descriptions could succeed in doing, and anyone who begins by turning over the pages of the book and reading here and there will soon find himself enjoying its entertaining variety of topics, its glimpses of African life, the unconscious singleness of heart and complete devotion to duty which the writer betrays. The last forty pages contain notes and paragraphs

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upon Bishop Maples by various fellow-workers, native and English, and also a fairly good but not exhaustive general index.

Maples got his Christian name of Chauncy from his mother's family. It was of Norman extraction, and an early member of it settled in Yorkshire. There was, too, some Scots blood in the family, and not a few sturdy north-country qualities appear in Chauncy Maples's character. As a small child he was interesting and of a happy disposition, and had an intense love of music. As he grew he was known by his friends as one who 'would go straight,' and who loved long walks and sailing. At Charterhouse he is described as being 'one of those delightful boys who take a whole school by storm' (pp. 4–7). He came as a lad into contact with two famous men—with Mr. James Hinton the aurist, better known as a philosopher than as a medical man, and with Mr. J. B. Mozley, who prepared him for Oxford. His undergraduate life, bright, happy, careless, and always wholly innocent, was suddenly solemnized by a 'scrap of blue paper' which Bishop Steere put up on the notice-board of the Oxford Union Society, appealing for men. This paper attracted the attention first of his friend Johnson, and then of himself. While still a deacon, after six months' work in an Oxford curacy, he sailed for Africa. He was ordained priest at Zanzibar in 1876, and from that time forward his life is part of the history of the Church in Central Africa, which we shall not pursue in detail. A useful list of the chief dates of his life places its outline clearly before us (pref. p. xi). His own journals and the testimony of his fellow-workers supply abundant illustrations of his great capacity of endurance, his power of adapting himself to all sorts of people and circumstances, his unconquerable cheerfulness, and his remarkable genius for winning the love alike of his own countrymen and of the native races. Miss Maples does well to call attention to the simple eloquence of the letters in which two native teachers at Nyasa give their own account of Bishop Maples (pp. viii, 384), and side by side with them must be placed the graphic details of the fatal voyage on Lake Nyasa which come from the lips of the native crew, and are recited by Archdeacon Johnson. When the boat capsized,

'the Bishop, though a good swimmer, was hampered by his cassock, but the crew—the natives swim like fish—bore him up, using an empty box to support him, but the box soon sank. They wished to tear off his heavy clothing. Why did he refuse? I believe he kept wonderfully calm, and and thought it was hopeless, as the land was doubtfully visible. The waves broke over them. Then the Bishop told them to leave him. "Do not let me cause your death," he said, in Chinyanja. "It was my fault; save yourselves. Go to the Europeans, to Mr. Johnson, and tell them I have died." And so he sent them from him and sank in the deep waters.'[1]

[1] Two instances of the loss of valuable lives by drowning occur in Bede. Abbot Peter of Canterbury was drowned in the Channel (Bede, i. 30), and Bishop Romanus of Rochester in the Mediterranean (*ibid.* ii. 20).

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The Providential Order of the World. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897.)

THIS book consists of the Gifford Lectures for 1897. The ninth of the twelve lectures here printed was not delivered, in consequence of the eighth lecture having been broken into two parts, and some passages were omitted from want of time. Apart from this, we are told that the 'lectures appear substantially as they were delivered in the Bute Hall of Glasgow University on the Sunday afternoons of January, February, and March, 1897' (Prefatory Note, p. v).

The title of the book gives a very good idea of its subject, and Dr. Bruce states in the first lecture the 'kind of thoughts' which he has had in view; they are 'such as these':—

'That God cares for man individually and collectively; that His nature is such, and He sustains such a relation to man, as makes that care natural and credible; that His care covers all human interests, but especially the higher, ethical interests—righteousness, goodness—in the individual and in society; that He is a moral Governor and a benignant Father, a Power making for righteousness, and a Power overcoming evil with good; that He ruleth over all things with a view to a kingdom of the good' (pp. 6–7).

The lectures thus deal with matters of abiding interest and touch needs which are specially noticeable at the present time. Dr. Bruce lays much emphasis on the pessimism of to-day, marked alike in philosophical systems and their influence and in popular thought. In what he says on this subject we do not think he exaggerates. And the full significance of a pessimistic wave in the present century can only be estimated when it is remembered that it comes after the Christian faith has been preached and accepted for so long a time.

It is Dr. Bruce's aim to show, in opposition to and as a remedy for this line of thought, the reality of the care and wisdom which are exercised by Almighty God on behalf of the race of men and of individuals. With great skill he points out and establishes the high probability of the existence of a wise and good purpose in much which at first sight may seem unmeaning, or unwise, or cruel.

Dr. Bruce enthusiastically accepts and uses the theory of evolution. He frames and develops his arguments in such a way as to make them depend upon it. He is willing to extend it so as to include the growth of intellect and the development of conscience.

The subject of the book necessarily requires the consideration of the question whether any place, and, if so, what place, is to be given in the inquiry to the Holy Scriptures. The answer given to this question is that 'scientific method' is to be 'adhered to,' and that 'the term scientific in the present connexion' 'means'

'that what we say about God is to rest on observation of the world we live in—of nature, of man, of human history—and to consist of such statements as may be verifiable by such observation. It excludes nothing which belongs to the world in any department, therefore nothing which belongs to the religious history of humanity, therefore not the Hebrew

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and Christian sacred literatures, which occupy a prominent place in that history. It excludes the use of these literatures as authorities, but not as *witnesses*. If our subject should lead us to discuss the relative history of religious thought, the thoughts of Hebrew prophets and of Jesus Christ will relevantly come in, and legitimately count for what they are worth. If on a comparison it should turn out that they are worth more than thoughts to be found elsewhere, that will certainly tend to give them authority, but it will be authority of a kind with which no scientific man will be disposed to quarrel; and, I may add, with which religious people will do well to make themselves familiar' (pp. 5–6).

We can understand that in an inquiry of the kind and within the limits that Dr. Bruce sets before himself, it is necessary to restrict the use of Holy Scripture to the position, as he says, of witness, not authority. Such a fact does not either account for or justify a most unfortunate paragraph with regard to the consciousness of our Lord. It is there stated :—

'According to the Gospel narratives, Jesus knew from the beginning of His public career what was to befall Him, so far at least as the general fact was concerned. It is perfectly credible. He had studied, doubtless, the religion of the time before He left His retirement in Nazareth; the felicitous descriptions of Pharisaic ways contained in the records of His teaching are evidence of this fact. He learnt from that study how wide was the gulf between His thoughts and the thoughts of the Rabbis on all things divine, and also how very sure they were that their thoughts were the only orthodox and legitimate ones. It needed nothing more than ordinary sagacity to foresee what would happen when the new Prophet of Nazareth went forth to utter His convictions with unflinching courage, absolute sincerity, and at the same time with a grace and power that won for him speedily the ear and the favour of the multitude. Suspicion, ill-will, and by and by murderous intentions on the part of the dominant faction, were matters of course' (p. 355).

The Providential Order of the World is likely to be of very considerable utility at the present time, as showing on the basis of hypotheses now popular that there are solid reasons for maintaining that there is a personal God, who rules the world in wisdom and goodness. We do not anticipate for it permanent value, both because of its dependence upon certain aspects of the theory of evolution and because of an occasional superficiality by which it is marked.

The Sacrifice of Christ: its Vital Reality and Efficacy. By HENRY WACE, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, Rector of St. Michael's, Cornhill, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, formerly Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. (London: Seeley and Co., Limited, 1898.)

THE object Dr. Wace has in view in this little book, consisting of sermons preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, is described as being to show 'how the Sacrifice of our Saviour, and its atoning efficacy, arose naturally from the circumstances of His life and ministry, and from His relation to the Jews' (Preface, p. v). In accordance with this he lays much stress on the state of affairs which resulted from

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the rejection of our Lord by the Jews, and on the consequent necessity that He must either destroy them or Himself submit to death. This consideration is certainly of value, as helping to show how truly human our Lord's life was, and how fully He allowed Himself to be under the laws and methods of human nature. At the same time, it needs to be safeguarded by a very strong hold on the predestination of the Passion, and the need of it to atone for original sin, as well as for those actual sins of which there was a consummation in the rejection of our Lord. In a writer less thoughtful than Dr. Wace it might easily be pushed too far. As it is, we are glad to notice the clear emphasis on the truths that our Lord's death was both voluntary and deliberate, was Divine action as well as human suffering, and has abiding reality and power. On this last point Dr. Wace writes :—

'His living Presence with the Father and with us renders His sacrifice an ever-present, an ever-subsisting, ground of appeal. It is not merely that a great satisfaction was offered to God's justice in the past, but that the Lord, who offered that satisfaction, now lives in the heavens, at His Father's right hand, and intercedes for us with all the influence which His suffering for us confers upon Him. As the personal action of God involves His personal judgment upon our evil, so, on the other hand, does His personal character involve His listening to the perpetual supplications of the Saviour, pleading for mercy, for long-suffering, for a further time of grace, for further aids of God's Spirit, to the souls with whose weaknesses He sympathises, with whose temptations He is acquainted. The virtue of the Atonement thus consists, not merely in the greatness of the Sacrifice once offered, but in its continual and living application, by the Saviour's own intercession, before the Father's throne . . . The virtue of His sacrifice is potent in proportion to the personal character of the God and Father to whom it is offered, and before whom it is constantly presented by Him, as our High Priest. There is nothing past, and nothing formal, in the operation of that sacrifice. It is a living Saviour, whose sufferings are still remembered by Himself and by His Father, who pleads for us as our Advocate, because He is the propitiation of our sins' (pp. 51–2).

The words 'there is nothing past' appear to us to be an overstatement. The present pleading of His sacrifice by our Lord in heaven has its efficacy because the Humanity which He presents to the Father has, at a definite past moment, passed through death into the glorious spiritual life which He now possesses. But the passage generally is valuable in its emphasis on the abiding and present character of the offering of Christ.

This makes us the more regret that Dr. Wace's view of the Eucharist is so inadequate. The remembrance therein is regarded by him as a remembrance simply to man. Thus he says :—

'For the sake of keeping alive in us this perpetual remembrance of His suffering and of His abiding intercession has He appointed the holy mysteries of the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Not for the purpose of any propitiatory sacrifice to His Father—for that would be a usurpation of His own office—but "to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master"' (p. 53; cf. pp. 72–3).

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A more adequate conception of the Eucharist would have enabled Dr. Wace to see that it is not only a remembrance to man, but also a memorial before God, a presentation on earth to the Father of the Humanity of Christ in union with His own presentation of Himself in heaven. The truth of the present intercession and abiding sacrifice of Christ in heaven is robbed of much of its force if it is not placed in connexion with the other truth of the reality of the Eucharistic sacrifice.

Thus, in thanking Dr. Wace for his reverent and suggestive treatment of our Lord's sacrifice of Himself, we must express our regret that he has not carried out some parts of his teaching to their legitimate conclusions. It is to be regretted, too, that he fails to distinguish between the temporal and eternal penalties of sin (p. 27), and that he does not lay more stress on some aspects of the objective character of the Atonement. And, though no doubt he uses the expressions in a perfectly orthodox sense, we never like the phrases '*a* . . . man,' '*a* human being,' applied to our Lord (p. 29).

The Threshold of the Sanctuary: Being short chapters on Preparation for Holy Orders. By B. W. RANDOLPH, M.A., Principal of Ely Theological College, Hon. Canon of Ely, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.)

THIS excellent little book deals with 'the inner aspect of the pastoral and ministerial life' (Preface, p. vii). The subjects of the thirteen chapters of which it consists are 'vocation,' 'the answer to God's call,' 'the Priesthood,' 'a theological college,' 'repentance,' 'prayer,' 'intercession,' 'the Daily Office,' 'meditation,' 'the Holy Eucharist,' 'self-discipline,' 'study,' 'the pastoral spirit.' It is marked throughout by high spiritual tone and a keen insight into the needs of the clergy and of candidates for ordination. While it is distinctly the product of the writer's own thought and devotion, the spirit of it, and occasionally the language, reflect much which is valuable in writings or teaching of the late Dr. Liddon and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

That in the case of Canon Randolph spiritual force and earnestness are not dissociated from the exercise of balanced judgment is abundantly clear, and may be illustrated from the following passage:—

'As we must reflect often, both before and after ordination, "into how high a dignity, and to how weighty an Office and Charge we are called . . . to be the Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord," so must we beware, too, lest we narrow down our conception of the priestly office. A study of the Ordination Services, whether of the ancient Church or of our own, as well as the Patristic treatise[1] on the sacred ministry, will, on the contrary, teach us to take a wide view of our duties and responsibilities. We are pastors as well as priests, we are teachers as well as "ecclesiastics," we are men as well as clergymen; we

[1] Is this a misprint for 'treatises'? We may mention here that we have noticed 'model' instead of 'moral' on page 50, note 1.

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have responsibilities towards the rich as well as to the poor, to our brethren in the ministry as well as to the laity. Do not take a one-sided view of this great office; do not divorce its prophetic and pastoral aspect from its sacerdotal aspect. Because we understand better than our immediate forerunners the place of the Sacraments in the Christian scheme, why should we disparage preaching? Because we understand the importance of public worship, why should we neglect house to house visitation? Because we realise that the Holy Eucharist is *the* Christian service, why should we look upon Mattins and Evensong as of no account? Because we mean to be true to Catholic principles, why should we ride roughshod over the feelings and prejudices of others, and neglect to strive to "commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God"? Because we are to "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word," why should we forget that other promise, "to maintain and set forwards, as much as lieth in us, quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people, and especially among them that are committed to our charge"?' (pp. 37–8).

We could wish that every candidate for ordination should read *The Threshold of the Sanctuary;* and not a few of the clergy might be greatly helped by it.

The Sanctuary of Missions. By EDWARD T. CHURTON, D.D., Bishop of Nassau, Author of *The Island Missionary*, *The Missionary's Foundation of Doctrine.* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.)

THE Bishop of Nassau has added to his two admirable books entitled *The Island Missionary of the Bahamas* and *The Missionary's Foundation of Doctrine* a small volume containing 'a few papers on the devotional aspect' of the 'life and work' of the clergy. In it he has made 'no attempt to avoid giving that local colouring which was congenial to the writer's situation in the West Indies'; but it is by no means the case that the usefulness of the book will be confined to one part of the world. The Bishop tells us he does 'not believe that either the soul's spiritual combat, or its upward aim, are much affected by the skies under which its lot is cast' (Preface); and, however this may be, there is certainly a great deal in his new book which is applicable to the clergy in England.

The Sanctuary of Missions is thoughtful and devout. It may profitably be used by the clergy for spiritual reading, or to supply matter for meditation. Many parts of it will be of devotional use to candidates for ordination. The chapters of which it is composed are entitled 'On the Steps,' 'Introductory, on the Practice of Meditation,' 'Review of Life and Ministry,' 'Apostleship and Priesthood,' 'the Eucharistic Sacrifice,' 'Man's Exaltation in Christ,' 'The Scope of God's Predestination,' 'Confession of Faith,' 'Contemplation of the "Via Crucis,"' 'Fears,' 'the last "Our Father,"' 'Rest.'

As a specimen of the contents of this excellent book we extract the following passage from the advice given by the Bishop of Nassau, as the outcome of experience, to missionary clergy:—

'"Reprove, rebuke, exhort, preach the Word," state the truth clearly,

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denounce error honestly, be a father to the children, instruct the young, "make straight the way of the Lord," leading through the gate of Baptism to Confession, Confirmation, Holy Communion. The blacker the gloom around, the more steadily let the lamp go forward, held in your hand as you lead your people on. A missionary cannot merely heal those brought to him and let them go; he must be eyes to the blind and a staff for the infirm to lean upon. Unless you have courage—not, indeed, to be a tyrant, but to use discipline in its proper place for correction, under the approval of your bishop—you will never bring these unstable ones to the joy of a service which is perfect freedom. But while you are severe at times, be also gentle and tender-hearted. *Et matrem pietas, et patrem exhibeat disciplina.* Once more, you will have your disappointments: what can be more certain? And yet I say to you, that "he that ploweth shall plow in hope." If I depended on leaving permanent results on earth I should not venture to say this, because the hope would be vain. The old Spartan legislator might sooner dream of bequeathing institutions which should be imperishable than you of so founding your house upon a rock amidst this sea of ignorance and instability. But I tell you to hope, because those whom our Master enables us to rescue from out of this "great tribulation" shall indeed, according to His determinate counsel and will, be saved for evermore, and taken to join the universal predestined family of God's redeemed in heaven' (pp. 94-5).

Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum. An attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England from the Records and Chronicles of the Church. By WILLIAM STUBBS, Bishop of Oxford. Second edition. With an Appendix of Indian, Colonial, and Missionary Consecrations, collected and arranged by E. E. HOLMES, Honorary Canon of Christ Church. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897.)

THE high value of the first edition of the *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* is known to all serious students of English Church history. The present edition is a republication of it, with very slight differences of method and with such additions and alterations as have been made possible by new material which has become accessible since 1858. It is continued down to the consecration of the Bishop of St. David's on May 1, 1897. A new appendix, compiled by Canon E. E. Holmes, the Bishop of Oxford's domestic chaplain, containing a list of the consecrations of Indian, Colonial, and Missionary bishops, has been added.

A reviewer who should attempt to criticize an historical work by the Bishop of Oxford might find himself in a very awkward predicament; and we may be content to say that this new edition is a considerably improved form of a work which we have been in the habit of regarding as indispensable, and to quote a fact of interest mentioned in the postscript to the Preface:

'I may add that,' writes the Bishop, 'in one of my last conversations with the late Archbishop he advised me to make an effort to reproduce and continue the book, in preparation for the meeting of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion in Conference' (p. xi).

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Letters from Heaven: a Communication from a Star. Edited, with permission, by G. E. WATTS, M.A., F.R.A.S. (London: David Nutt, in the Strand, MDCCCXCVII.)

THE title of this little book may provoke a smile; but we presume that both the title and the preface, which attempts to justify it, are only meant for a playful prelude to what is really a devout and serious work with a religious object. The concluding words of the book show what that object is: 'If there were present to all of us in clear vision the end to which we are destined, the perfection of every faculty of soul and body, would it not seem worth striving for with might and main? This is what the preceding pages aim at. If even in one instance they are successful they will not have been written in vain' (pp. 85–6).

The imagination has a legitimate sphere in the devotional life, if it be restrained by reverence and the limits laid down by Revelation. And the life of heaven is pre-eminently a subject for a devout imagination to dwell upon. Perhaps we have fallen in modern times too much into the habit of regarding Christianity as chiefly concerned with the improvement of this present world, or with our present spiritual life. We are ready to accuse the mediæval writers of forgetting earth and its duties in the vision of heaven. But possibly our own tendency is more dangerous to the spirit of Christianity, more out of proportion with the real issues of our moral life. No man lived more vigorously in the present than St. Paul, and yet he bids us look rather at things eternal than things temporal.

We are, therefore, disposed to welcome *Letters from Heaven* in spite of the title, of certain obvious defects, and of the very slight character of the whole. The book, like *The Dream of Gerontius*, traces the passage of a Christian soul through death and judgment. Then it endeavours to suggest the possible developments of a resurrection life. 'Letter' VI., on 'Our Occupations,' is very thoughtful, *e.g.* 'And do you fancy that we have no poetry? Do you suppose that all the raptured singers who have celebrated the praises of the Almighty are now silent and dumb? Or think you that the genius of Dante, Milton, and a host of others consecrated to God during their earthly life has now no use, but has fallen off like a worn-out garment? If you do, you contradict the whole rule of Providence' (p. 64). Readers of Browning will remember how often this same thought has been developed by him, as in such lines as—

> 'If such his soul's capacities
> Even while he trod the earth—think now,
> What pomp in Buonarroti's brow
> With its new palace-brain, where dwells
> Superb the soul.'[1]

The appreciation of a book like this will vary with individual feeling. To some it will seem fanciful, even bordering on the irreverent. But it is certainly conceived in a Christian spirit. Theology, however, is not the writer's strong point. He has confused the particular and

[1] *Easter Day*, xxvi.

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the universal judgment.[1] He ignores the intermediate state. He seems to conceive that imperfect souls are made perfect at once by the sight of their Judge, and pass at once to heaven. Again, we do not think the author justified in arguing, from the fact that Our Lord took food after His Resurrection, that there is in heaven 'real food fitted for the refreshment of those who take it . . . real wine, adding somewhat yet more to their joy and gladness' (p. 42). We have noticed one or two misprints: *e.g.* p. 11, 'that made the world I was living in comparison seem a hell;' p. 64, 'the song of *God* and of the Lamb:' this is a particularly unfortunate blunder, for the argument requires 'Moses.' It seems a pity that the book has not been published in a more durable binding than paper.

The Penitent Pilgrim: a Manual of Prayer and Practice. Re-edited and Abridged from the edition of 1641 by G. E. WATTS, M.A., F.R.A.S. (London: David Nutt, in the Strand, MDCCCXCVII.)

THIS book consists of a series of short meditations, each followed by a prayer, of which the object is to awaken and deepen penitence. The soul tries herself by various standards—the Decalogue, the Works of Mercy, Corporal and Spiritual, the Beatitudes, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Five Senses, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Four Last Things—and under each head finds herself convicted of sin, and prays for pardon. We do not think that the style would recommend it to many as a devotional book, but the method is suggestive. The quaint description of the Seven Deadly Sins is somewhat in the style of Bunyan. Take, for example, that of Pride.

'The very first with whom I discoursed seemed at first sight a proper winning personage. Neat was his dress, perfumed his hair, with a long lock hanging down his shoulder.

'I made bold to ask him where he was born, and in what parts he had most remained. For his birth he told me the very angels would inform me, for he had received his birth and parentage from them. And touching the place of his abode, he said, that upon his first coming into this lower world, he planted first near that glorious city Babylon, where he so well instructed the common people that they would rather leave their trade than not observe the fashion of the time' (p. 84).

The Early Life of Our Lord. By the Rev. J. BROUGH, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces. (London: John Murray, 1897.)

THIS book is a melancholy example of the results of trying 'to be wise above what is written.' Had the writer confined himself to searching out and describing the features of simple Jewish life in the time of our Blessed Lord, such as He must have lived amidst at Nazareth, the work would have been harmless and interesting. But he must needs try to do much more than this, nothing less daring, in fact, than to trace the development of our Lord's human nature amongst these surroundings. In order to do this he is compelled to adopt a quite unproved and unprovable assumption—namely, that not till our Lord's Baptism did He fully realize Who He was.

[1] Letter III. Again, see Browning, *Easter Day*, xvii.–xx.

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Consequently the words in the Temple to Joseph and Mary, and, indeed, the whole incident, have to be minimized.

'How true to nature these words of Jesus are! He was still scarce more than a boy; and boys do not easily see things from any point of view but their own. Older people, however strong may be their feeling or well-founded their opinion, do not expect that every one else will think and feel in the same way as themselves. Tolerance comes with age and experience; in youth it would be unnatural' (p. 123). '. . . To say that Jesus was at this time fully conscious, not only of His relation to the Father, but also of His mission upon earth, would be to anticipate the course of history' (p. 125). '. . . Even after He began His public ministry we can in some measure trace the gradual and tide-like advance, constant, yet by marked waves of crises, of His knowledge of Himself' (*ib.*)

Throughout the book the mystery of our Lord's advance in wisdom seems to be treated from a purely human point of view. He is represented as the creature of education and environment. Two passages will illustrate this:

'What Jesus said of Judas, "Good were it for that man if he had never been born," comes from the book of Enoch, which was well known and esteemed at the time, though it never found a place in the canon; but as the phrase was a familiar one in the Rabbinical schools, *it is possible that Jesus got it*[1] from hearing it in a synagogue or in common conversation, and not at first hand from the book itself' (pp. 61–2).

And if it is strange to hear such words as the above spoken of Him who is Judge of all men, are not the following equally strange when spoken of the Creator of the world, who hateth nothing which He hath made?

'Jesus shared, so far as His gentle nature would let Him, the Jewish dislike of dogs. "Give not that which is holy to the dogs," He said. When he told the story of the beggar Lazarus, He meant it for a touch of deep degradation that "the dogs came and licked his sores." He thought it improper that the children's bread should be given to dogs. And yet He was too tender-hearted to drive them away' (p. 81).

But we cannot help saying that this sort of irreverence passes into something worse when we are told—

'His mother's domestic duties, His own working with His hands, and perhaps the necessities of the household, the everyday converse with neighbours who all had something to do, the industrious habits of Jews generally, and specially of the people of Galilee, *would help to make Him practical and reliable, to give simplicity to His bearing, and reality to His teaching of religion*'[2] (p. 241).

A little lower down we read, 'Like the Pharisees, He felt deeply the duty of complete obedience in everything to the will of God, and He used in His teaching their conception of a spiritual world peopled with angels good and bad' (p. 242).

Mr. Brough seems to us to have lightly attempted a task which no man, no, nor angel is capable of. With apparently the best intentions he has drawn for us simply the picture of a Gnostic or

[1] Italics our own. [2] Italics our own

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Nestorian Christ. He inveighs against the Apocryphal Gospels (*e.g.* pp. 138–40), but his own work seems to us just as presumptuous and even more dangerous. We would ask him very seriously to consider much more deeply than he apparently has ever done the stupendous fact of the Incarnation, to weigh those words of Hooker, 'Let us therefore set it down for a rule or principle so necessary as nothing more to the plain deciding of all doubts and questions about the union of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a *co-operation* often, an *association* always, but never any mutual *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other.'[1] Nay, we would ask him to consider whether the sinlessness even of Christ, in which we presume he believes, does not throw an entirely different light on the circumstances of His early years than that in which this book places them; whether that one fact does not suggest that any attempt by man to trace the development of our Lord's human soul must be impossible. We regard the appearance of this book in itself as a serious matter; if it is a sign of the times it is a still more serious one. We appeal to the author to withdraw it from circulation or entirely recast it.

The Ideal Life, and other unpublished Addresses by Henry Drummond, F.R.S.E. With Memorial Sketches by W. Robertson Nicoll and Ian Maclaren. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897.)

Slowly but very surely the reading public is making up its mind, which in the expression of its final conclusions provides the surest test of literary worth, upon the exact place to be assigned to the religious books of the late Professor Drummond. There are some books which are so great that their immense value cannot be taken in by the mind of one generation, and they only move majestically forward to their true position, from which they touch the heart of the world. There are others about which a great multitude of people who think that they possess many talents of literary perception appears to go crazy when they are first published, but after a while they begin to take a lower room in the public mind. Professor Drummond's most popular books do not belong to the first of these classes, and the distance which has been traversed by some of them—for example, by *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*—on the path indicated in our description of the second class is long. It is, in fact, coming to be recognized that it is only a certain section of the reading public, though a large section, that is satisfied with the religious food of Professor Drummond's addresses. It is not difficult to define in general terms what that section is. We may at once frankly say that it contains but few Churchmen. It includes those very large masses of religiously minded Dissenters who are weary of the strife of their own contending sects, and who wish for an undenominational Christianity which shall stop short of its own logical conclusions. Professor Drummond was an exponent of such aspira-

[1] *Eccl. Pol.* v. liii. 3.

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tions. He was in earnest; he could put his thoughts into pointed phrases, as many of these hitherto unpublished addresses show; and he, or his publishers, hit upon the happy idea of publishing his remarks in the form of cheap and dainty little pamphlets. Moreover, he had a personal influence, apart from his publications, which may be measured by the eulogies of Dr. Robertson Nicoll and Ian Maclaren in the opening part of this volume. The addresses here published, written between 1876 and 1881, do not contain any striking features which differ from those of the Professor's well-known works. They have their good points, and if we could cut out our Lord's self-asserting claims from the Sermon on the Mount, forget that He appointed an Apostolic ministry in the Gospels, founded a visible Church on earth, and communicates His grace through sacramental channels, we might admire the lofty principles of moral teaching which we had no power to follow.

1. *A Faithful Churchman.* By PROFESSOR A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D. (Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark; London: A. and C. Black, 1897.)
2. *The Clerical Life.* By various Writers. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.)

WE have placed these two books together because they both afford illustrations of the modern use of words in new senses. The first is a sketch of the life and work of Professor James Robertson, D.D., with an account of the Disruption controversy and of the extension of Scotch Presbyterianism. It forms a volume of the series called 'The Guild Library.' The second is a collection of letters 'addressed to ministers' by Doctors John Watson, Marcus Dods, Edwards, Denney, and Robertson Nicoll, and Messrs. Darlow, Selby, and Stoddart. Here we have the words 'clerical,' 'guild,' and 'Churchman' interdenominationalized, if we may be forgiven for the use of such a word. A plain and definite title, such as 'James Robertson,' would have been far better for what is really an interesting account, with a portrait, of 'the second name and the first man of his party.' Professor Charteris has abridged the larger *Life of Professor Robertson*, which was published in 1863, and is now out of print, for this memoir. The story of the Disruption, of which Mrs. Oliphant gave her own picturesque recital in her life of *Thomas Chalmers*, easily bears repetition, and Professor Charteris tells it well, from his own point of view (p. 80). We can only allow ourselves to make one extract from the little memoir. It is a piece of testimony upon the question of religious education. Dr. Robertson

'was a warm advocate of what has been called the "denominational system," viz. to retain the parochial schools in connexion with the parish church, but to admit to the same level of National schools with them the schools of any denomination, if efficiently taught. By giving all denominations full scope in their respective spheres, he believed essential unity would be promoted through a healthy rivalry, and that any attempt to combine them would lead either to sectarian bitterness or to religious indifference' (pp. 145-6).

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If we bear in mind the ordinary Nonconformist conception of the minister, the letters on *The Clerical Life* are shrewd and amusing enough. The authors only append letters of the alphabet to their respective contributions, so that we do not know who is the author of any particular letter. The ministers addressed include those who find that some of their most attractive young men are sceptical, who are given to 'anecdotage' in the pulpit, who are invited to preach in a vacant church (*i.e.* chapel, as we should say), whose sermons last an hour, and so on to the extent of about a score of varieties. In addition to much knowledge of human nature and a good deal of wit, the book gives us many glimpses of the relations which exist between Dissenting ministers and their congregations.

The Supernatural in Nature. A Verification by Free Use of Science. By J. W. REYNOLDS, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's. New and cheaper edition, revised. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.)

THIS work was originally issued in an anonymous form. Then, at the request of Bishop Jackson, the author disclosed his name on the appearance of the second edition; and now General Sir Alexander Elliot has conferred a signal service on all who believe in the supernatural by obtaining the author's consent to issue a cheap edition revised in every part. The author believes that nature and grace alike are from the hand of God, and that, therefore, no ultimate controversy is possible between religion and science. A very large number of religious and scientific truths are considered in their mutual bearings, and in particular a full exposition of the record of Creation is included in the work (p. 103). Mr. Reynolds often reminds us of passages in Paley's *Natural Theology*,[1] but he gives much more exact references to science than was customary in Paley's day, and shows that he has formed a wide and accurate acquaintance with modern scientific works. A glossary of scientific terms and an excellent index are added, and we gladly call attention to the book as a useful addition to apologetic literature. The tone is not aggressive, but is marked by that uncontroversial thoughtfulness which makes the Rev. A. J. Harrison's evidential writings so persuasive.

1. *The Service of God.* Sermons, Essays, and Addresses. By Canon S. A. BARNETT. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.)
2. *Practical Idealism.* By W. DE WITT HYDE. (New York and London: Macmillan, 1897.)

THESE two books contain many valuable expressions of practical enthusiasm for the social welfare of mankind, and much which we cannot regard as satisfactory. Canon Barnett's addresses are, in his own description of them, a comment on the text that 'the service of God is the service of men.' In the light of the service of God he considers some human relationships, some human feelings, and

[1] Paley's *Works* (London, 1860), p. 434.

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some modern movements of reform, and he writes with the experience of twenty-five years in London, and with considerable knowledge of the unexpressed thoughts of the poor. The relationships considered are those of neighbours, Christians, citizens, politicians, philanthropists and the objects of their charity, teachers and children, rich and poor, high and low, preachers and people, employers and employed, members and benefit societies, the relation of the East End to the West End, Christian and Eastern races, and men and animals. We need only quote from one address as a sample of the rest. At the head of The Citizens and the City (p. 26) is the text, 'The nation is a Church. Civic duty is religious duty,' and the burden of the address is that London is a holy city, and all its citizens are priests. To wish that it might become so would be, no doubt, a laudable aspiration, but to insist too much on the present application of the description is to confuse much that is strictly sacred with much that is strictly secular, and to betray an impatience which found expression in the history of the Donatists and was noticed in the parable of the tares. And without more ado we may say that there is much more to the same purpose in Canon Barnett's book. In the addresses on human feelings the inner life of the individual is the chief subject, and 'Patriotism' is the best paper (p. 223). The 'modern movements' concern Sunday, Church Reform, and Charity Reform; and addresses on these subjects, with a paper reprinted from the *Contemporary Review* on the Church's Opportunity, occupy the concluding portion of the book. We should have thought that it was far more noble on the Church's part to endeavour to improve the efficiency of weak schools than to give them up, as Canon Barnett suggests (p. 322).

Dr. Hyde's attempt to interpret the spiritual significance of everyday life does not require a long notice. As we pointed out a few years ago in a review of his *Outlines of Social Theology*,[1] he has a faculty for admirable construction, but is rich in aggravating phrases. We may add that he is a lively and interesting writer without committing ourselves to the acceptance of his conclusions. He divides his present work into the two parts of the natural and the spiritual world. In the first he deals with the world of sense-perception, association, science, and art, and in the second with the world of persons, institutions, morality, and religion. We are tempted to give the following as a sample of Dr. Hyde's style: 'Can we realize for an instant what a cross-section of all existence at a definite point would be? While I talk and the flies buzz, a seagull catches a fish at the mouth of the Amazon, a tree falls in the Adirondack wilderness, a man sneezes in Germany, a horse dies in Tartary, and twins are born in France' (p. 5). But all is not so harmless as this, and there are many passages as unsatisfactory as those on pp. 292–3, which refer to the narrative of our Lord's birth and 'ecclesiasticism.' We are sorry to be obliged to say this, because there is some strong writing in the book, especially in the chapter on Morality (p. 219), and Dr. Hyde, like Canon Barnett, is enthusiastic in his desire for a

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1895, p. 275.

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practical manifestation of our love of God in 'the service of our fellows' (p. 325).

1. *The Church and the Bible.* By the Rev. W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897.)
2. *The Apostles' Creed and Articles I–VIII.* By the Rev. E. J. BODINGTON, M.A. With an Introduction by the LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1897.)

THESE two slight books are both excellent and well suited to serve as introductory manuals to larger works on their respective subjects. Mr. Sparrow Simpson's little volume consists of six good sermons, preached to general congregations, on the history of revelation, the origin and the gathering of the books, the Church the interpreter of the Bible, the inspiration of the Bible, the Christian value of the Old Testament, and the devotional use of the Bible. The book not only contains models of pulpit excellence, but is also full of steadying thoughts, which are much needed at the present time. Mr. Bodington writes with the practical experience of a teacher, and has an expository purpose in view in answer to the questions, 'How came the Church by her Apostles' Creed?' and 'What does she mean to teach in it?' He hopes to lead his readers to study Pearson for themselves. In the first part of his work he deals with the history of Creeds; in the second part he takes the Apostles' Creed clause by clause, and, lastly, expounds Articles I.–VIII. in a brief way. We have noticed a few misprints, a few slips, and some omissions. But we should be glad to place Mr. Bodington's little work in the hands of young beginners in theological study.

John Donne, sometime Dean of St. Paul's, A.D. 1621–1631. By AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D., Rector of Scarning. With two Portraits. (London: Methuen and Co., 1897.)

IZAAK WALTON'S *Life of Dr. Donne* is, as Dr. Jessopp truly observes, 'a matchless work of art' (Pref. p. ix; cp. pp. 217–18). But we can well believe that there are now many details known about Dr. Donne which may serve as notes to Walton's biography, especially concerning Donne's early life (cp. p. 218). An edition of the *Life* with notes, the new material properly grouped in a place by itself, and exact references to authorities, would have been welcome to students, and it would be difficult to name many better editors than Dr. Jessopp himself, who began to make collections for a complete edition of the works of Dr. Donne 'fifty years since' (Pref. p. vii). But the present volume is hemmed in by the conditions of the series of 'Leaders of Religion' to which it belongs, and these admit of no citation of authorities for new facts and no footnotes, no separate presentation of such facts, no broad survey of the life and character of Dr. Donne. We have to be as thankful as we can for three short appendices, which give us Dr. Donne's descent from Elizabeth More, an account of his children, and a copy of his will (pp. 223–31). An index is allowed, and has been carefully compiled. Dr. Jessopp has done his best under straitened circumstances, and has given us a 'sketch' which is

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'trustworthy as far as it goes,' and deals with Donne as one of the great leaders of religion in his time (Pref. p. ix). As an example of the materials which Dr. Jessopp has been able to accumulate, we may refer to a letter which is now for the first time printed from a copy in the possession of Miss Alicia Donne, of Chester, and which was written during the troubles which followed upon Donne's hasty and secret marriage (p. 34). There is, perhaps, no incident in Dr. Donne's life which requires annotation more than the vision which he had of his wife 'with her hair hanging about her shoulders and a dead child in her arms' (p. 80), and we are sorry that Dr. Jessopp does no more than extract Walton's description of this strange experience. He tells us nothing, and perhaps is unaware, of the curious critical history of the vision. It was not contained in the original publication of Walton's *Life of Dr. Donne* in 1640. It is not, indeed, found in the three earliest editions, but was first introduced into the fourth edition, in 1675. Dr. Johnson says that in his day the vision was omitted in a contemporary edition 'by way of adapting the book to the taste of the present age.'[1] It appears in the edition printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at London in 1823, which lies before us. Dr. Jessopp's estimate of Dr. Donne as a theologian gives a fair and accurate description of the position which he occupied (p. 143), and he has said enough to make the general reader wish to read Walton's *Life*, if he has never done so before. We may just add that St. Valentine's Day is on the 14th, and not the 15th of February, as is said on p. 83.[2]

[1] Boswell, ii. 263 (ed. Napier).

[2] A passing reference to good Mr. Wheatly on the *Book of Common Prayer* shows how fast we are moving in these days. Writing 'of the Romish Saints-days and Holy Days in February,' he says that Valentine 'was a man of most admirable parts, and so famous for his love and charity that the custom of choosing valentines upon his festival, which is still practised, took its rise from thence' (p. 57; edition London, 1840). And now even the day of the month is misquoted.

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